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ZAFAR UL WĀLIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ĀLIHI

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

Vol. II

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(English Translation)

Vol. II

By

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AL-ULUGHKHĀNI ḤĀJJI AD-DABIR

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(Volume II)

CHAPTER XXII

Early life of Imām-ul-Muslimin Shihābuddin Aḥmad. (980-1572)

History of Abyssinia

So said the historian in his book "Tuḥfat-uz-Zamān" that he accurately narrated traditions from the Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him that he occupied a position among the companions of the Prophet. He said to them that there was nothing and there is nothing which I made known to you till the day of resurrection. These are definitely known by Invisible Sciences. This is to be relied upon as stated by God the Great in connection with affairs which happen to pass. The Prophet, may peace and benedictions of God be on him, suggested to the renovators of followers of religion. Hence there are those who renovate propagation of sciences in the world. There are those also who renovate by blow of sword among men who cause disunity and practise hypocrisy. There are again those who renovate by saintly character. Some renovate it by shrewd statesmanship and good knowledge. Hence I opened your ears to produce inclination in you and presented the whole for your facility. Look into my book "Futuḥ-ul-Ḥabshah" in the hand of Imām of Amir-ul-Muminin Mawlānā Sultān Aḥmad bin Ibrāhim al-Ghāzi. My lord, Shaikh Shams-ud-Din 'Ali bin 'Umar al-Shāzli al-Karashi al-Yamani has alluded to it in his miracles. This is referred to by Imām al-Mas'udi in his "Mulhamāt." He had authority over Ḥabshah (Abyssinia). 'Abdul Wahhāb bin Abi Bikr al-Yāfai' al-Shāfai' informed me. He said, "some authoritative persons informed me. He corrected it from Shaikh-uṣ-Ṣāleh ibn-i Zaibin. He said, "Necessarily, no man was so pious in Birr Sa'adud Din as he who had wielded power over the land of Abyssinia. He propagated his mission to his children. That was with the* praise of God. He said, " Those in whom I had confidence narrated to me and they were witnesses that these victories were due to Amir Ḥusain bin Abu Bakr al-Jawātari and Aḥmad Din ibn-i Khālid bin Muḥammed bin Khair-ud-Din. From among them who ruled the country was Birr Sa'ad-ud-Din. He was the mujāhid of Sultān Muḥammed bin Āzar. He was from the progeny of Sa'ad-ud-Din, in the year thirty of the 9th century (1523). He went out for jihād (to fight in the cause of God) to Abyssinia. It was due to preordained decree of God that many Muslims were martyred. He returned to his cities. His son-in-law Abu Bakr bin Maḥfuz murdered him and ruled over it for a year. Ibrāhim bin Aḥmad, ruler of cities (bilād) Hubat from the tribes of Balu killed him and ruled over the kingdom for three months. Wasni killed him. He was mamluk

* Original Text, p. 585.

(slave) Jarād Maḥfuz. He ruled over cities (bilād) for three months. Manṣu bin Maḥfuz captured him and sent him in captivity to Zaila'. A slave of Yāfi killed him. Manṣur ruled for five months. Jarād Abawi son of al-Jarād Abaw son of al-Jarād Ārish invaded his territory and fought with him. Jarād surrendei ed to Manṣur. Jarād Abawi ruled for seven years. He administered the king dom and prospered it. He killed mischief-mongers. He loved the pious. H improved the lot of subjects during his days. Imām Aḥmad bin Ibrāhim w one of the horsemen of Jarād Abawi. He was a wise administrator with jud ment and statesmanship. Jarād loved him for these qualities as well as valou and forwardness. Sultān Abu Bakr ibn-i Sultān Muḥammed from the descendant of Sa'ad-ud-Din invaded Jarād Abawi. Ṣumāl joined him. They were robber A fierce battle took place between them. Jarād Abawi bin Adtbir got martyre in defending his family, wealth and property. Sultān Abu Bakr established h power over the kingdom. He exhibited during his reign what did not exi during the reign of Jarād such as mischief, abomination, ruin of subjects and th kingdom. Learned men and pious persons detested this state of affairs. Imār Aḥmad deserted him and joined the army of Jarād Abawi. They were or hundred horsemen. Number was increasing thereon. Bhubat from one of the cities of Birr Sa'ad-ud-Din, 'Ali al-Jarād'Umar Din joined him. They surrende ed chiefship to him. For certain days, Bitārak-ul-Ḥaṭṭi, king of Ḥabshah, who name was Fānil from the Dawārawā family* waylaid neighbouring region wit his party of Bitarakas (bishops). Aḥmad attacked them and fought with then The two armies faced each other at a place called 'Ukam. It was a great rive A severe battle took place between them. God bestowed victory upon th Muslims. Many bishops and a large number of Christians were killed. Tl spoils of war that day consisted of sixty horses, many mules and other wa weapons. Muslim prisoners and animals were freed from the hands of Christian Every one had his rightful share. They returned to a city called Zifah situate near the city of Sultān Abi Bakr. No Muslim was killed. Much praise is du to Allāh. When the Sultān received report of it, he was seized with fright alor with the Ṣumāl who were with him. They fled, fearing his attack, to Kidā a Ṣumāli city. The Imām learnt about it. He pursued them. They assemble for war at a place called Karn, a big river. At decline of the day, the victor was for the Imām. A large number of Ṣumālis were killed. The spoils consiste of thirty horse. They plundered cities and returned with spoils and victory t Harar of Birr Sa'adud Din. After preparation, most of them joined the Sultā in the neighbourhood of Harar. The Imām left them and journeyed to Hube Zabarat. They climbed up a lofty mountain. The Sultān encamped at its foc and laid siege to it for nineteen days. They were reduced to straits due to sieg and descended one night from the mountain. A fierce battle took place betwee

* Original Text, p. 586

the two. Amir 'Umar Din was killed. Companions of the Imām fled to their houses. Men of peace made efforts for conciliation between them. That happened. The Imām came to the Sultān. Revolt subsided. The Sultān then broke the peace and practised perfidy with the Imām. In his inadvertence, he seized his horses and arms. He also killed a number of companions including 'Uthmān bin Yāsin. The Imām fled one night with one third of his horses to a city Za'ka where he alighted. It is situated on a day's journey from city of the Sultān. He saw there four horses of the Sultān with a slave named Ḥamdush* bin Maḥfuz. He seized them. He left Za'ka and went to a place which was called Ribāt-ul-Bakara full of trees. In this place, there was a lofty mountain. He then moved to Shabakh, a great river with seven horses. Jarād Abu Bakr bin Ismā'il Kajan joined him. When Bhubat was joined by Amir Ḥusain al-Jawātari, the Sultān went out in search of some calamity. He learnt that Bhubat had gone out for preparation to the village of the Imām. He burnt his houses and plundered wealth of the Muslims. The Imām received intelligence of that. He came out from Hubat. He always changed side of the Sultān and the Sultān changed him. He, at last, alighted at a place called Hādar. They were tired so they alighted and slept for rest. The Sultān attacked them while they were asleep. They plundered and went out safely from their sleeping-place. Two hundred foot and seven horse had assembled with the Imām. They encamped at Bu'Ashin. The Sultān fell upon them suddenly. Muḥammed bin Ibrāhim, one of the horsemen of the Imām was martyred. His boys walked last. Soldiers of the Imām dispersed and assembled around Bhubat. Amir Shanbari came from the side of the Sultān. He was called Shabnatari by a large number of persons. Fourteen horsemen also came. The Imām received him, fought with him and put him to flight. He seized twelve horsemen. Amir Shanbari was killed. When the Sultān received news of the death of his amir and flight of his soldiers, he collected an army from his city as well as from the city of Sumāl. He left five amirs behind him in the city. He came out with sixty horsemen and a large number of footmen. The Imām learnt about it. He went for preparation to the side of the Sultān's city. When he alighted at the village of Za'ka, one of the six amirs, Amir Kosham Abu Bakr got news of it. He was married to the daughter of the Sultān. He came out to fight with the Imām. He had one hundred horsemen with him. The Imām had twenty horsemen. In between the war, Kosham Abu Bakr fled before the war was over to their city, Harar. The Imām did not pursue them. He alighted at a place called† al-Karbar. Camelry and his companions assailed the city. They joined him in the afternoon of Ramḍān in the year 939 (1532). Companions of the Sultān garrisoned themselves at a place of invincibility in the city. The Imām returned from them to a side from the city and spent the night there. In the morning

* Original Text, p. 587. † Original Text, p. 588.

he came back to the village. Soldiers of the Sultān pursued them. He
them at a place called Samanjud. The Imām turned his reins. It was
disastrous fight of the Sultan's soldiers. The Imām gained ascendancy over
hundred and more horsemen. Many persons took rest in death. The Imā
marched to city of the Sultān, Harar. He conquered it and announced amnes
to those who were in their houses, with security of wealth, no enmity and th
they were satisfied. The Imām came out from the city to the precincts a
granted security to all cultivators. He had left an Amir there. The Sult
assembled soldiers from the Ṣumāl, horse and foot and designed against
Imām. When the Sultān was at the city of Dakar, he ascended an invinci
mountain, Hamzohan, fearing the Imām. Eminent men met together
brought about peace between them on terms that the Sultān should continue
Sultān while the Imām to be an Amir. The city was to be equally administ
ed. The territory as far as Harar belonged to the Sultān while that as far as
city Sim to the Imām. It was a custom that the Amir was chief in affa
including command of the army. The Sultān had only cities (bilād) to h
for maintenance. Peace was concluded on these terms. The Amir came w
an intention to meet the Sultān. At the time of entry upon him, he me
swarm of bees like a black cloud. They shaded him hovering over his he
from Samanjud to the house of the Sultān. It was reckoned as a miracle of t
Imām. The bees continued to hover at the gate of the Sultān till the Imā
came out from palace of the Sultān. The bees moved shading him till he ent
ed his house. They did not harm any one. He then returned to Shajar.

The historian has so said about the fame of the Mujāhid Imām.

Cause of his being called the Imām is what has been said to me by t
Shaikh Maḥammed bin Aḥmad al-Dahmāni-al-Maghribi. He said, "I w
sleeping one night when I saw two saints between the state of sleep a
wakefulness. One of them was Aḥmad bin Muḥammed bin 'Abd-ul-Wāḥid
Karashi al-Tunasi The other was my lord, the noble, the Kuṭb (pole sta
al-'Aidrus, may their graves be sanctified and may we be benefited throu
them. They said to me 'Do not call him Sultān nor Amir. Call him Imām-
Muslemin (leader of the Muslims).' He said, "I said to them, Imām-
Muslemin of the last epoch?" They replied in the affirmative. What t
author said is his miracle. Reliable persons such as *'Ali bin Salāh al-Jab
and Aḥmad bin Ṭāher al-Marwa'i said to me that they heard Sa'ad bin Yun
al-'Araji saying "I was asleep one night. I saw the Prophet, may peace a
benedictions of God be on him. Abā Bakr Ṣiddik was on his right side.
his left was 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb and in front was 'Ali, may God be pleas
with them. Before 'Ali was the Imām Aḥmad bin Ibrāhim. I said to h

* Original Text, p. 589.

"Oh Messenger of Allāh! Who is this man who stands before 'Ali? He said, 'He is the pious Shaikh in the bilād (cities) of Habshah.'" These were the dreams and the Imām. There was none else who saw these dreams when the person was recognized and seen in the presence of 'Ali, may God be pleased with him. This man saw him when he came to the city of Harar during the reign of al-Jarād Abawi. He narrated his dreams to him. Citizens said to him, "Is this the man whom you saw?" He said, "No." One amir followed another in the city always till he came to the period of the Imām Aḥmad when he stopped. When he saw him, he recognized him with the description (quality) seen in dream standing before 'Ali, may God ennoble his face. He said to residents of the city, "He is whom I saw before they said to him." The Prophet may peace and benedictions of God be on him, said, "Do not compare Satan with me. He was as I saw him." His dreams came true. He was the king of Abyssinia. In short, when the Imām stood with the Sultān, he improved the age, his family and loved the nobles and men of religion. He got ready and marched as a ghāzi (one who fights in the cause of religion) to the city of Ḥabshah. When he came to Dawārawā, he had booty in shape of slaves, chattels, horses which were beyond enumeration and double. On his departure, he had one hundred horses. He met people of Dawārawā at a place Ḍik-ul- Maslak (narrow path). They had assembled to fight with him. It was a severe fight. Many persons got martyred. Seven Muslim amirs fell into* 'captivity—Amir Ḥusain al-Jawātari, Amir Zaḥarbuy, Amir 'Abdullāh, Amir Umar, Awrai 'Aḥmad Gibrail from Ṣumāl and Amir Akbar. They separated from Ḥusain to fight in the neighbourhood and carried his clothes. They thus constituted seven. It was due to the blessing of Islām that his pinions were cut off and he suddenly pounced upon one of them and seized his knife. He shouted jihad. On hearing his shout, unfortunate ones withdrew and the Amir Ḥusain joined his companions one night. The rest moved with them to the country of Abyssinia. He killed two of them. The Imām returned to city of the Muslims with spoils of war and resided at Za'ka. He moved on to the Sultān for meeting him. After a short while, the Sultān became indeterminate and changed his good character to reverse of it and thought of perfidy with the Imām in his mind. The mashāikhs intervened to improve their relations. The Sultān avoided him and determined upon murder of the Imām. The Imām took time by the forelock and settled with absolute authority in the city with orders. 'Umar Din, brother of the murdered established himself in the saltanat. Formerly, he wielded his authority in favour of unbelievers over city of the Muslims. He killed them, plundered them and ruined them frequently till the Muslims chose to quit the city and go to the country of Imām Aḥmad. In the meantime, God held Islām in esteem. The exiled ones imprisoned them and

* Original Text, p. 590.

the unbelievers had to pay poll-tax. In the meanwhile, Sultān Awrai ' Abawi, a descendant of ancient sultāns came to the Imām. During disagreement in the city, he came upon the Sumāl. He met the Imām during his reign. He was given a village for maintenance. A tribe called Jary from the Ṣumāl came to the Imām. There was a war between this tribe and another tribe whose Amir was Mariḥān. Both the tribes were from the Ṣumāl. The Imām brought about reconciliation between them. The Imām then received intelligence about invasion of the Bishop Dajaljān, son-in-law of king of Abyssinia who was alluded to before. The Imām marched to Ru'budah and then the Ṣumāl. They fled from him and he plundered their cities. The Imām then went to a religious war in Abyssinia. The chief of the Ṣumāl was with him fighting. When they arrived at a place called Wāduh Mushk, a city in Kankār, there remained a distance of one day and half between them and the king of Ḥabshah. The army stopped from designs againt him and the Imām was inconvenienced for that. He then knotted banner of Imārat (Amirship) for the Amir Manṣur bin Maḥfuz al-Jawātari and added to him one hundred horsemen at the city of Sim* suddenely and captured it and returned. In like manner, the wazir 'Addali added to him fifty horsemen and sent him to Zambāriyah from the land of Dawārawā. He then proceeded towards it and took many things as booty. On his return, he found people of Dawārawā on his way. A fierce battle took place. Amir Mujāhid bin 'Ali bin 'Abdullāh al-Ḍami, the famous horseman attacked the great bishop Ari ' Samā Dāl and killed him. Similarly, the Wazir Nur attacked bishop Akhar and killed him. The unbelievers were defeated. 'Adali returned with spoils of war. No Muslim was killed. The Imām then came out for jihād. Amir Ḥusain al-Jawātari equipped himself with one hundred horsemen. He had knotted banner of Imārat for him. Similarly, he did with Wazir Nur. It was the banner of the Imām yellow in colour. Under this banner, there were one hundred horsemen. Five amirs had seven thousand men. One of them was in mourning. He was a Muslim that day. He killed an unbeliever. Another man was 'Abdul Karim bin ' Uthmān known as Dawārawā. Third man was 'Umar bin 'Abdullāh ; the fourth was 'Uthmān bin 'Abdullāh, a resident of Sim ; fifth was Muḥammed. They had embraced Islām. The Imām marched with them to a place called Zamirdin. They went on camels to Dawārawā and moved on to Kuhal Bari from Dawārawā. They found the unbelievers at a place Ḍik expecting the Muslims there. They polished their swords and burnt the church called Zaḥrak and returned to Kub. The Muslims who desired a ghazw (religious war) and those who did not, fled away at night. The Imām rode, saw them and came to them with aversion. He then moved on to the land of Ḥabshah. He crossed the river 'Awāsh in boats kept one with the other. There were hides of oxen beneath like a small boat called by them Laḥi.

* Original Text, p. 591.

This river is adjacent to the land of Dāmut to flow to sea water towards Zaila.' They talked about booty. The Imām said, "when I take out one-fifth, you have it each one of you as you wish." The Imām divisioned the army into three parts: one part of it was with the Wazir 'Adali, commander of the right wing. He ordered him to move from the right side. The second part was with* the Wazir Nur, Amir (commander) of the left wing. He ordered him to move from the left side. He himself was in command of the third part. Amir 'Adali marched in the directions of the left for he was in the vicinity of Ifāt, where the unbelievers had stationed themselves. Their amir was Vannāj Jān known as Ṣāhib-i-Ifāt (ruler of Ifāt). It was a fierce battle. Vannāj Jān fell at the hand of Sahiṭ, the famous horseman. Rout was complete among unbelievers. The Muslims gained ascendancy of their station with their belongings. Among them was daughter of maternal aunt of the king Vannāj Saijad bin Nāwad bin Admās bin Zarākub. The Imām gave her to the Wazir 'Adali. The king of Abyssinia ransomed her for fifty awkiya of gold (one wikiya is equivalent to one ounce that is $\frac{1}{12}$ part of a raṭal). The Imām laid designs against Ṭubiyah. His guide was Simuh known as Safarah. He was a Muslim. He then retreated. There was a church at Ṭubiyah. After victory, the Amir Ḥusain, ruler of Dawārawā entered it. He was followed by Amir 'Ali, ruler of Al'ankut and Jarād Aḥmush and Kosham Abu Bakr and the great shaikh Ḥāmid bin al-Fāḍil Shaikh. The Imām entered it with his wife Dil Wanbarah, daughter of the Amir Maḥfuz. They burnt it. There arrived a harbinger of the aforesaid victory from 'Adali with a report of death of Vannāj and spoils of war. They beat the drums and discs. The Wazir Nur looted spoils of war and returned to the Imām. The Muslims assembled at Ṭubiyah. The army paraded. Similarly, there was a parade the next day. It was the victory of Islām. The Imām then designed to attack city of Janbalah in Abyssinia. His guide was the Amir Aḥmush. The Imām of the army marched. He was flushed red due to heat. It was the path. They walked stripped of clothes. They were tired. They were free from it in the evening (sun-set). They pitched tent for the Imām al Ḍik where there was luxuriance of alkāt (kind of vegetable). Amir Aḥmush planted his tent after great effort, first in the army. The last person who pitched his tent was al-Jarād 'Abd-un-Nāsir. Aḥmush said, ' He planted the tent when they followed me. Oh 'Abd-un-Nāsir, may God help you. What strength you have in pitching the tent." When one-fourth of the night had passed, the Imām arrived in the rear, in the last portion of the army to his tent. They then spent the night. They did not taste anything. In the morning, they were on march. They spent the night at a place, Bāzmali in the region of Ifāt and entered Janbalah in the land of Ḥabashah. In the morning of that night, they were in Abyssinia. The Muslims lived there and paid tribute to the kfng. The

* Original Text, p. 592.

Muslims welcomed the Imām, feasted them and helped him with twenty awkiya of gold. The Imām that day had nothing with him. The Imām sent it to Zaila* when the army did not accept it or he gave it to his wife. The Imām halted there, particularly to spend it. He wrote to the Sharif Aḥmad bin Sālem al-Sallāti, master of his horses, to purchase arms of that amount. The Imām sat there for two days to come across the wealth of the king of Abyssinia with the merchant. He seized him and killed all those who were with him. He confiscated their animals and returned to 'Awāsh. He marched from it. The guide erred. He entered land full of a difficult thicket and barren. They chanced to see upon a portion of the tree several swords. They marched from that place and came out of it to a clear road. They crossed the river 'Awāsh and alighted at the river, Kub. They then marched and encamped at Dair, on the side of Muslim cities and pitched tents there. They divided the spoils and entered Harar in triumph. The tribes met the Imām in submission. The first who arrived was Kabyāt Habar Makdi with their chief Aḥmad Jari bin Ḥusain al-Ṣumāli. It was followed by the tribe of Jari and their chief Mitān bin 'Uthmān bin Khālid al-Ṣumāli. He had a woman with him Firdausa, sister of the Imām. The tribe of Marihān got ready. They and their chief were warring. He loved mischief, stratagem and fraud. The Imām then marched to Abyssinia. They halted at Dair, a big river. When Vannāj Sajjad received news of his march, he assembled his men and moved from Bādoji and thence to the house of Amḥarah. There was his original place and that of his forefathers. The bishop left 'Uthmān bin Dār 'Ali at Bāduḥi behind him. Muslim bin Muslim fell in captivity of the unbelievers during the reign of Sultān Muḥammed. He helped them and supervised the kingdom. Afterwards, he repented and returned to Islām. Afterwards, his sons displayed unbelief. He strove hard and died a martyr at 'Anbā. The King assembled in the house of Amḥarah. The chiefs of the army were twenty-four bishops. Every bishop had armies under him and a woman-bishop (nun). The historian said that 'Abbās informed him about the condition of Islām. He was one of those who had assembled in the house of Amḥarah. The king said to him, "Why do you say so oh 'Abbās? The Imām saw these armies standing for war against me. Is it not ?"† 'Abbās said, "If they were for the Imām, he would not be personally tired. It is for one of the Husains. I do not know what order is given to the army." The King said that he was true. But the Muslims moved from Daite to a place Bakl Zar, a river with plenty of water. They alighted at it. The Imām assembled his soldiers and arrayed them. Those amirs who embraced Islām and Islām did good to them were Aḥmad Jari, Chief of the Ṣumāl, Wazir 'Adali, Amir Mujāhid, Absamanur, Jatād Sham'un, Jarād Burhān, 'Alwāsh bin Haijan Ayyub, Khālid al-Warrādi, Awrai' Nurkalṭa bin 'Umar, son-in-law of Jarād

* Original Text, p. 593.

† Original Text, p. 594.

Maḥfuz, Farshaḥam 'Uthmān, Dull Sajjad, horseman of Sim, Shum Warrādi, Haijam Uthmān Warrādi, Shaikh Fāḍil Ḥāmid bin Zāhid, Mitān, Chief of the Ṣumāl and the Wazir Nur bin Ibrāhim. Standard of the Imām that day was white. On its sides was inscribed: "In the name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful. Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory. That God may forgive thee thy faults of the past and those to follow; fulfil His favour to thee; and guide thee on the Straight Way and that God may help thee with powerful help. Help from God and victory is nigh. God has decreed: "It is I and My messengers who must prevail." For God is one, full of strength, able to enforce His will. Help to the faithful is right with Us. We will, without doubt, help Our Messengers and those who believe, (both) in this world's life and on the Day when the witnesses will stand forth. Already has Our Word been passed before (this) to Our Servants sent (by Us) that they would certainly be assisted and that Our forces, they surely must conquer. Our Lord! Pour out constancy on us and make our steps firm. Help us against those that reject faith. Our Lord! Pour out constancy on us and cause our death as Muslims. Hast thou not turn Thy vision to the Chiefs of the Children of Israel after (the time of) Moses? They said to a Prophet (that was) among them: Appoint for us a king to fight in the cause of God." He said, "Is it not possible that you may be commanded to fight and that ye will not fight?" They said: "How could we refuse to fight in the cause of God,seeing that we were turned out of our homes and our families?" But when they were commanded to fight, they turned back, except a small band among them. But God has full knowledge of those who do wrong. God has heard the taunt of those who say: 'Then God is indigent and we are rich!' We shall certainly record their word and (their act) of slaying the Prophets in defiance of right and we shall say: 'Taste ye the penalty of the scorching fire.' In the middle of it four lines were consecutively inscribed: the first, Hast thou not turned Thy vision to those who were told to hold back their hands (from fight) but establish regular prayers and spend in regular charity? When (at length) the order for fighting was issued to them, behold, a section of them feared men as—or even more than —they should have feared God. They said: Our Lord! Why hast Thou* ordered us to fight? Wouldst Thou not grant us respite to our (natural) term, near (enough)". Say: Short is the enjoyment of this world: The second: You have fortified yourself with the Living, the Permanent Who never dies, and Who defends you against evil with thousand thousand, 'There is no power and no strength except with God, the High and the Respectable. The third: The Hereafter is better for he who fears (God). Recite to them the truth of the story of the two sons of Adam. Behold! they each presented a sacrifice (to God). It was accepted from one, but not from the other. Said the latter:

* Original Text, p. 595.

'Be sure, I shall slay thee.' "Surely," said the former, "God doth accept of the sacrifice of those who are righteous. The fourth:

The war, if I managed it
Disappointment will not be from you.
I exercise patience over its perils
No death except with honour.

My lord, the theologian, the saint, the pious, mufti (one who gives religious decrees) of the Muslims, my master, Abu Bakr bin Naṣr-ud-Din bin Muḥammed al-Makanni, Barshuna had inscribed it that day. The historian said that the pious theologian, the great famous Abu Bakr Arshuna, may God show mercy to him said to me that "when the Imām returned from ghazw (religious war) of Bāli to Harar, he halted for two months. He then proceeded to Abyssinia. He had collected a crowd. Sa'eed bin Ṣa'bān al-Mahri, Aḥmad bin Sulaimān al-Mahri, chiefs of the Mahra tribe saw him in shape of a deputation. Their leader was the noble Syed Muḥammed Marzak. When the Imām was at a place called Ajām Gi, a river in the region of Lāmli of al-Fatkār near Lakbāla, they alighted and ate whatever they obtained of eatables after two days. In the meantime, a battalion arrived with equipment with a design against king of Abyssinia in direction of his station thinking that the king was there. When they learnt about it, they immediately fled away. Soldiers of the Imām pursued them. It was a victory and a great victory. One was equal to ten, more or less. They then captured them for him taking whatever they had with them. They came with them in presence of the Imām. He ordered to strike off their necks. Their amir was brought as a captive. He attempted for ransom. The Imām refused and killed him. After that, he received news that king of Abyssinia arrived with what he had assembled to Bāduḥi. He then moved on in wake of the Muslims. The Imām had encamped at the river, Majawwā. He watered his horses, said Zuhr (after-noon) prayers and journeyed to Ḍabri Kuri. He spent four nights there. He saw crescent of Rajab of the year, 935 (1528). In the morning, he marched towards Mājah with designs against its city. He had then approached King of Abyssinians. He said that a Christian repor ed about those who were with the king at the assault of Ḍabri Kuri called Azmāt Horibi. He then embrassed Islām. The king had sixteen thousand horsemen dressed as 'Arab horsemen of Rifiyal. But the owners of the horses of Abyssinia were without number. Number of footmen was one hundred thousand. They were divided into seven arrays on the day of battle. Every row did not see on a side. The Imām came. He arrayed the centre, the Right wing and the Left wing. He used to say, "Oh God! make me patient completely, the victor is near You. Sultān Muḥammed bin Sultān 'Ali bin Khāltah was in command of

* Original Text, p. 596.

wing. Shaikh Anas bin Shaikh Shihāb bin 'Abdul Wahhāl bin Shaikh
.ll the tribes of Harlah. All the Ṣumālis were on the Left wing along
Amir Aḥmad Jari. The rest were in the centre. The Amirs who
him were Amir Ḥusain al-Jawātari, Amir Zaḥr Baivi Muḥammed
ı 'Ali, Wazir Nur bin Ibrāhim, Amir Mujāhid, Farshaḥam Sultān,
āṣir, Shaikh Dawāh, Amir Abu Bakar Kajan, Ḥamdush bin Maḥfuz,
-law 'Ali Akht Dull, Nabrah, Awrai 'Aḥmad Din bin Khālid,
ham'un, al-Jarād Ahmush, Awrai 'Abawi, al-Jarād 'Ulhmān bin
l-Jarād Ṣiddiq and Dull Sajjad etc. The Imām did not separate
ıself five hundred horsemen, in travel and presence. Among them
Ḥamzah al-Jawfi who had an 'Arab infantry of one thousand.
ogian 'Abdullāh got down from his mule and seized his shield
: and implored God, Who is Holy. He was a ṣufi, abstemious and
r of prayers. King of Abyssinia Vannāj Sajjad was that day in
ırmy, His wings—right and left, consisted of four hundred horses.
time, he divisioned his men. The army of Islām was like a white
the lion in skin of oxen. The Imām then steadied himself and said
) God. In prayers, he said, "Oh Allāh! Oh the Living! Oh the
g! Oh the Creator of the skies and the earth! Oh full of Glory and
Verily, those are your enemies and enemies of your religion and
f your Messenger. They eat livelihood supplied by You and they
ther than You. The cloud shades them. We are Muslims in heat*
. That cloud shades the rejectors of faith. The Imām prayed to
ıat. He moved against the unbelievers. The cloud turned from heads
ıs and came over heads of the believers shading them over their heads.
byssinia saw that. He commingled and his soldiers were in lamenta-
: Imām rushed against them and incited the Muslims to assault. He
ıde them. He said, " Be firm till you begin. Then lift up your lances
yourself with shield and remember God the Holy and know that the
s determination and disappointment is weakness. God is with those
patient. From patience of today, there will be victory tomorrow.
ıld never be hardship after this. They then arrayed the rows. There
ılim whose name was 'Uthmān Shaikh from the tribes of al-Jadāyah.
iding a mule. He attacked a bishop of the name of Jān Blue Rās.
ed a blow on his back. He was in a preventive harness. The sword
ıarness and the armour. It was divided into two parts. Half of it
ıeighbourhood and the other half was in the saddle of the horse. He
hundred and thirty-six bishops that day. Every one of them was
From the other bishops, one hundred and fourteen were killed. Every
ıs in command of one thousand horses as well as five hundred horses.

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ginal Text, p. 597.

The Muslims that day hamstrung six hundred horses of the unbelievers in the battle-field. Those who got martyred in this assault were Ḥamzah al-Jabali, Jadid Khujuh, Kabir Ibrāhim Mu'ezzin al-Jarād Abawi, Faqih Muḥammed Khatib Sim, Dalu Bāli and Muḥammed Dawārawā. The Muslims who got martyred that day were five thousand foot-men belonging to the tribes of al-Ṣumāl, Malsāi, Ḥarlah, and the 'Arab; may God be merciful to them. It was the victory for Muslims. The Imām returned to the city of Harar with spoils of war. He had killed many thousands from the armies. It was a war which lasted from the morning to late afternoon. The Imām killed that day a bishop from among the bishops of the sea called 'Akabi Mikāil. He was strongly frightful of great strength. He thrust a lance in his breast which penetrated him backward. Al-Jarād 'Abdun Nāṣir a member of the Imām's family was ruler of Chitr and their servant did the above deed. He encountered horse-men with no horse with him. He was like a fiery camel. Blood flowed from * his nostrils with anger for God and ardency for Jihād. They lived till the time. At the first religious war of Dawāwarā, Amir Zahrbawi Muḥammed, son of uncle of the Imām Aḥmad fell in captivity and he came with him to king of Abyssinia. The Imām corresponded for his release. He was placed at a distance from Abyssinia in the land of Dāmut. He freed himself with the obligation of God. He fled one night to city of, the Muslims. Sharif Muḥammed Marzak fought a religious war with the Imām and strove in the path of God. After the victory, the Imām gave him Bāb sari to be with him by payment of tribute. He was a man of immense charity and he came to it. The historian said that he was with King of Abyssinia in the above-mentioned war. Vannāj Sajjad turned the right wing over left side of Islām. The Christians outnumbered Muslims in war and they continued the fight. Three thousand foot-men of the left wing were martyred. Mitān bin 'Uthmān, Chief of the Ṣumāl, father-in-law of the Imām Aḥmad, Aḥmad Jari, 'Ali Jarād brother of Mitān, similarly brother of Farshaḥm with his family and their equals stood with steadfastness. They made a severe assault on the right wing and joined with the centre after a severe struggle. All of them then assembled under banner of the Imām. He was then pleasing God, the Holy and His Messenger. There was great disappointment. Enemies of the faith were in quake. The space was darkened with dust. Distinguisher was only the phrase of the Unity. The polytheists were put to rout. The sword was active among them from forenoon of the day to end of the afternoon. Thanks to God for their efforts.

I say that it was a victory, a preface to other victories. It was conquered and Islām spread in Abyssinia. The faith elevated. Its citizens became rich. The muleteers multiplied. The Imām went. His designs were against the

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* Original Text, p. 598.

.ts of Yaman. Most of them were for them. Abyssinia was about to
.ne religion. Help of the Firangis arrived. They had assembled in the
.rhood of Dawārawā. It was that day when the Imām was martyred
.n aimed at him. He had attacked enemies of God. One hundred
d persons retreated from Abyssinia talking about period of Islām point-
lofty position and extensive possibility. It did not stop on his death.
d be pleased with them and those who guided to the path.

CHAPTER XXIII

Assassination of Ibrāhim Mirzā

A short account of it is that he secretly fled away from the captivity of Sultān-ul-Hind and thus escaped from his hand and went out of his nearby* frontiers. Valiant warriors of his community numbering one thousand assembled around him. Every one of them was equipped with a horse to ride and set apart two precious Irāqi horses who did not know the time of decline (of the sun) and plunged in darkness of the night with great speed and traversed one hundred miles or something more than that. Every one of them had his armour; and two for necessity. There were one hundred camels. Twenty men from amongst them rebelled for accomplishment of their desire. The rest were with merits and demerits. He gained strength after strength, might and rascality. He continued harassment by plunder after plunder. What they were, were known by their foreheads (features). They neither expected anything (except plunder) and nor cared for blame. They did not live but for the bounties. They arrived in Gujarāt in time of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Changiz Khān and all of them became amirs. They then left him and proceeded to Ujjain and again came back to Broach after his death. On arrival at Baroda, Sultān-ul-Hind received intelligence about Muhammed Husain Mirzā that he had garrisoned himself within the fort of Surat, and showed himself in the vicinity of Chāmpāner. Khān-i-'Ālam prepared himself to march against him. He learnt that Ibrāhim Mirzā had passed by his camp at a distance of eight farsakhs. He pursued him. Ibrāhim Mirzā came out from the neighbourhood of Broach flying from him towards Modāsa. He proceeded in all rapidity with his guide Malek-ush-Sharq Muhammed Jiv Bābu. He saw him in the vicinity of Sarnāl Katnāl. He had got down to eat what was present with him. The Sultān fell upon him suddenly and was about to throw him down by his hand but he missed him by three refractory horses. His men had paused in narrow passes for opposition with arrows from a distance. Only a few soldiers were present with the cavalcade of the Sultān. Ibrāhim then marched towards Delhi. The Sultān was at a distance from him. Vagabonds assembled around him. Every one of them freely resorted to plunder. The affair became serious to command every one of them. It was an etiquette with the Mughals to unsheathe the sword in opposition to one who belonged to the House of Saltanat even though he may be of one, two or many generations. He continued assailing for plunder till he reached Multān. One day, he came out ahunting. In the meantime, he was in his search. Husain Quli Khān Turcomān, the Amir of Lāhore surrounded him and attacked the tent

* Original Text, p. 599.

wherein was his brother Mas'ud. He faced him and fought with him but fell * down from the horse and was made a captive. On return, Ibrāhim learnt about this incident and was overcome with shame. He personally saw the game but did not fight with him. Many persons gathered around him. His term of life was complete. He came out of the battle-field with a wound which weakened his strength. He came to the tent of a Baluch Amir. He gave him shelter and brought a surgeon who treated him but he died in the evening. It was only a short time after the slaughter of Rustam in a perfidious manner. He had taken an oath of the Holy Book with him. God took revenge on him for him as well as on his brother Muhammed Husain Mirzā also in the shortest time, the account of which follows. He came with his head to Agra and his brother as a prisoner living with weakness due to the wound. He who swindled and died, left his reputation behind.

Sultān-ul-Hind encamped at Surat. The Afghāns assembled around Muḥammed Khān son of Sher Khān Fauládi at Naharwāla Pattan and established control over the region. He sent for his father. He was in Kutiyāna of Junāgadh. He presented himself. Muhammed Husain Mirzā joined him. They advanced from that place to Kadi and encamped in the plain. The side of the Sultān had prepared itself to fight with them under the captainship of Atka, the great amir, honourable nawwāb Khān-i-A'zam Aziz Muhammed Kukah. His uncle Beglarbeg Atālik Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān, Shāh Muḥammed Khān and the Amir Syed Muḥammed Bukhāri were with him. It was a hard fought battle. The Sultān's army fled to Ahmedābād. But five hundred horsemen stood firm in the centre with Nawwāb and his Atāliq (tutor). Defeat then turned into a victory. I was in the majlis of beneficient of blessings, fortunate in movements Mawlānā Shaikh Jamāluddin Muḥammed al-Hashaibari, may God benefit me through him. Choice of the Saltanat Shaikh Muḥammed Ghaznawi presented himself. I heard from him the report of this battlefield. It was so and so, he said. Muḥammed Husain Mirzā proceeded with headlong hurry with Muḥammed Khān to enter the battlefield. Muḥammed Husain then left him and came out of it with a muleteer with some suspicion lurking in his mind. Sher Khān was on horse-back for the war. He stopped in resistance against Khān-i-A'zam. His cavalry consisted of not more than five hundred horses. He stopped fighting as the Khān had stopped. An arrow came from the army of the Khān but the archer was not seen as to from which side he darted it. It brought a horseman down to the ground from the opposite camp. With that, the army returned and was near running away. Its amirs had now joined it. They fled with the going out of Muḥammed Husain and Muḥammed Khān, son of Sher Khān after killing Syed Muḥammed Bukhāri in the battlefield. Shāh †

* Original Text, p. 600.

† Original Text, p. 601

Muḥammed Khān returned to Aḥmedābād in a miserable manner along with most of the soldiers. With the defeat of Muḥammed Khān, Sher Khān fled to Junāgadh and the rest to Kutiyāna in the reign of Muzaffer. The amirs deserted from him to Amin Khān Ghori, the ruler of Junāgadh. Among them was the famous amir, Miftāh Saif-ul-Muluk.

In 981 (1572), Muḥammed Husain Mirzā conquered Broach. Its ruler was Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān who was at Baroda. It so happened that when his brother proceeded to Delhi for getting back Sultān-ul-Hind with him to Gujarat leaving behind Surat in charge of one who guarded the fort. Ismā'il Asad Khān had proceeded with Muzaffer bin Ibrāhim, his mother, daughter of Kāmrān Mirzā and the rest of the ladies to the territory of Nizām Shāh Deccani. Muḥammed Husain alone went to Naharwāla. He went with the muleteer to Idar. When the Sultān-ul-Hind returned to Agra, he collected a number of ladders, carried them with him and proceeded with great precipitancy to Broach. He placed the ladders one night against it and climbed over it. In the morning, he established his authority over it. That very day, he left his Vakil and hastened to Surat. The governor of Surat was Nawwāb of lofty dignity Qalij Muḥammed Khān. He suddenly entered the port. Jahāngir Khān was there. He made him a prisoner and returned with him to Broach. Making amends of his mind, he left him at Broach. He took his grandson Rumi Khān bin Rumi-Khān bin Jahāngir Khān as his companion. He left for Baroda. Qutbuddin Khān did not stand firm with him. He was with three thousand horses except Saif-ul-Muluk Habshi. Sultān-ul-Hind had left Ādil Khān Neki with him. Muhammed Husain Mirza had less than one thousand horses. Muḥammed Husain Mirzā established his authority at Broach, Baroda and Chāmpāner. His brothers 'Āqil Khān Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā were with him. He then proceeded to Khanbhāyat and stayed there. Khān-i-A'zam Nawwāb 'Aziz Kukah was in the vicinity of Ma'murābād. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk made his appearance with Muhammed Khān son of Sher Khān Faulādi, Wali Khān son of Jhujhār Khān, Farhān Jhujhār Khāni, Hasan Khān, Dawlat Khān son of Muhāfiz Khān, al-Amir Hazabbar Sherwān Khan. The Habshis were more* than five hundred and these Habshis were the followers of Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk. They had power over the Treasury and every day they spent a sufficient amount of money. In the meanwhile, Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān came to Khanbhāyat to fight with Muḥammed Mirzā. The honourable Khān despatched Syed Hāmid Bukhāri for his help. There was a party of Mughal amirs. When they came to Khanbhāyat and paused on the side of the shore for war, they saw Muḥammed Husain sitting on a wall of the harbour to the side of the sea. He came out with twenty horsemen. He personally supervised the war.

* Original Text, p. 602.

There was a severe war between him and Syed Hāmid resulting in the death of Syed Mustafā, his daughter's son. During the encounter of both of them, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā received a slight wound on the nose. On the fourth day, Saif-ul-Muluk advanced for war. Muḥammed Husain was in search of him. He informed him as to what was the condition of his armour and horse. It so happened that the Malek had changed them. In place of his slave 'Anbar, the champion horseman of the battle-field, Khairat Khān had worn his armour and was riding his horse. When Muḥammed Husain emerged, he was the first to enter the battle-field and he assailed 'Anbar supposing him to be the Malek inflicting several wounds on him, one of which was on the side of the forehead beneath his ear as well as on his right hand which got paralysed. The Malek crawled to him, returned to the city and sat on wall of the harbour. When the Malek advanced to the gate of the harbour, Qutbuddin Khān was in his wake. He came out from the other door towards the side of Aḥmednagar. Shāh Mirzā joined him. He was strong in his address to the honourable Khān. He then returned to Ahmedābād. Similarly, Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān returned to Ahmedābād. All the Mughals assembled at Ahmedābād except Khān-i-Kalān the Governor of Pattan. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, Muḥammed Husain Mirzā and Muḥammed Khān Faulādi met together. Rāi Narāin, ruler of Idar was with them as he was in their camp for three days to conquer Ahmedābād. They were partners in it. He then returned to his capital. They descended upon the city and all the amirs of the Salatanat assembled at the gate of Dār-us-Saltanat at the ballast famous as Chokhandi. They held consultation about the war and for going out to Pattan. They gave preference to the second. They appointed certain persons to see Saif-ul-Muluk for consultation with him. They questioned him. He, Syed Hāmid, Mirzā Muqim and Shāh Abu Turāb were sitting in a * row. They despised what they stated about their dignity in a shocking way as well as their strength due to a large number. He said, " They are as God had stated. " Thou woultdst think, they are united, but their hearts are divided." In the meantime, a report was received about their shift from Jetalpur to Sarkhej. It is a road of citizens for going to Pattan. They stopped and realized the gravity of this step. They got disturbed and became steadfast. In the morning, they emerged on the river. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk stopped opposite to the gate of the city Raker (Raikhad) while Muḥammed Khān was on a side from him. Similarly was the ruler of Idar. The city-army was equipped with arms and arrayed in rows at the gate of the Dār-us-Salatanat while the amirs were sitting at Chokhandi near the lord of order (commander) of Gujarāt Khān-i-A'zam 'Aziz Muhammed Kokaltāsh. Sultān-ul-Hind made over Gujarāt for his son Shaikhu Jiv titled Sultān Salim. The Khān-i-A'zam was appointed as his deputy in the kingdom. The gates were closed and guards were appointed at

* Original Text, p. 603.

them except Shāhpur, Khānpur and Raker (Raikhad). One thousand hc come out for a skirmish from the gate of Shāhpur, five hundred horses f gate of Khānpur and similar number from Raker (Raikhad). The rule had advanced with a cavalry for arrival at the river. They encount Raikhad party. Two were killed from among them. They captured the and returned. A party then came forward but returned with a retreat behind a third one. The army at the gate was glad with news of victor Ruler of Idar pondered over the matter. Only this one day was left promised days. They reflected over it and sent word to Khān-i-A'zam a ing for presence and requesting for terms of treaty being disengaged fr He wrote for safety to him, to his kingdom, and to his followers. In th ing, they moved away. Muḥammed Husain Mirzā stayed on for encou Shāhpur. When the city army came out of it, it crossed the river, fou routed them. Similarly, Wali Khān fought outside the Khānpur gate and them. They pressed him in the wake till he was afraid of the guard gate from entry in wake. They closed the gate so that their chiefs safe against gun-shots and concealed themselves. Amongst them was Sultān, one of the descendants of the gnostic of God, Khwāja Ahrār. down from his horse. Fāzil Muḥammed Khān was the adopted son of Kalān. He sent help to Aḥmedābād. He was killed in the battle field Shāhpur gate. The door was also closed in face of the chiefs of th army. Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk did not move out from his house. His Wazir, med Āsif Khān son of 'Abdul 'Aziz Āsif Khān was hit on head by a ball. He died. "Verily to God we belong and to Him we return." He w perfect in goodness among the sons of Āsif Khān with rigour in religion, and honour. He was unique in behaviour with his forefathers. May G mercy to him. With the approach of evening, the whole army cro river and encamped at Majhuri which was adjacent to the plain. morning, the Ruler of Idar apologised Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk with loyalty period and sought permission for return. His reply to him was as difficulty he had of his company except that he wanted the king members of his family. He had advanced claims in pretence for Mu Husain Mirzā. "Sultān-ul-Hind is better than he. Do you not feel what will be acquired tomorrow?" He then rode with him to some following him for show. In reality, defence with him was of no avail. A'zam fortified himself, dug ditches and posted an amir for defence gate. His uncle Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān was at the Jamālpur gate an army which had camped outside. It was the army of Farahshā Fateh Jang Khān Rumi which had spent the night at city-fort overloo

* Original Text, p. 604.

river. He died during the regime of Changiz Khān in the year .... at Chāmpāner. There was a woman in the house for him and for Yāqut Khān Salmāni Bahr Khān also. He was in a turret overlooking the river. His son Khairuddin was with him viewing the passing of Muḥammed Husain Mirzā after his disengagement of war with afore-said Fāzil Muḥammed Khān on the river at Majhuri. It so happened that his brother passed with Wali Khān beneath the turret. He talked with him. The naubat (drum-beating guard) of the turret adjacent to this house saw his stoppage beneath the turret talking with his brother. The chief naubat got down, went to his officer and reported to him what he saw. The report came to Khān-i-A'zam. He came with members of the family to the Dār-us-saltanat and charged them with offence of a talk between brothers in connection with time for opening of gate at this turret at night for entry into the city. He was strongly severe in talk with the owner of the house. There emerged from him swords and daggers glittered with gold and silver and an amount of money which were to be deposited with Muhāfiz Khān and Bilāl Ramzān. It was the first money* to be produced in the fort. Khān-i-A'zam ordered the family of Jahāngir Khān to come to the Dār-us-Salatanat with what they had in their house for falling Jahāngir Khān in the hand of Muḥammed Husain Mirzā as stated above. His grand-son, Rumi Khān had to come with them. They made no differentiation in wars. Similar was the case with Wali Khān and Nazar Bahādur who entered and came out together. He was the third who was most severe with the Mughals. Wali Khān was so out of revenge for his father. When Shāh 'Abdul Muttalib son of Shāh Badāgh Khān invaded the vicinity of Āsir Burhānpur, 'Ādil Shāh came and equipped Kāmil-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-Umarā (commander-in-chief) of his army Wali Khān mentioned above with what was present with him, particularly, men who never left him both at home and abroad. He asked him about this preparation with Kāmil-ul-Mulk. He said that he wanted to take revenge on the Mughals for his father. He praised him for his courage. He granted him leave for it and went out with him. The deposits which belonged to the mother of Changiz Khān and a part of it to Sher Khān, son of I'timād Khān since long were in the house of Shaikh-ul-Islām, blessing of Muslims, Mawlānā, authority of the age, perfect in glory, Mia Wajih-ud-din al- 'Alwi, may his grave be sanctified. He was a chief of the people of Gujarāt for observance of good manners. During disturbances, they were not just with women in their houses. They deposited in the ground what was dear to them and the owner of the house did not know about it. Rich men among them who were acquainted with the house and the owner, returned to their houses and took away from it what they needed. It so happened that a woman-

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* Original Text, p. 605.

servant of this house who was acquainted with an unknown Mughal in the street who had nothing with him, informed him about what was in the house. He informed the Governor of the city about it to give him something for it. He sent his Wazir Mir 'Alāuddin to the place. He took out from the house many precious pearls, jewel-studded ear-rings and gold coins which were not current. In the words of God, the Great " This is given by us, then oblige (by giving in charity) or hold fast to them, without any account from you." On his return, 'Alāuddin, out of bad manners, sent it ahead walking before his horse, with what was entrusted to him in haste. When he presented himself in the majlis of his master, he kept himself far from it in respect of which it was his duty to guard. Syed Hāmid, Mirzā Muqim, Syed Jiv 'Abdur Rahmān and Shāh Abu * Turāb waited for him. The Mughal amirs continued to wait. Syed Hāmid lost his temper for the condition he saw himself in. His face changed with indignation, for God the Holy and His Messenger, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him, till the anger was displayed. He sat for help to his side. The master of the majlis did not lose his temper and asked him as to why he did not inform him about it. The proclaimer made the warner hear. His reply was, " I had no knowledge of it. On his supposition, it was not religiously allowable to lose that deposit with its information. He then allowed him to go back. Syed Hāmid waited with him. He prevented him from riding a special bhail. All of them walked to his masjid, sat with him for an hour for pacification of his mind. They then took leave and returned. The afore-said Mawlānā lost his control over restlessness. He gave up giving lessons for some days. A short time had not passed when 'Alāuddin was involved in displeasure of his master. He suffered for his bad manners with the afore-said. He was suspended with a rope in a reverse position and beaten till death. He lost what he owned in inheritance. His father appeared in the Diwān-us-Saltanat and claimed retaliation (blood-money) for his son. He wrote a petition for hearing his claim and a reply for it. He came to Ahmedābād, convened a majlis for that and sought retaliation from one who murdered him. The other affair which first came forward was the conquest of Junāgadh by the great amir Wazir Khān. The other matter was efficient management at Aḥmedābād. It was the chief seat of Saltanat. It was placed in charge of Mawlānā Shāh Abu Turāb. Khān-i-A'zam marched to Agra. He met the Sultān. He was reproached for certain things. He retired to a garden and did not accept the amirship. Some of his well-wishers persuaded him for some time not to behave in that fashion. Some of his friends reported to him, " your son fell down. " On hearing this, he wept bitterly. It was said to him out of consolation, " Do you not bear his fall? You weep so much for him. His fall was from a house which was near the ground. " His

* Original Text, p. 606.

reply was, "It was easy to fall down to the ground, but who will raise him? Verily, I feared his fall from the eye of the people of God or their heart." It then came to light what Imād-ul-Mulk, son of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk had deposited for the outfit of his wife, the daughter of Jahāngir Khān. It was thus. The slanderers circulated the rumour among the people and thus the slander spread*. The army alighted in the city. It did nothing. If Wali Khān had remained behind on his arrival with Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk, that was an advisable course for him; but he did not adopt this course on the pretence of Farhān and proceeded to Muḥammed Husain Mirzā. Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk felt for it. His resolve and concern got disclosed. He refused to try for victory for some one else's kingdom. The inviter Farhān was sent for this slight to Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk on the day of his meeting with Muhammed Husain to request him to write to Luli Khān about the kingdom which belonged to his father and Ulugh Khān. The Malek breathed (took rest) and said, "Every one intends to be like Ulugh Khān." The messenger went away and reported his utterance to him. Farhān said, "He breathes like that from that day, then how can it be said that he had become stable?" He then met Wali Khān and carried him in concert with Muhammed Husain Mirzā. It so happened. When the wise men of the camp learnt about their meeting, they remarked that they first did wherein there was no good. They met together and agreed upon to summon Sher Khān. Someone was sent to him. When he came to Dholka, Syed Maḥmud, son of Syed Mirān treated him as a guest. Most of the Afghāns went to him from the camp. It so happened that Sultān-ul-Hind arrived at Kadi on the day of his arrival to it. In the meantime, Sher Khān was supported at Dholka by the vanguard of the Saltanat. People suspected Sher Khān: At mid-day, the vanguard of the army showed themselves. The city-army prepared itself. Many soldiers came out of the Rāker (Raikhad) gate. Many of them came out of the Asloria (Astodia) gate. When the army had descended upon the city, most of the Afghans were at Dholka and most of the Mughals at Baroda for acquisition of territory. Most of the Habshis were in Mundah with Farhān. He was hit with an arrow on the side of his knee on the day he killed Fāzil Muḥammed Khān. Those who were present, were drunk and the rest in a state of bewilderment. Under these circumstances, every amir stood under his flag. There was an encounter between Muḥammed Husain and the Sultān. He receded but did not cease fighting. Such was the case with Wali Khān, Sherwān Khān, Rumi Khān, Ghālib Khān and Adham Khān and Nazar Bahādur etc. Muḥammed Husain fell to the ground. He was made a captive. His companions dispersed. He was brought to the Sultān. Some respectable men were killed in the engagement. A party of men was lost. They were Saif Khān Kukah,‡ Muḥammed Wafā Sharbatdār, Sultān 'Ali Kukah felt sorry for him and came

* Original Text, p. 607. ‡ Original Text, p. 608.

to his grave for a visit. He said, "I did not say to your mother w asked me about you." He ordered his dead body to be carried on an el The Afghan regiment and Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk had supported it. He ord its preservation. The Sultān proceeded for opposition of the army. I up in severity. The unbeliever who had become a Muslim at the h Muḥammed Husain got terrified in that crowd of death or because ev crowded upon him. In short he was killed.

(In the history of Akbar's dynasty, in a preface of the year, it is that he fell in the hand of Kadā 'Ali Turk who killed him but his fall an vity were seen by Nazar Bahādur in a dream. He would not give him u killed the unbeliever. Khwāja Sultān saw that in a dream. He present self as a visitor to Mawlānā, blessing of Islām, my Shaikh 'Afifuddin 'A bin Sa'ad. He said, "If one of the Mughal amirs had killed him, he have been contented with retaliation for somewhat one thousand after co tion with one who knew him).

It was a hard-fought battle by the army in which Ikhtiār-ul-Mu killed. Muḥammed Khān went towards him. It was a general massacr field including market-places. At the approach of night, the Sultān ente city and questioned about Muhammed Husain. It was said to him as t made him to bring the head of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. His son 'Imād-ul-Mulk safely. Those who were killed in the battle-field or on their going out were Rumi Khān, Ghālib Khān, Adham Khān, Mirjān Istamboli Ulugh Raihān Badruddin, 'Anbar, superintendent of stables Jahāngir Khāni, 'Ali Shāwas, 'Abdullāh Afsah Khān. These were those persons who enjo rank of an Amir in the army. Soldiers of the army died in a large r Shāh Mirzā had fled away before the battle had commenced. It was him in every war. He, Wali Khān, Sherwān Khān and 'Aqil Mirzā met t and they all proceeded to Nazarbār. After their encampment on the fr blood began to flow out of the belly of Sherwān Khān. He repented of sins that he had committed before. He was despaired of life. On the thi he died of it in the year. He was buried by the side of Qutb-ul-Awliyā, e with blessings, Ghiyas-ud-dunyā wad-din Mir 'Alāuddin, the fortunate Shaikh Sādāt, may God sanctify his grave and benefit me through him. visited him many a time. I had mourned his death. He was one of m honourable friends, nay, one whom I loved the most. May God forgive h deviate from him!

Remaining account of the life of the afore-said Sherwān Khān the deceased

I say: He was in the service of Bijlikhān. He was an Amir of th He moved in all his house. He received two hundred thousand Ma

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* Original Text, p. ٤09.

annually for his personal expenses. He did not demand horses with that amount. He was in a position to purchase them. He was lavish in expenditure during the regime of Changiz Khān. He came to Baroda with Bijli Khān. He was his benefactor. He obtained from him according to his luck. He did not part from him during the course of his life except on rare occasions. It was said about him that he was addicted to wine. He used to remain in a drunken state to such an extent that he did not see the crescent once in a month in a sober state. He kept a gold chain suspended with a ring in the ceiling of the lavatory, when he sat for evacuation, he held it in his hand at the time of standing to come out of it to balance his posture in intoxication. He made holes in the walls of lavatory for putting perfume-holders on four sides to be free from the harmful effect of stink and stench. Verily, I had done that for him. He displayed his thanks for the bounties he had from God. He provided poor men of his community with money. Those who had old horses, were given young horses, bells, daggers, swords, gilded with gold and thin gaudy dresses. He supplied the needy with their needs. *He founded a society of friends for his community-men.* This society made him eternally glorious and famous. He was particularly favourable to my lord, 'Abdullā Sa'eed al-Hadhrami, al-Yamini, of perfect glory, unique of the age. He was a conversationalist and charmed hearers by his polished conversation. He was expert in the play of a bow-like musical instrument. It moved minds and souls with transport of joy and hilarity. He revived what was noblest in imparting education. He served as polish to cleanse minds and hearts of impurity. He occupied a high status in state and religion. He* was an intimate associate of persons of elevated rank. He stirred up righteous feelings in the heart. He was pure from the point of religion. He received from him more than he desired. He always enjoyed his company inspite of the fact that he was an Arab. He was more proficient and skilful than a Persian in the play of the instrument of joy. Something unique happened in the early part of his life for which, he mourned, later in the year. He belonged to Irāq-i-'Ajam which suffered a loss on account of his absence. He was in the majlis of the afore-said Khān. Ustād 'Ali, who was perfect in the art of music, learnt it from him. He was at Mahmudābād. I met both of them in the general assembly consisting of good and bad persons. I state with certainty that those times were not in tune with "the satisfied soul." The age was an age of embezzlement. He was second to none in the art of music in the whole of Hind. Mir 'Abdul Latif was a perfect wit. His presence was a source of coolness of the eye to the Khān. He was appreciated and applauded. He ultimately became famous. He was then in the majlis of Sultān-ul-Hind. He was much commended there. May God make the Sultān his friend and cause benefit to his ears through him!

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* Original Text, p. 610.

Life-sketch of Ghālib Khān :—

Sandal Ghālib Khān, may God make him work with His kindness is found worthy by me with what has been said, " Alas ! such a time does not come ! He was a perfect, wise man. He was a horseman and an administrator. Jahāngir Khān bought him in Yemen. He was there with Amir Salmān. He grew up under his training. He displayed his worth. Salmān adopted him and treated him with exceptional kindness. He taught him reading and writing. He, then recited the Book of God, the Holy and studied books on theology, tradition and commentary. He used to understand them. He perceived what was lawful and unlawful. He glanced over literary books with discernment, and made notes of important and uncommon things. He associated with the great, lived with them and received training from them. He tasted sweets and bitters of life. He wielded sword before his afore-said master and particularly in days of Rumi Khān at Surat. He was in service of Jhujhār Khān also. He would not allow any one to advance. He used to say, " I was present in nearly forty and more than thirty wars. I do not miss r ow by a mere glance at the array to know who would be the victor and who the vanquished. He enjoyed the rank of an amir in the kingdom of Ulugh Khān. He received one hundred* thousand Maḥmudis only fo- the sake of his name. But prowess was denied to him though he was in the cavalry, cavalcade and equipment worthy of his status in the army. He was hospitable. A party of Arab Syeds and theologians of Yemen were always in his house. His majlis was never without friends, companions, particularly, on nights in Ramzān. Its account is previously given in the life-sketch of the Ruler Ulugh Khān. When Muḥammed Ḥusain Mirzā returned to Broach during the regime of Qutbuddin Muḥammed Khān, he was with Saif-ul-Mulk. He was then with Muḥammed Ḥusain Mirzā to the end of his life. I met him one day before the war and inquired from him about Muḥammed Ḥusain. He replied that he and his men had no goodness in them nor loyalty with them. He had luck without courage and therefore, his patience got exhausted. God has said, " The body troubles him with rights of service and the soul destroys his lofty-mindedness. " Life passed that way in wonder. Comfort killed mercy Sincerity of brothers and veracity of affection existed between us, more than which could not be imagined. Ten persons from Jahāngir Khān's family were killed along with Rumi Khān, son of Rumi Khān. None of them was disloyal to Rumi Khān. Inspite of this, Jahāngir Khān wept for Ghālib Khān and he felt aggrieved only for him. May God forgive him and show mercy to him ! Under the regime of Ulugh Khān, I excluded the hand (of help) of every one to me for obligation or sought the favour of any one for a need. But Ghālib Khān met me in winter of every year in my

* Original Text, p. 611.

house and asked me as to what clothes I had against cold. It was not necessary for me from him at all. Acceptance did not come in the way of our friendship. He used to send one thousand Maḥmudis for purchase of clothes with instruction to the messenger, in case of non-acceptance to place the amount at the door and return. It then became incumbent upon me to accept it. May God be surety for him and forgive his sins. He was well-known for his charity and always distributed it. May God give him reward for that!

Life-sketch of Badri Raihān:—

Abul Khair Raihān Badruddin Jahāngir Khāni practised many charitable deeds. There were few persons like him. He was a cultured and civilized man. He got reared in service of his master. He was trained in affairs of the world and religion. He was proficient in writing, accounts and noted for wisdom and sagacity. He was first entrusted with looking after financial matters by his * master and then he was appointed as Wazir. He loved the pious. He made it his special duty to remain in attendance upon the saint of holiness, the sun of suns, Shaikh bin 'Abdullāh al-'Idrus, may God sanctify his grave and benefit me through him. He enjoyed the 'Idrusi favour. He had good faith in him and he became famous for it. He composed poems in his eulogy and distributed in charity what he had, in his attendance. He was an example. He was a slave but the master did not rule him, suited to his condition. He loved Hadrami Syeds etc. and bestowed liberal benedictions on them. Similarly, he behaved well with the 'Arabs. When the event of 'Imād-ul-Mulk took place at Surat, he was the Wazir of Khudāwand Khān. He then became the Wazir of Ulugh Khān. Blessing of life, pole of evidence, master of flashes of glory and beauty with emotions of sanctity, the greatest manifestation, Mawlānā Shihābuddin Aḥmed bin Shaikh-ul-'Idrus, may God sanctify his grave and benefit me through him, was at Ahmedābād. He made efforts in his attendance and contented himself with his respect, perfected himself in tasawwuf, became his partyman, corrected himself from his attraction and renounced deeds of the world. He enjoyed high praise. It was sufficient for him and worthy of him. Every one would wish for the same good fortune. He expressed his emotions thus by saying, " My Shaikh, the afore-said Shihābuddin, Raihān Badruddin, I and he, are in paradise rejoicing." Relations and correspondence existed between him and nobles of his community as well as with residents of the ports. He did not wish for my separation during day and night. I saw his grace. Nothing happened to him in the kingdom. May God be bounteous with him for good rewards and goodness in the next world.

Early part of the Life of Majlis-us-Sāmi Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk:

Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk was titled Majlis-us-Sāmi during the Saltanat of Aḥmed

* Original Text, p. 612.

Shāh. In the early part of his life, he held the post of the superinte Crockery (Tashtdār) under Sultān Maḥmud. The name with which addressed was Dawlatyār. He then became a Salāhdār (man in c armour). He then surpassed the class of salāhdārs and became (watchman). He made others present at the appointed time. He in charge of patrolling of the Dār-us-Salatanat and guarding it. Eve he discharged his duty well.

In the year 957 (1550), he was awarded the title of Ikhtiār- The Sultān equipped him with an army to march against Sirohi. H hither and thither on those sides and returned with tribute. The Sultā him to be an efficient man. He specially favoured him with the govern Kartankah and was put in charge of ten thousand horses. He was des as an amir of absolute command to Naharwāla Pattan in its precincts. trolled the territory as far as Nāgor, Sirohi and Idar. After the marty. the Sultān, the wazirs were engaged in mutual feuds. He who paic went out of submission. The soldiers dispersed to eke out their means hood from them to those who had become dominant among them. Mu Faulādi, therefore, descended upon Pattan. It was in charge of hi. 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the preceding regime. One night, Ikhtiār-ul-Muik wer Ahmedābād. The Sultān was in the territory of Kamid. It so happer Fateh Khān Baluch arrived from Rādhanpur and Hasan Khān Decc Modāsa. It was stated before. He then went out from the battlefield to He then presented himself in the Dār-us-Saltanat and was titled al-Majlis- In accordance with custom of people of the kingdom, the absolute De the Ruler) was titled as Masnad-us-'Sāmi, the Wazir as Majlis-ul-'Āli. was called for sitting in the presence of the Sultān was titled with M added to it an appropriate word. It so happened that 'Imād-ul-Mulk these days, was despaired of 'Itimād Khān for his safety. The po territory near Modāsa was his. He built a fort there and named it Ma'n It was a residence of rebels. He harassed them by his strength, rapr them and prospered it greatly. It remained in his hand till the end of Three thousand horsemen assembled under his standard. He killed 'Āl Lodi as previously stated. He was a sexualist. Everyday, he used on of gold leaves for potency. He had many mistresses. Through them one daughter and twenty sons. He made a condition with the wet-nu if a daughter was born, she should press her throat while taking her out would give three misqāls of gold to her. Use of gold harmed him His body got broken. He was forbidden to wear an armour and to sit horse-back. He had to be lifted up to seat or to make his feet fir

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* Original Text, p. 613.

† Original Text, p.

stirrup. On the day of his martyrdom, he wore a garment of delicate cotton due to injury to him. He had a shield in hand prepared out of common cane in place of silk. His dead body was perambulated and carried by labourers. It was advisable to carry it in all pomp and grandeur as Amir of the army. He was greedy to amass wealth and he extracted it from members of his family. Many of them censured him for it. He was not secure from I'timād Khān in the early part of his life. I had made an error in stating as to what he said in his respect in the account of his second retreat from Faulādi. (In the history of the year of Akbar, it was Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk. Muḥammed Husain had stationed with firmness; the city army was at Asloria, on the shore of the river against the Deputy of the city, who was besieged in the city. He prevented 'Aziz Kukah, the Naib of Saltanat to go out to take part in the war with the Sultān. He descended the fort on the hand of Sohrāb. It was reported by Khilāl son of Tarāh Yāfai'. He was his subordinate. In his coming and going, he fell down by an arrow aimed from the royal army. The archer was not seen. After entry into the city, he came with his head. Perhaps............ He recognised who killed him. He cut his head and brought it to him).

After 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he relied upon Changiz Khān and after him he depended upon Ulugh Khān, when he learnt about their might, fury, determination and power for what they wished and when they wished. When Ulugh Khān was at Maḥmudābād, he became related to Malek-ush-Sharq by marriage. His son Zain Khān married the daughter of Nāsir-ul-Mulk, son of Ajdar Khān, son of Malek-ush-Sharq to help I'timād Khān and thus to be satisfied with his evil with him. When Sultān-ul-Hind arrived, he and Malek-ush-Sharq went with I'timād Khān to him. He took his elephants from him, then cannons and then arms. When he got an opportunity he proceeded to his territory as stated above. A person like him would not die. He had earned his fame by way of claim and that too in an encounter with Sultān-ul-Hind. May God forgive him and show him mercy! As mentioned, Sultān-ul-Hind came out of his capital, Agra on a she-camel (bukhti camel). The peculiarity of this class of camel is patience upon travelling a distance, rapidity in walk and his long neck helps him therein as well as its short legs. It has many hairs on face and head. Hairs near the neck reach the knees. Crookedness therein is helpful in moving the neck. Similarly, the amirs and the favourites rode with him upon Bukhti camels. When an important event took place, he travelled in rapidity in this fashion. He measured the distance and the army marched on as desired. He fixed manzils for them and he got them ready to present themselves in a manzil where they had to assemble with him or in time to see them in assemblage or * commencement of war and they did not lag behind from what they had promised.

* Original Text, p. 615.

If he had sent a cavalry and an elephant corps, he and those who were with him in their company continued to send them forward. He came. He did not take into account the number of the enemy. The moment they were apprised of his canopy on the side of the battle-field, the enemy got perturbed and he became completely unsteady. It is said that he stood in the battle-field on the ninth day of his issuing forth (from Agra). It happened as God, the Holy wished

> Yesterday, their frontiers were idle without them
> As if they were not created in the world.
> Oh people of pleasures! It is a house which has no permanence
> It is folly to be puffed up with a vanishing shadow.

In the year 982 (1574), those who had escaped death in the battle-field assembled with 'Imād-ul-Mulk, son of Ikhtiār-ul-Mulk and he increased their salary. He honoured the great and showed mercy to the small ones as well as to those who stood with firmness in face of the Mughals and particularly, in peril for recovery of the kingdom and earned exceptional fame against the swords of those who marched on them first to lose members of their family and then those who joined them. Its account is that Bāz Bahādur son of Sharif Khān Atka and Mirzā Muqim stopped in the centre in the last battles and in skirmishes to this day. The slave of his father, Jahān Khān Habashi was in command of the right wing while Hasan Jiv'Sanaullāh Lāri was posted on the left wing. He had become famous with his father. He was his lord and sympathiser till he attained fame. Rāi Kanbhir Deccani was in charge of the vanguard. When both the armies faced each other, the vanguard made an assault. Amir of the left wing turned his reins from the battle-field and close to him was the similar action of the amir of the right wing. With their flight, the vanguard got perturbed. With it, Habash-ul-Mulk Sultāni, Bilāl Khān-i-Khānān, Sa'ad Sultāni alias Bahr Khān, Nāsir Sultāni and the Habashi party were upset in the centre. They attacked for victory, raised dust and it was a severe fight which led to their martyrdom except Nāsir. This reminds of the scattering of the dust in respect of exploits narrated in connection with 'Antar and Asfandiyār. Rāi Kanbhir was advanced in age. He did what a youth would not do. He was the first to twist the reins in the battle-field. He was then followed by 'Imād-ul-Mulk. May God show mercy to his youth! After his father, he distributed his treasures in charity. He gave his friends equal to their weight not in number. Inspite of this, those whom he trusted proved * perfidious to him. His reward is with God. His youth was verified with disappointment. To God we belong and to Him we return. After him, the flag was planted by another man in the kingdom. His father had control over it. It belonged to 'Imād. His father was censured for amassment of gold; he was

* Original Text, p. 616.

praised later on with spending it on the recovery of the kingdom. It was 'Imād-ul-Mulk who praised him most. He had reached the age of twenty. He left nothing after him. May the mercy of God be on him.

Fragrance of safety with purity from breezes of sincere intention:

In this year (982 = 1574), on the 17th Ziq'ad, I was pervaded with a favour and guaranteed guidance. I entered the safe city of Mecca, in an hour which I do not exclude it from hours of graciousness and blessing. I performed perambulations of the House (of God), genuflaxions at Maqām (of Prophet Abrāham, may salutation of God be on him) and Safā and did Sa'y (running seven times between the hills of Safā and Marwāh). It was a sa'y for efforts for favour and thanks. It was an act of laudable virtue. Visit to a Holy Place was good. Time spent was pleasant. It is a favour and obligation of God on those who perform perambulation, stop there and pay a visit. Now I hope for the Sāqi of Kausar, intercessor of the Day of Assemblage, honour of acceptance and beauty of completion, may benedictions of God, be on him, His salutation who made me beneficient with the cry of " I stand, I am ready for service, Oh Lord ! " at Mash'ar-ul-Harām (a place of sacrifice of the hājjis at Mecca.

Poem by Ḥasan for Ibn-i-Abi Ḥasan, my Shaikh my blessing Kuṭb-uz-Zaman Mawlānā Shaikh Muḥammed Bakri:

What the Most Compassionate sent or sends
From mercy ascends or descends
In realm of Allāh or his kingdom
Everything which belongs to or contains
Except for pleasure of the chosen, His servant
His Prophet, the chosen among the Messengers,
By means of him, through His attachment
Every wise man knows it.
Take refuge with him for everything that you hope
He is the intercessor always accepting.
Apologize him for everything that you fear
For he is the refuge and the fortress.
Put loads of hope before him
For verily, he is the resort and the asylum.
He gave moisture to earth which grew
Plants and made weak strong.
Oh most generous of the people! before His Lord *
Oh good to those who beg.
Hardship had touched me and how many times

* Original Text, p. 617.

Hardship relieved, some distracting.
Did you not see my helplessness and what
Its severity became strong and I did not endure
Which placed you in fire (ruin)
You fell from rank high.
He made haste in coming to him who complained
And acquainted himself with the question
My plans went wrong and my patience exhausted
I did not know what to do.
You are the door of God. Do I see anything else?
None enters except you.
God gave him benediction for what you forgave
Path radiated on which we walked.
He was safe with protective perfume he diffused.
Idol and crystal gazer got comforted by it.
And children and companions what sang
Rhymes which moistened tree.
A pilgrim to the Prohhet, may peace and benediction of God be always on him.
I came to you as a pilgrim with love—Beautified blackness of my eye
I was not a person that I should turn—From grave of the Messenger.

Some have composed verses on Holy Madina:

Oh blessed land! You give me good news of your Tubā
Purest body sleeps therein
I see you like a thing bought with pride
Cheap in the garden of wealth.

It is narrated by Abi Faḍl Nahwi who resolved upon pilgrimage and complained of its residents on loss of his belongings. He wrote these two lines in a letter.

Verily I turned my face towards him—He is who left behind among people
He attached me with them—His favour is more extensive than mine.

Know that I have given a short account and I had done bad in explanation and statement, because I got entangled in a great event; I fell ill in the previous month. When I recovered, I was deprived of the garment of decency, and loyalty (he was out of service), nay, and my reference to sweet bounties. I came out after the fashion of a qalandar and went to those whom I knew to be among the creatures of God. I moved the world in its rotation but I did*

* Original Text, p. 618.

not come out of its limit. On the festival of Sacrifice (Id-un-Nahr) Divine Grace urged me to go to the masjid. It so happened for me that I met my Shaikh, my blessing, Imām (leader) of the Unitarians, Shaikh-ul-Islām, Mawlānā 'Afif-ud-din, ash-Shaikh 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ad, Confidence of religion 'Allāma Mawlānā ash-Shaikh, may God be merciful to him and the charmer of the rank of perfection Mawlānā Shaikh Hamid, may mercy of God cover them all, on the way. They were proceeding to the masjid of 'Id ('Idgāh). They moved with me to it. After prayer, they saw the chief Justice (Sadr) of Saltanat, compendium of laudable perfections, the chief Imām, Shaikh-ul-Islam, Mawlānā Shaikh 'Abdun Nabi al-Hanafi an-Nu'māni, may his grave be sanctified. I was left behind on the bhail waiting for them. Sultān-ul-Hind continued the religious endowment of Sultān Mahmud for the two Holy Places out of the income of villages and doubled it. The journey of the Sultān to the capital happened to take place between two prayers. The traveller moved and the voices became calm. I sent that person who came to me with a report of my benefactor, the ruler (Sāheb) Ulugh Khān to inform him about giving the charge of his tents. I remained behind with inconvenience waiting for the Shaikhs. In the meanwhile, I thought of returning to the house to bid adieu to my parents. Mawlānā Shaikh Hamid emerged from the majlis of the Shaikh for summoning me to him. He tried for me in lieu of my former services to him and efficient management of deposits. He had appointed me an Amin for the management of Waqf on behalf of the Sadr with a duty to carry Waqf money to its destination. I had no knowledge of it. I entered with him. He said to me that he had appointed a party for the management of Waqf and that I was one of them and further that my duty was to carry the money to its destination, and distribute it among deserving persons and my monthly salary was two hundred Mahmudis. I kept silent for a long time. I extemporised:

> If I had appealed to another person, oh appealer, that would have satisfied you,
> For greed, then you would have prepared yourself for another.

I said that what God had ordained was good. Praise is for Him in stay and travel. I paused for the arrival of my master and benefactor. It was doubtful future. I loved the call in those respectable situations and took stock with this intention that there was happiness in this world and the next in this public service. I was going to the masjid as one who moved coming to me with fire. He was in the Holy valley. It was a journey from Ahmedābād on 17th Ziq'ad, 981 (1573).*

In 983 (1575), my blessing, my benefactor, cause of my guidance, my bounty, my lord, my father Sirājuddin 'Umar bin Kamāluddin Muham-

* Original Text, p. 619.

med bin Fariduddin Muḥammed bin 'Umar bin Ishāq bin Muḥammed bin Hasan bin Qāsim an-Naharwāli, may mercy of God be on all of them, died at the close of five hours of 11th Jamādi I in the city of Aḥmedābād. He was entombed on the morning of Friday, in the neighbourhood of the saints of God, Shāh Madār, Shaikh Nāsir, Shaikh Muḥammed Ikhtiār, Shāh 'Abdul Ghani and Shaikh Kabir, may God sanctify their graves and pervade them with blessings. I had formerly visited the tomb of his daughter Fātima, the daughter of 'Umar died in a state of pregnancy. I did not forget the two in Zilhajj 976 (1568) and found the chronogram of her death "Fatima died." She was born in Mecca in 945 or 946 (1538-39). I was present at her burial, may God show mercy to her. Then my son Jamāluddin Muhammed joined my father (died). He was born on 27th Ramzān, 984 (1576) and died on the same date of 985 (1577). I found the date of his death from "Light of my eye, I lost him." I composed the following lines for him :

Light of my eyes, I lost him
With weeping, less mourned.
If with my soul and my comfort,
He was to be ransomed, I would have given my life for him.
But the order of God is irrevocable
The world gave him no water, I would have given him some.
My grief is unending
My sorrow is ceaseless
My forgetfulness is not wound up
During length of my life, I will not forget him.

God made him to harrow the ground to store him. No other child was born to me. I lost him. I hope him to have double rewards. After that I was left alone for a long time, solitary and cut off from hope. I abandoned everything and led a life of negligence. I lost him who was a source of contentment for salvation in life and death. May best benedictions and most perfect salutations be on him ! Paradise is beneath the feet of mothers. She was my chief lady, my mother, Maryam. She died on 23rd Muharram 1005 (1596) of paralysis. I had no doubt that she was in affliction for expiation of sins. May God befriend her to dispel her fear, illumine her grave! After her death, I became a lonely chief and found life useless. I will now spend my breaths or live in a grave in recitation of the Qurān or saying prayers for her and for them. God accepts the prayers of one who deviates from them and their deeds and becomes worthy with those members of the family he leaves behind. He becomes similar with the poet who said

He who desires life, then he should wear an armour
Of patience for loss of his dear ones.

And he who lives, should be worthy in self
Not to wish it for his enemies.

May God meet them with his kindness and obligation in the residence of His mercy with our Prophet who will intercede tomorrow for all His creatures with his followers. Oh God! Love the deceased of Aziz Muḥammed known as Dabir in the East. He says about the chronogram :

When service of the patroness was the associate of soul
The heart shone in fire due to separation of a kind lady.
As her soul was a bird of paradise, from these troubles
Flew away and hastened at last to her native place.
I sought the date of her death from wisdom
It said, oh 'Aziz, consider that "she obtained perfect salvation."

The birth of my father took place in the early part of the 10th century at Naharwala Pattan. His ancestors emigrated from Persia due to Tātār invasion to the frontiers of Multān of Sind, by sea and land during the regime of Sultān-ul-Hind, Shams-ud-Din Iltamash in 617 (1220) as stated by Ibn-ul-Athir.*

(In 842 (1439), in Rabi 'II, Abu 'Abdullāh Muḥammed bin 'Abdullāh bin Muḥammed bin Aḥmad bin Mujāhid bin Yusuf bin Muḥammed bin Aḥmad bin 'Ali al-Kaisi al-Ḥamwi originally belonged to Damascus, ash-Shāfai 'Shamsuddin died. He was known as Ibn-i-Nāṣiruddin at Damascus. He was poisoned. He came out with a party of men for division of a village in the district of Damascus. Its residents divided it. He was buried near his father. He was born in Damascus in the first days of Muḥarram, 777 (1374-75). He received his education from the shaikhs of the city as well as those who came to it. He wrote the slates. He then went to Ba'labak and Halb (Aleppo) etc. He performed hajj and heard traditions of the Prophet at Makka and Madina, may God make them holy. He did not travel to the region of Egypt. He educated himself and mastered this science. He became famous for it in the city, imparted lectures and gave religious decrees. He propagated the science of tradition and benefited the people. His equals acquired it from him. He was in the maktab of his friend Ṣāmit. Tanukhi had permitted him to propagate it. He has written books on this subject such as "Bard-ul-Akbād" on loss of children. He said therein :

Oh weeper! He mourns his death in life
Is there any one from loss of children?
If you were with liver, exercise patience
For patience is better. In it is coolness of livers.

* Original Text, p. 621.

There are many rejections of what were sound as released by 'Ali ibn-i-Tayammiya Shaikh-ul-Islām for an unbeliever. Imāms borrowed from him; such as Ḥāfiz Shihābuddin ibn-i-Hajar al-'Askalāni. He was the best of them. He knew al-Balkini, Kāḍi 'Aini, Basāṭi and Muḥibb Naṣr-ul-lāh. He created and innovated traditions very frequently. Great Bukhāri resisted him. His book is in reality its rejection. When he resided at Damascus, he questioned about discourses of ibn-i-Tayammiya who was unique in it. He replied when he showed mistakes and detested it and fortified his order before him and explained its innovation, and then expiation. He then expounded it in a majlis. Those who left it were learned imāms of his age belonging to all schools of thought except the Ḥanbalites for his being called an unbeliever. Al-'Alā wrote a letter * to the Sultān but he did not achieve by the praise of God his object in toto. He conducted the case of Shihāb ibn-i-al-Muḥammarah, Kādi of Syria with his creation which he abhorred and brought his above-mentioned book. Al-Taki son of Qādi Shahaba complied with him while al-Balaṭanasi gave up acquisition of learning from him, nay, it is said that he continued his pupil till the end.

He is the author of "Jama'-ul-Āthār" on birthday of the Chosen (Prophet) may peace and benediction of God be on him and "Minhāj-ul-Uṣul" on Mi'rāj (ascension) of the Messenger, may peace and benediction of God be on him. He has also written 'Arjuzah' called "'Ukud-ur-Durar on the science of monuments etc.

I was benefited by his book in connection with loss of children with consolation and patience. I read "Jannat-ul-Jāze'" of 'Allāma Mārdini as stated by Ḥāfiz-al-'Asqalāni in his history "Anba-ul-Ghumar" and similarly by "Bar-ul-Akbād" of 'Allāma Ḥamwi as mentioned by al-Sakhāwi in his history "aḍ-Daw-ul-Lāme'." Every one of them is full of animosity and arrogance. The unfortunate event took place in the year 835 (1432). It was an extremely languid affair. Ḥāfiz 'Asqalāni talked with exposition of the author at Damascus. He did not pay attention to biassed persons. Hāfiz Sakhāwi said in account of his life in history and I have copied it here. In short, the author of biography was an Imām, Ḥāfiz of sound heart, good character, courteously responsive to people, humane nature, graceful information and conversation. You will not like to leave his assembly. He had immense politeness and great enduring power. He did not treat any one with detestation. He had improved his writing in the manner of Zahabi but he used to say that his hand-writing was better so much that he bought his books in his hand-writing and provoked desire in the purchaser with the thought that it was Zaḥabi's hand-writing. He said that our shaikh had stated about it in his Mu'ajjam. He said that when the region was without traditionists, he was the traditionist in that region and he permitted us frequently

* Original Text, p. 622.

for narration of tradition. Similarly, Hafiz Burhān Ḥalbi based it upon him saying that the Shaikh, the Imām, the muḥaddith al-Fāḍil al-Ḥāfiz took out forty different traditions and brought as doubtful ones of Zahabi. He collected them. An intelligent and humble scholar found them. He was a traditionist* of Damascus and he had committed them to memory. Similar was the case with Ibn-i-Khatib an-Nāsiria. He said, "I found him a good man. He was a traditionist of Damascus and its ḥāfiz, al-Taqi al-Maqrizi similarly said, "The ḥāfiz went to Syria in search of tradition without any contention. He left none like him in Syria. Such was the case with Muḥibb son of Naṣrullāh. He said that he recited it in his hand-writing. There was none in Syria for knowledge of tradition after him like him or approaching him. One who acquired from him was al-Taqi son of Firas. His pupil was Al'alā' al-Mardāwi. His account is given by al-Taqi son of Fahad in the foot-notes of "Ṭabaqāt-ul-Ḥuffāz." The later ones agreed upon his authority and integrity. Al-Bukāi' boldly deviated in accordance with his habit. He said about him that "he was our shaikh so far as committal to memory is concerned. He is, in the opinion of many persons, a mean fellow. I informed him that it was in regard to fraud, erasure and change in respect of money-making." End of the letter. God is the taker of account. I had quoted in "Mu'ajjam" some part of his poem. They are in regard to ten men of good fortune.

> Ten persons of good health in Paradises, verily
> The Prophet promised them conversation without disturbance.
> 'Atiq, 'Uthmān, 'Āmir, Ṭalḥa, 'Umar
> Al-Zubair, Sa'ad, Sa'eed, ibn-i 'Awf, 'Ali.

It was a single book of refutation on the doubtful ones of Zahabi. Its name was "A'lām". These doubtful traditions of Zahabi were the outcome of misconception. He composed a poem with the help of imagination on incidents of migration (of the Prophet).... the most difficult therein is the account of liberation of Ādam and Musā, may salutations of God be on them. He has six traditions on help, six from Tariq, six traditions from hāfizs, six from Masha'ikh imams, six between sources and six between narrators. It is from the history al-Daw-ul-Lāme' of Sakhāwi and in the Anbā-ul-Ghamar of 'Asqalāni in the account of Sarij Mardini died in the year 788 (1385), the author of Jannat-ul-Taze' on death of his son. He lifted up the plot by placing the hadis of wheat-meat preparation. He is the author of Tabaqāt of Shuyukh).

Mawlānā Qāsim and a party of his family members migrated to Gujarat at the time of Timur's invasion on Delhi during the regime of Maḥmud son of Firoz Khurāsāni. They came to Pattan its capital. Zafar Khān, the grandfather of its Sultāns was the ruler for whom I composed this history. May

* Original Text, p. 623.

God give them good rewards. The afore-said Mawlānā lived in its capital while* members of his family dwelt in villages. They bore arms. One of his sons Aḥmad bin Muḥammed bin Hasan bin Qāsim known in his time with the name of Makhdum Bada (great) was appointed in the state service for recitation of the Qurān. He thus opened the door of knowledge for him. He summoned him and he made efforts for acquisition of learning. The teacher was stingy to lend books. The aforesaid made a vow to him for God the Holy. When the learned men came to him, he lent books to them as a loan. When God made him successful in it and he became qualified for benefit, he wrote his books by looking into those of students in the school. He tried hard to write them. His brother Ishāq tried for acquisition of books to write them. Hence half of the books were written in the hand-writing of Ahmad and half in the hand of Ishāq. When they were free from writing and collected pages in a volume, they separated its parts by cutting the ends for stitching the book. It was binding together of all the parts of the book. They placed them for view of the students like a stand. The character of fore-father continued among their sons. They sought learning, under-stood it and wrote most of the current books. The number of books was moie than five hundred to the age of the martyred Maḥmud. They were written with strict exactness and accuracy with margins. Letters were very similar.' During the regime of Maḥmud, my father married the daughter of my uncle with 'Abdul Qadir al-Banbanā al-'Abbāsi at Mecca. He was officer of the police and the city. Three sons were born to them—'Abdul Khāliq, Rāji Muḥammed and 'Abdul Malek. He died, may God show mercy to him! His sons became miserable due to his death. They sold out books and other things my uncle had in his possession and that which his grand-father Ishāq and his sons had left. My uncle apparently led a life of retirement from the world. My blessing, Mawlānā Shaikh Farid was never away from the masjid till the last night prayer. He was unmarried. It was difficult for him to maintain my aunt and to look after her sons. For prevention of wasting the lives of children, they all came with the Holy Qurān with margin written in the hand of my grand-father. I obtained it when I entered Hind with my father in the year 962 (1554). I went to my uncle and grand-mother. She had reached more than one hundred years in age. The Qurān is now with me as well as "Kitāb-ul-wāfi" a book on grammar with marginal notes in it. The sun of suns Mawlānā Jāmāluddin Muhammed ibn-i 'Abdullāh bin Shaikh bin 'Abdullāh bin Shaikh bin 'Abdullāh al-Qutb-ul-'Idrus, may God benefit us through them and may their blessings be on those at whom they cast a glance. The book "Màniyat-ul-Musalli" written in the hand-writing† of the aunt of my father with different margins was borrowed from me by

* Original Text, p. 624.

† Original Text, p. 625.

Shaikh 'Abdul Fattāh son of Maulānā Shaikh which he did not return. The death of my above-said uncle took place in the year 974 (1566). My father inherited from his father and uncle and the house, the whole house of learning and deeds so much so that even women read and wrote as has been said and talked with the neighbour and the traveller. Issue of religious decrees, imparting of education and magistracy in the ancient capital never quitted this house to the end of the Muzaffari dynasty. Makhdum Aḥmad alias Makhdum Badā was comtemporaneous with the friend of the Beloved Shaikh of knowledge-utterance, Qutb of ecstasy Mawlānā Shāh Yāqub, may his grave be sanctified and I be benefited through him. His creed in music was the creed of theologians. He stopped it. Mawlānā Shāh spent his life-time in listening to music in the footsteps of sufis. He was always in it. He had attained to great fame among practical 'Ulama. The city-Qādi, the censor and their party were present at the time of play of music to forbid it. When they were ordered to raise their musical instruments, they were permitted to enter the majlis. They were immersed in music and intoxicated with it. When they approached the majlis before its commencement with what they came secretly, they were drowned in it and overcome by unconsciousness. They then tuned the cords, played upon the instruments; they became solicitous for that from which they wanted to run away and were so transported with joy that they did not move except for doing an excellent thing. The first, who moved with ecstasy and danced, was the censor, who felt aversion for it. He was followed by the Qādi etc. Time passed with them and it was the pleasantest of life. Mawlānā Shāh, may God give benefit through him went one day to the house of the afore-said Makhdum and honoured his place of giving lessons by sitting in privacy with him for an hour. The Makhdum informed him about it. He stood up with the informer, moved towards the door to come out from it to the room of privacy. He then opened it by his hand out of blessing to come out from it to go to it. He saluted him and talked for long. There was no third person to hear their secrets except One Who knows the secret and the hidden. Then the saint, may his grave be sanctified, said, " I visited you for bidding adieu. At such an hour of such a day, my soul will return to her Lord." Perform my funeral ceremony and place me before the Holy Lord. When the time comes, I will not fail in * my duty. I have no power over it. Then say prayer for me and bid me farewell." The Makhdum said to him, I wish the same thing for me. There will be no life for me after you. I request you now to whisper secretly into my ears with your return from music." He replied, " I did." He then kissed his hand and said prayer for every one before God. The afore-said Mawlānā returned. It happened as he had said. The death of Makhdum also took place.

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* Original Text, p. 626.

During the regime of Sultān Muzaffer bin Maḥmud bin Muḥammed, Shamsuddin Muḥammed Ḥamid-ul-Mulk arrived at Pattan. One day, he met my grand-father Kamāluddin. My father was on a side of the Majlis. He inquired about him. He then said, " I intend him and my son 'Abdul 'Aziz to be together during their life." It so happened. My father was with 'Abdul 'Aziz to the end of his life. During the regime of Bahādur, his wazir 'Abdul 'Aziz Āsaf Khan was distinguished as a Vakil. At the time of Humāyun's invasion, he went with him to Mecca. He was an absolute wazir for what was connected with him and the Saltanat. After the martyrdom of Sultān Bahādur Masṇad-ul-'Āli Āsaf Khān went to Rum (Turkey) with the Amir Qāim al-Khamrāwi. It was stated before in an account of his life. When he returned to Misr, the Ruler of Misr ruled over Hijāz and Yeman. He received intelligence from Khusraw Pāsha, the Ruler of Egypt that he sent a sergeant to the Amin of Jiddah for inquiry about the ḥarem of Bahādur to confiscate what they have and place a seal over it. He tried for annulment of that order. Āsaf Khān had sent a letter to his Vakil with the sergeant to the effect that he follows him with the envoy of the Sharif for such an order is contrary to the order brought by the sergeant. I heard from him that when the news of inquiry got spread and the Amir came to Mecca. They got terrified. The Khān had recommended to show regard to the ḥarem as persons of Hind under such circumstances. We are in power. The ruler of the Qibla is not equal to us in it. How is the Amin? It is a disgrace to dishonour the strangers. The hand of Khilāfat does not lift itself against us. We are established in our day as will be tomorrow. God the Holy has made our affairs secure. Our independent ladies have preferred death to exposition to disgrace. They have taken a bath, worn garments and sacrified themselves for God as lies within their power. The Amir of Ḥarem, Malek Firoz Tawāshi Habashi sharpened weapons for them. He vacillates within* himself between life and death. The attendants of Bahādur have spent the sleepless night with lightheartedness without being anxious for coming events in the morning. It so happened that night that the nobles of Mecca met together in the house of Abil Baqā as Sukkari and this assembly was convened by his son Khattān. His house was situated by the side of the house of the Khān. He invited us to it. But we apologised to be present ourselves in it for we were sitting with roominess. It was the habit not to reply the Egyptian envoys of Mecca except in the morning. The envoy had to pass through the road near the gate of the house of the Khan due to roominess. He said, I sat in the morning over the spacious place (verandah). I called out by the usual name every rider that passed by. He then passed. He did not reply till a reply was given to him in the affirmative in time of need. He asked me, " Are you so and

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* Original Text, p. 627.

so?" I said, "I am so and so." I blessed him at his departure. I gave him a waxed candle with leaves in it. He rode bidding departure and went away, prostrated in thanks, retired and looked into the letter of the Khān. It was written in it "Help from God and victory is nigh." It was an order in the Turkish language. I sent for the confidential man who was qualified to sit with the Khān. He was a Turk who helped me in trade. He had virtue in him. He was Mullā Mustafā al-Mantashawi. I showed him the order. He read it. It was cancellation for the order of the Amin. He was worthy of a secret. I acted with caution in time and kept him busy in the house and went to the Holy Harim and met Malek Firoz and informed him about the news received from the ruler of Mecca forbidding the Amin to execute the order. I requested him to send the good news to the Harem. He did it. I then sent for the sharābdār and ordered him to take out one hundred trays of Hindi marmalade, stored sweets and came to the verandah. Malek Ibrāhim, Tāher Khān and Qaisar Khān were there. The trays arrived. Forty out of them were sent to the majlis of Khattān and a similar number to Malek Firoz and Bahāduri chiefs of attendants who spent the night with him in vacillation of life and death. I sat with rest of the people. I sent two trays to the detained, that is, Mustafā Mantashawi. Those who were in the majlis of Khattān were surprised at a thing which was presented untimely. One of them said, "the food, alas, who wished to send and in such a large quantity. His intention seems to interfere with the administration of the Amin during day-time." In short, after the morning * prayer, we were invited to the majlis of the Amin in the masjid near Bāb-us-Safā (Gate of Safā). Eminent Turks, prominent officers of the ruler of Mecca and the nobles of the Haram Sharif had gathered together. The order of the Amin was read before the chiefs. The Amin turned towards me for he sought permission from me for action on the order. I got up and gave him the order. He then took it from me. He had felt disgust at me. He lifted it up to him. He looked at it, recognised it, stood with it and pondered over it. It was a cancellation of his order. He gave it to the Chief Qādi al-Afandi. He meditated over it and gave it to the Amin of the Bait-ul-Māl (Public Treasury). They were amazed at it for there was least agreement among them for contradiction of order in a single majlis. The party of the ruler of Mecca and its chiefs had no power of speech to contradict it. They all agreed for action upon the date of cancellation though earlier. The reader ascended the pulpit and read the other order, mentioned the date and descended from it. The meeting broke up. Every one said that it was a miracle of Āsaf Khān. He is acquainted with the kingdom and knows about the arrival of order and its time. If it was delayed and if the sun had risen to the length of a spear then it had come, it would have

* Original Text, p. 628.

been said that it came after the eyes were ruined as the public likened it to it It bore fruit then. Those who were free turned to God with inward and outwar peace. For example, God said to His Kalim (Prophet Moses), "you have nc importance Oh Moses!" Who was with God, God was with him. Those whc were with him said that it was his miracle at Mecca after his return from Turkey. Its explanation is that Āsaf Khān was on his feet in prayer at Mecca as narrated by Hāfiz Shaikh-ul-Islām Shihābuddin ibn-i-Hajar al-Hisami in his history "Riyāz-ur-Rizwān." When he saw crescent of Rajab, the month of God, he firmly resolved upon retirement for prayers to God as was his wont. He remained erect in prayer at the Bāseti gate. He ordered me for a curtain which stretched from it to the space which joined the gate of Duraibah. During the whole day, he was at the dome of 'Abbās, may God be pleased with him which was behind the Zamzam. The ruler of Mecca, then was the great amir Khush Kaldi. He was a man of noble virtues in the noble region. He walked with me. His followers walked with ceremony before him. He was a man of wealth, dread, power and justice. He had approximately more than five hundred mamaliks with him. All of them were in armour with daggers, gold* swords and belts. Naubat (drum) was beaten in the morning and afternoon in accordance with the custom of Turkey. Besides the mamāliks, he had an army with an essential flag of the Government. He did not tolerate tyranny at Mecca. He elevated a person and not detested him. He showed no pride. The ruler of Mecca was afraid of him. He had access to the Sultān and in particular, to the Chief Minister. In the beginning of Rajab, he intended to perform 'Umra (lesser pilgrimage). He returned to Mecca, entered the Haram Sharif and looked at the curtain which had covered a part of the masjid. He stopped there and inquired about it. It was said to him that it was Āsaf Khān's. He ordered it to be torn to pieces. It was done. Āsaf Khān learnt about it. He was at the dome. He came out from it to the place of perambulation, performed seven perambulations and returned to his house. The information reached the Sāheb of Mecca. He was in the direction of Yemen. He found a way for a complaint to the Amir. He secretly ordered for a report of books, placed letters of chiefs who were of exceptional knowledge at Mecca. He submitted a petition to the Khundkār of Turkey. The Sultān-ul-Haramain (Holy Places) was Sulaimān Khān son of Salim Khān. Its subject-matter was to inform him about a complaint of suffering and regret due to an insult to an amir such as the Khān in a state of retirement (I'tikāf) and at the Haram Sharif. He had sought protection with the House of Allāh and safety under the shelter of Saltanat. It was not proper to stir up barbarity and to need a talk for a rebuke to the amir. The Khundkār learnt about contents of the petition.

* Original Text, p. 629.

He had seen the Khān. He found him great in his eyes. He was affected by the amir. He deserved respect and regard as being the most glorious mamālik of the Saltanat. He wrote to him about what he was rebuked. When the Amir learnt about the order, he was about to vent his anger at his clothes. He learnt about the procés verbal and letters of imams. The Chief Minister had heard about it. He liked to suppress his anger due to all those documents. He then realized that what he did was not proper. When he personally went to the gate of the Saltanat, it was like that. He reported what was true and returned to Khusraw Pāshā, the Ruler of Egypt. He intended him to do things in accordance with the principles of religion. He realized it. He went to the port of Qusair to embark on a boat for proceeding to the port of Hijāz, Jiddah. This report was publicised at Mecca. He looked to what was in the prayer to God, " Verily I frighten you and frighten him who does not fear you. " Āsaf Khān wrote to the Ruler of Mecca beginning with

God is accustomed to the beautiful
Then, track upon what the predecessors had said.

The matter ended with solace to him, according to the statement that the sea * flings (everything) at the shore but it did not. There is spaciousness for us on land and for you, it is sufficient what they have narrated that the medicine is in accordance with a disease, and the last remedy is branding. The imams of the city, those persons connected with the Khān and his master, the Qādi Tājuddin Maleki were in a confused state after getting the report. They all assembled in the majlis of the Khān. Their minds were at ease at the promise of security and efficiency. They were with him wherever he was. The author said that the Khān, in the meanwhile, expected some disaster at his arrival. It was said to him that Khush Kaldi was frightened with calamity for breaking the order at the time of landing on shore, A log of wood fell on his leg and it got broken and he perished. The following line was composed extempore

When fate has knotted an affair for you
It will not be solved except by fate.

It was an event of joy after its grief. The imāms assembled in his majlis. They said, " We had specialised you for mutual congratulations. Verily we specialised you with congratulations what God had amassed for you out of His favour and kindness. May God bless you therein ! When Asaf Khān started for Gujarāt alone, he left behind the author among members of his family as he was the Vakil and Guardian. After his death, Shams Khān son of Āsaf Khān left for Gujarāt. It happened in 961 (1553), near the port of Div. I had noticed the signs which were displayed due to his embarkment in the boat al-Maruzah on

* Original Text, p. 630.

approach of last night (of the month). Khwāja 'Alāuddin travelled wi[illegible] Khān to a port of Gujarāt in exchange for debt to him. Mu'allim Mahm[illegible] sailor ordered the sail to be lifted up. Wind was strong. The clouds down in their days. The tandel, that is, the chief boatman, advised him sail as the sea was stormy and to keep the boat near the land. But he re[illegible] adamant. He was a young man, inexperienced with sea. He raised the half the mainmast. Then in the early part of the night, the chief b[illegible] (Khamis) came to him to balance his mind to lower it to less than one of the mainmast but he refused. He then came to him with all severit[illegible] the third day, he saw him sleeping with a small vessel (month of the [illegible] The seaman did not control it. He said to him, "Nothing is left [illegible] ignorance and you are asleep also. You depended upon a small one. you to command over it at Div." He sat up and said to him, "If you Mu'allim, I quit the small vessel. What does your meddlesomeness me[illegible] make you my substitute. It is my responsibility." The Khamis ([illegible] Tandel) lost his temper and answered him in ugly language, returned fr[illegible] to his sleeping-place and slept till morning. A servant was near the M[illegible] He heard what passed between them of softness and harshness. At da[illegible] affair was over. The boat entered into the creek of Jagat. Its account I say, there was nothing left of wonder in which we were involved at th[illegible] of the vessel at the shore. Movement of the wood (boat) hither and th[illegible] well as the danger of plunder by the ruler of the shore, Rāi Sanga and out from all these hardships hiding women were the difficulties with w[illegible] were confronted. Escape from the sea was a wonder. Over-flow of wa[illegible] choked my breath. I had abandoned food out of distraction (forgetf[illegible] My hand had clung to the feet of seamen and it felt drawn towards wa[illegible] it not been the help of Khamis Tandal (seaman), (I would have been ed). Till now I talked about wonder of the sea. The more wonderf[illegible] it was that we were all in it, my father, my mother, Shams Khān my patron, my generous man (Asaf Khān), my brother Kamāl Muh[illegible] step-son of the house Mubārak (Mubārak was brought up in the hou[illegible] male and female servants had surrounded us, through the favour of Go[illegible] had nothing with us, we did not know any one and we were in the unbelievers. We were not familiar with Jagat. An unbeliever had co[illegible] it from us. There was no house for us to take shelter. We were in h[illegible] due to rain. We had to prepare our food on seashore to which we [illegible] accustomed and last of all, we had come with clothes only on our bodi[illegible] did not find a tailor to get clothes to wear. Praise is to God, the Lord [illegible] and the Lord of the earth, the Lord of both the worlds. Thus, we cam[illegible]

* Original Text, p. 631.

Jagat and went to a Muslim city Kutiyānā of Junāgadh district and then we entered Aḥmedābād. It was the favour and kindness (of God). It is only a substance. Detail will be found in my history "Fawāteh-ul-Iqbāl" written in the name of Majlis-ul-Āli Muḥammed Ulugh Khān which gives his life-account to which the reader should refer. It affects men of need. It does not claim anything for itself except its importance. It records the time he spent in the Holy Places with felicity of religion and world. It was greatly his internal security. It is also a record of his residence in Ahmedābād from 962 to 982 or* 983 (1554 to 1574). He kept himself to his house along with the event of Jagat. He divested himself of what was in his hand from the spaciousness of the world as Masnad-ul-Āli Āsaf Khān. During the whole course of his life, he lived a chaste life as vakil without acquisition of anything from it. He paid visits to officers of the state after he had become independent of life with what he had with him. He did not know anything other than that. He chose retirement and engaged himself for deeds of the next world. His daily practice was to complete the recitation of the whole of the Qurān. He directed the rewards thereof to one and all whether he knew them or not. It was made general. It was his affair with God the Holy with perfect honesty and sincerity. His condition bore an evidence for indication of it. I did not know what he did before in the days of doubt and power. God seized his hand with severity in his old age. He made him completely humble. He had ample means of sustenance. He lived with honour, with preservation from disgrace of needs from equals. His means of lovelihood were extensive. He was in a position to practise deeds of goodness and sympathy to last days of his life. Similarly was the kindness to my blessing, my mother. I did not know the apparent cause thereof. God the Holy had graced me with their service and sacrifice for their sick women. I was not aware that she was created for that. Everything was obtainable. Our Prophet, may benedictions and salutations of God be on him and to Him the praise for the grace had said. When God made us secure from being perished in the sea, we made amends by kindness for practice of charity on land. We moved on for help but we had no acquaintance with any one until we arrived at the city of ractitude, Aḥmedābād. It was a plan of God for them in old age and decrepitude was such as to make a young man old. One day I presented myself in the majlis of my master, Majlis-ul-Āli Muḥammed Ulugh Khān. It was the time of sun-set. He had near him a book, a tablet of pages and a pen-holder. His wazir Khairāt Khān asked me, "Do you know writing? I thought you will write what is in the book for him." I replied in† the affirmative. He ordered one to send a letter to Changiz Khān in thanks for getting back Sa'eed, the patrol officer of the Diwān tohim. He had left him in

* Original Text, p. 632. † Original Text, p. 633.

anger. I took courage for that. I occupied myself with what I found important. I observed him going out in answer to the call of prayer of sunset in congregation in capacity of a soldier. I busied myself with the When I was free from it, there was a call to prayer. They both left Majlis-i- to go to the aiwān (palace). I left the pen and followed them. I came the palace intending to go to my house. When I was in the Record roo was alone with me. He reminded me of my sunset prayer with him pe my time would pass. I commenced the prayer. When I was free from su the Khān returned to his majlis but he did not find me. He said, call Dabir. I was not known by that name. I was known by the name of Muḥa The servants began search for me. They questioned each other among selves about me. He who knew me came out in their wake. He was acqua with the house. He was talking with them about my call. Attention t from him and they saw me. They got back to me and said, " He is Hāji Da When he was free, they entered with him and did that. I entered and the letter. It was not a good thing. I departed and did not come bacl remained in my house for some days. Then, there came a call for me, I w My mother ordered me to accept it. I presented myself and he ordered write to Shāh of Div port, nākhudā Ismāil, the Deputy, in thanks for the horses sent as present. I said to myself that wealthy persons see their lu what they do not wish. They do not order a thing, but the thing is the them as well as the letter. I hope their good luck is inspired and dis towards those who are deserving with them. That happened. He orders always to come. The wazir was near me. He said to me that the order Khān, the ruler is for your service. Every month, you will be paid hundred Mahmudis. From to day, do not wait for the call. He then en with me and made me stand before the Sāheb, dressed me with garments, me a betel-leaf and ordered a horse for me and five hundred Maḥn I saluted him and returned to my house on horse-back. I went to my m and threw the bag (of money) before her and said that it was livelihood gave that amount to market for you. I am benefited. I ceased to visit f own my fault. I was tried for what is written in the letter*

> It is not with my power and my strength
> It is my creed of humility and peace.

In the letter, Hāji Dabir was written for me. It happened that I wa known except by it. Titles descended upon me from the skies as was mer ed and popular. The letter was in Arabic language. I did not speal Persian language well. For some time, the service did not pass on well wi till I wrote in Persian language also. They made me an exception for it v

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* Original Text, p. 634.

view to reliance till I attained to a stage, with no fault in language, on better posts in the Diwān. It was due to the fact that I was relied upon in service of my lord for matters with most perfect sincerity. It was due to God the Holy that I was sincere in intention, and to the Prophet's influence may benedictions and blessings of God be on him. It was also due to the Sāheb's admonitions, best action for the state and in particular, for his kindness and in general, for the benefit. They were for me due to an army of prayers. They were called with submission to the will of God and with fear for executing the command of God the Holy and perfecting good manners being benefited by the traditions of the Prophet may benedictions and blessings of God be on him and they are many. My Shaikh, my blessing, 'Afifuddin 'Abdullāh bin Sa'ad al-Mekki (deceased) told me at times, "Do what is essential for you, a slip will be forgiven for your service to your father. Kamāluddin ad-Damiri has stated in "Hayāt-ul-Haiwān" and two lines have come from Karki for Abil Fatah Kashajam in address to his father about the nature of Karki when he grew up, his father wrote about them.

I find in me the sincerity of Karki (a crane)
I find in you sincerity of a bat
I, you do not abhor me to be in adversity
I abhor, you hope to pass over the bridge.

Abulfath praised this quality in a crane. The meaning of his statement is that sincerity of a bat, his son abhors. He does not give it up with its wastage, nay, endures it with him and went. What I knew with certainty with him that I moulded my character in their service. What I had of ample means of sustenance and good time and in particular with the Sāheb, were due to their prayers. Before the invasion of Akbar, I was seventeen years more or less older than the ṣāḥeb. After the event, I was under the impression that local people were not in a position to conduct the government but some how or other, they retained power in their hands as far as they could. They exhibited more courage than was expected of them. I was in travel with the Sāḥeb with a garb worthy of time. It was divine beneficience which made him kindly disposed towards me. He gave me the honour to accompany his ḥaram. I accepted this offer with good advantages and beneficient hands. I said effective prayers and eulogized God, the Holy and expressed my gratitude to Him for that. I had referred to it before. After the death of my father, they stopped sending money to Makka With its stoppage, the services of the 'Āmil, Amin, Kātib (clerk) and Ḥāmil* (carrier) of the charity money to its destination, terminated. I had to perform functions of the Ḥāmil. I then obtained a favour—a good reward—in shape of receipt of a summons from Sayf-ul-Muluk. He was in Nāsik Trimak (Trimbak)

* Original Text, p. 635.

in the territory of Nizām Shāh Deccani. I put faith in the blessings of my mother. The good continued till rest of my life though difficulties came one after the other. He was in opulence with a large family and attendants. God, the Holy made me pure in life. I did not expect realisation of desire. I now wait for death.

I perceived promissing signs cn reading its introduction. I hope it to be of advantage.

Know that the death, whenever it happens, is hard as indicative of separation of life. Thinking of it itself is most severe. Events which one desires in it, even in the last part of it, are hard for fulfilment. Life is reckoned nothing by the submissive and the sinner. The submissive who dies as a martyr in the path of God, desires to be in the abode of rewards. There is justice for him to return to the world for striving in the path of God. He dies a martyr. It adds to his felicity with martyrdom. The sinner, on the other, remains as he was in life, and was born. It would be his entry into abode of action, thus with death it would be going for him to abode of reward. Hence what would happen would be more severe than death and that he does not desire. The founder of religion, may peace and benediction of God be on him, abhorred it. It would be said of it that it was same as it came. "Oh God! let me live such a life which you know to be good for me and give me such a death with deeds which are good for me." (In a margin). Abil Qasm Sulaimān bin Muḥammed al-Tabarāni has said in his "Al-Mu'ajjam-ul-Awsat" that Muḥammed bin Rāshid narrated to us a tradition; Ibrāhim bin Sa'eed al-Jawhari narrated to us a tradition, Ḥasan bin Muḥammed narrated to us a tradition, 'Abd-ul-'Aziz bin Abi Salma from Qidāma bin Musā from Abi Sāleh from Abi Huraira narrated to us a tradition saying that "The Messenger of God, may peace and benediction of God be on him was saying this prayer 'Oh God! make my faith good for me which will make my affair pure and make my world good for me which will make my life good; and make my Hereafter good to which is my return and make my life long for every good and make my death a comfort for me free from every evil.'" Tabarāni said, "Did you not see this tradition from Qidāma bin Musā? Only 'Abd-ul-'Aziz bin Abi Salma singled it out with Abu Qaṭn.)

He who questioned the Prophet Joseph, may peace be on him, was in * Egypt during the saltanat of al-Rayyān son of al-Walid. He was in the creed of Joseph. When he died, the ruler of the saltanat after him was Qābus bin Maṣ'ab. He was an Armenian, an unbeliever, a vicious man. He did behave with good manners towards Joseph, may peace be on him. He retained what

* Original Text, p. 636.

was during the reign of al-Rayyān. Joseph invited him to the religion of Ibrāhim, may peace be on him very often. When he was disappointed of his acceptance, he got weary of life and hoped for death with prayer from God, the Almighty. He said in prayer, "Oh my Lord! Thou hast indeed best owed on me some power and taught me something of the interpretation of dreams and events,—Oh Thou Creator of the heavens and the earth! Thou art my Protector in this world and in the Hereafter. Take Thou my soul (at death) as one submitting to Thy Will (as a Muslim) and unite me with the righteous." God accepted his prayer. God was pleased with him when he said in prayer, "Take Thou my soul (at death) as a Muslim and unite me with the righteous. I am alone. I am to meet the Holy. I am lonely. I do not hope for intimacy except from him. I am to be united with him. My constant prayer is "Oh God! Take Thou my soul at death as a Muslim and unite me with the righteous. He who prayed thus, He is the Hearer, the Acceptor. Historians have narrated that when Joseph, peace be on him, saw signs of acceptance of his prayer, he gave advice to his brother Yahuda and informed him as to what was from Phuraoh and from Moses may peace be on him. When Yahuda was free from his funeral ceremonies, he buried him on a side from the Nile. On one side of his grave, there was abundant fertility while the other side of it was infested with pestilence and always remained barren. People of Egypt assembled and decided upon transfer of his coffin to it. It became fertile and the other side barren. This state continued for a long time. They placed marble in the coffin and tightly closed its mouth to prevent water entering into it and deposited it in the middle of the Nile to make both sides fertile. It so happened. Moses, may peace be on him was ordered in his age to go out of Egypt. All the Bani Isrāil wherever they were objected to go out. Moses, may peace be on him was surprised on their move. He questioned them about it till he learnt that Joseph, may peace be on him, had admonished Bani Isrāil to the effect that they should quit Egypt carrying with them his coffin to the mausoleum of his forefathers. His place of burial was not known to him. He asked them about it. He was informed that it was not known to old persons who lived in distant past. His likeness and companionship in paradise were enjoined upon him. He then learnt it. It was so.*

He who is familiar with this book will know that his parents or one of them are engaged in performance of compulsory duties or the duties enjoined by the Prophet (sunnat). They try in practice of good deeds according to their capacity. There is no good deed in reality, except for one's self. Were it not for fear of this book becoming long, I was disposed to write in detail about good deeds. That would be tedious for the reader. In short, may god the Holy guide you to the conduct as revealed in His Book: "Whether one or both of

* Original Text, p. 637.

them attain old age in thy life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honour. And, out of kindness lower to them the wing of humility and say: My Lord! bestow on them Thy Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood". I act upon the commandment of our Lord, the Holy. I say,

"My Lord! bestow on them thy Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood."
"My Lord! bestow on them thy Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood."
"My Lord! bestow on them thy Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood."

I heard from the uniquely felicitous Mawlānā Humām-ud-Din our Shaikh Ḥamid bin 'Abdullāh saying, "I was in Makka in presence of its Quṭb (pole), mirror of divine glories Mawlānā Shaikh Abi al-Sa'ud bin Hibt-ul-lāh famous as 'al-Majzuli' attracted to God) may his grave be sanctified. He said to him, 'welcome to pillar of Makka.' He used to say, 'I do not doubt.' When he died there that is, Holy Makka; he spoke with regard to him as Pillar of Makka. In reality, the news arrived about removal of dead body from a grave to the grave dug for him his speech came to an end. He repeated what he obtained from him from Hanin to Makka and talked about his blessed deeds till period of his life. Those who obtained blessings at Holy Makka were Mawlānā al Majzub afore mentioned, Mawlānā al-'Ārif, al-Syed 'Abdullāh Bāfaki al-Ḥadrami, Mawlānā Shaikh-ul-Wajih 'Abdur Raḥmān al-'Amudi, Ḥāfiz-ul-Millat Mawlānā Shaikh Abul Ḥasan al-Bakari, Mawlānā Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Din Muḥammed al-Bakri, Mawlānā Shaikh Muḥammed al-Khaṭṭāb al-Maghrebi, Mawlānā Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Din Aḥmad bin Ḥajar al-Ḥaithami, Mawlānā Shaikh Nur-ud-Din 'Ali al-Muttaqi etc. Others were there whom I did not know. May mercy of God be on them all.

In the year 984 (1576-77), a very learned man of comprehension, worthy of imāmat, the pious devotee with most perfect piety; the ephemeral had become everlasting with God, Honoured and Glorified; the pure ṣufi, sufficiently religious, my shaikh as well as of Islām, blessing of the time, Mawlānā Shaikh, aged, most illumined, expounder of secrets of heart, 'Afif-ud-Din 'Abdullāh son of the uniquely most guided Sa'ad as-Sindi, al-Madani, al-Makki, may God benefit me through him, died at Holy Makka at the close of Zilhajj. He was buried at Mālāt beneath Ḥajun in the grave prepared by the felicitous martyr 'Abd-ul-'Aziz Āṣaf Khān. He performed hajj in a state of indisposition. He died after being free from the rites of pilgrimage. He continued in his Iḥrām (pilgrim's dress) with indifference towards world. He did not trouble any one. Stitched (sewn) clothes were removed from him. He was an accomplished scholar with control over his desires. He treaded to God walking in benefit. He walked on the footsteps of ancients in prayers. I was specialized with his

Original Text, p. 638.

favour getting benefits from him. He was in Sind when the Mughals invaded it. He had dispelled fright and sowed seeds of dissension among people. The author, Mawlānā, pure and pious Shaikh-ul-Islām, my shaikh Nuruddin 'Ali famous as Muttaqi, Mawlānā, the accomplished scholar, perfect in abstemiousness and forbearance 'Afif-ud-Din, al-Qāḍi 'Abdullāh, may God benefit me through all of them and may mercy cover them came out from the land of residence, with all members of their families and servants to Naharwāla Pattan. The author wrote to him about restoration to health and narrated from him. He wailed for his health. His recovery now was in the hand of his heir, Shihābuddin Aḥmad. It is stated from it in the margins of the God-fearing Ḥāfiz Burhān-ud-Did Ḥalbi, in the 'Zubdah' of Ḥāfiz Jamāl-ud-Din Muḥammed al-Antāki 'Gharibiṇ' of Ḥāfiz Abi 'Ubaid Aḥmad al-Harawi, 'Nihāya' of Majad-ud-Din famous as Ibn-i-Athir, 'Muzail-ul-Khifā' of Ḥāfiz Taqiuddin Aḥmad al-Shumunni etc. This is verified from the above books. He did not mourn it. He was in my hand and between my eye. God willing, he would be with me for my enjoyment with him for I live for him; I am for him the first and the last. At the time of Mughal invasion, they assembled at Div in the year (nine?) forty. It was then under the Muslims. They emboldened them for voyage to performance of rites of Talbih (shouting 'I am ready') and sacrifice (performance of hajj at Makka), and Sultān Bahādur had to help them without doubt as it was not possible that year. It was about to embark the sea. They divided into two parties after the occurrence of an event at sea in the land of Yaman. Its account is long. They moved on to the Holy Places. Āṣaf Khān met them. He was a good helper in time. The pious ones journey-* ed to the accepted residence, the city of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him, and its residents. His death took place there within two years, of Qāḍi 'Abdullāh, may God forgive him and show mercy to him. The author remained and started for residence in Makka, that of blessed good deeds. Its ruler looked after me, persons of his region and his relatives. He was for Aṣaf Khān especially with all sincerity and the mother. He specially favoured Āṣaf Khān and in general to those who were from his family. The citizens did the same to end of time. He then entered Hind for obligation of his companions. Akbar Sultān showed sympathy towards him for his difficulties and displayed regard for him. It so happened that he had to stay in Gujarat with members of his family and for conquests. He was granted allowance for the period till he migrated to the Qibla. He was immune from what he owned and left his family in Gujarāt. I heard from him. Interval for intending departure pathetically felt the want of dispersed union and scattered gathering. He said to those who relied upon him and whom our shaikh son of the Qādi had nurtur-

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* Original Text, p. 639.

ed that they asked me for prayer for their needs but did not feel the evil of obligation. I am old in age and I am to quit the Holy Places. If I went out for righteousness of your obligation, I would not bear it. There would never be separation between us. I came out with you. Our Lord decreed that and you to join your brother Ḥamid; when we would be together; it would mean tranquillity of minds. Now he was symbol of the world to have come as basis of the affair for this required interval for decreed departure with dis-appointment for unity. The day may come when God may unite them with his first creation and the last. There was despair from your external appearance. You should not forget it in your prayer.

In this year, our Shaikh Jamāluddin Muḥammed son of 'Abdur Rahim son of Muḥammed son of 'Uthmān son of Muḥammed al-'Amudi, who was qualified with holiness, familiar with praise of God, chosen one among the righteous, cream.........God gave him the world and the faith, of noble qualities, died on Saturday night, 12th Rajab, in Ahmedābād, may God show mercy to him. He was entombed in the 'Arab grave-yard in the vicinity of Dar-us-Saltanat. He was a man of sound heart and noble disposition, an assemblage for the Arabs, master (patron) of literary men, full of value with worth of his fore-fathers,* ambitious for acquisition of perfection. Many, friends and acquaintances were benefited through him during Akbar's invasion. Al-Majlis-ul-'Ali Maḥammed Ulugh Khān gave him sufficient means of livelihood. During Akbar's invasion God inspired him to send a childless man named 'Uthmān to him. He was returning to his native place. He stopped for effort in search of livelihood, nay, he determined upon separation of the place of residence. He fulfilled the duty assigned to him in that condition. God chose him for His nearness. He died. He was in the prime of youth. People lost him. His name remained after him. May God forgive him!

Felicitous in personality, laudable in qualities, a compendium of the principles of progress, containment of the branches of fear of God, an assemblage of favours embellished with virtues, the threshold of the station of guidance, of good features, Shaikh Sa'eed Habshi alias Sultāni died at the capital of Aḥmedābād on Monday, 3rd Shawwāl, 984 (1575-76). He was entombed in a masjid near the Dār-us-Saltanat (palace) on a public road. It was an old monument built with brick. It was near his residence. It was constructed with stone and made strong. Its roof was raised and a ceiling dome was made. It was made elaborate with stone according to the principles of hewn stone. Every stone was of one or two arms in length with an elevated verandah in the vicinity of the masjid built on windows of lofty painted hewn stones. It thus increased the space. A nearby piece of land was purchased for appurtenances. A plat-

* *Original Text, p. 640.*

form was constructed adjoining the enclosure of the masjid. To its right, his stone-tomb is situated. When he was free from construction of dome of the masjid, a path and a platform, he felt approach of death. It was prior to the platform, nay, it was constructed only after the pure of secrets and manifest was laid in the tomb. Blessing of existence, the attracted (to God) saint Mawlānā Shaikh Āban, may his grave be sanctified, buried him as a trustee. His tomb also is near him. Porridge of crushed wheat was cooked for him on the left side of the masjid known there as Langar (a public kitchen)—public kitchen; for every day twenty maund were cooked. It was meant for masters of the bowl from among the faqirs. One-fourth of twenty maunds was cooked in the house near the langar-house for those who were modest. His table-cloth was laid out long for all those needy persons who assembled to be present. The rest was meant to be distributed among the inmates of houses. A table-cloth was laid at noon for the nobles of the Hadhramut, learned men of the city,* brethren of purity, notables and their attendants. This was ten maunds in quantity. Many recluses who had renounced the world used to come there. The rich and the poor numbering nearby one thousand arrived at the cupolas in the winter. This charity continued till the Akbari invasion. He was at first with Rumi Khān. He was then with Sultān Maḥmud. Hence he was designated Sultāni. After the Sultān, he was in service of the Amir Jhujhār Khān. He struck the sword with him. He was a brave man. He was present with him at the afore-said famous incidents of Muḥammed Ulugh Khān. It was he who kept pace with Nāsir Daryā Khān, a chamberlain (usher) to Changiz Khān in the last war. He then quitted the service of the sword. Jhujhār Khān and his brother set apart for the duty of a reciter of the Holy Qurān on fifty lacs of tankas. A village was assigned to him as allowance and for charity from his side. It was due to this that he was comfortable with a house, maintenance, mamālik, good deeds, acts of help and sympathy, and perfect regularity in religion and world. Deserving men of these deeds gathered together in his majlis. Men of excellence sat there from whom he acquired different branches of knowledge. A very learned man of comprehension, most unique in guidance, Mawlānā, Shaikh Traditionist, Hamid son of the most unique, forgiven, pure Qādi 'Abdullāh Sindi of Madina and buried there, wrote Jāme 'Hamidi, completed it and named it Jāme ' as-Sa'eedi (after him) in dividing Hamidi in chapters. He tried for acquisition of books for him. He then set his heart for building a boat and got it ready for sail to Egypt and authorised the boatman to purchase books. Pride of merchants, Khwaja Salāmat Maghrebi alias Shātir wrote a biography in his name. On return from Egypt, the boat at the port of Ghogha near Khanbhāyat changed the vessel whereon were the books. He lost

* Original Text, p. 641.

something and took out something. In this way, he made the division. He did not think of destiny. He had no power over it. His interior and exterior were good. His interior, as previously stated, was in relation to religion. His exterior was disposed towards extension of houses, abundance of appurtenances and lofty buildings. He had Habshi slaves of his own more than twenty, near and distant servants nearly one hundred, nearly thirty horses in his stable and* more than ten camels. He had fifty wheels called gardun (rotating objects) for the bhail to carry baggage. The village prospered during his time and its revenue was doubled. Externally, it was his property but internally, it was property for charitable purposes. It was out of good luck that he performed hajj in his boat with a party of his friends, paid a visit to the Holy Medina and worked for the next world in the Holy Cities. What will happen to him tomorrow is coolness of the eye. He was graced with prayer. He educated his community-men, in particular and they saw that Jhujhār Khān treaded on the path of his training. During last days of his life, those who stirred up dissessions among them, spoke ill of him through falsehood. That village was taken back from him which perished him with death. The cause of it was and there was no other than that was the offer of vikālat by Ulugh Khān during his days at Mahmudābād. He was originally the vakil of Jhujhār Khān at Bhamnol also. In the meanwhile, their relations got spoiled due to slander which resulted in their return to Ahmedābād. For that reason, Ulugh Khān gave him in return a better village and promised him more on better management. Its account is long and so I have given it up. He who slandered for what efforts the Sāheb made for me and the friend to me, suffered difficulties in the beginning which are not to be disguised. Humanity was in him. All of them perished. There was nothing left for them except mercy and prayers for them. It is his good luck also that he was appointed as officer in charge of religious endowments out of the income to be sent to the Holy Places from the government of Akbar. He then died after some time. It was the trusteeship of service of the Holy Places which was his last worldly deed. His favour was immense with me. I wrote the following lines as a chronogram for his masjid :

> I made the paradise of 'Aden near him
> And tomorrow the reward will be increased.
> For Sa'eed the veracity of Allah
> For the good he practised.
> He built a masjid for the sake of God
> For if he is promised.
> Therein is remembrance and prayer
> And humility and vigilance (in prayer) at night

* *Original Text, p. 642.*

Mercy (of God) descends covering
Every middle-aged man and child.
Pardon of Allah for a slave
Prepares him for a threat
Hāfiz of time and sayer of prayer
He is the guide and the instructor *
Life prospers with thanks
You obtain what you wish.
Hasten to prayer
It makes you praiseworthy.
Grace has begun from Him
Who creates and recreates.
If all people made efforts
They erected buildings of goodness
Every good act then is felicitous
He possessed and God is witness.
I cleared complete knowledge
He who repairs it, becomes sound.
He who questions about it
Came a couplet for him, beneficial.
'Umar, the united one with God
Sa'eed was the builder.

I said a chronogram for the wedding of his daughter: Khairum "Zuiāfun". It took place in the year 978 (1570).

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* Original Text, p. 643.

CHAPTER XXIV

Daftar two—History of the Ghuris

I seek help in the name of God, the most compassionate, the most Mercif Praise be to God who bestowed an obligation on whom He wishes from amo His servants with what He wished when He wished for fulfilment of his desir He raised....those who wished consciousness of saintliness in religion ar rulership of cities in the world. He specialized Hind with the descent of Āda the Pure (bosom friend), may peace be on him from God. He came on mountain in the island of Sarandip (Ceylon), mines of bright stones, residenc of fragrance and places of pleasure. There is an impression of feet of the Pu one of God seen by servants. Zakariyā Kazwini has narrated in his boc "al-Muntakhib min Mu'ajjam-ul-Buldān written" by Yâqut al-Hamawi an named it "Athār-ul-Bilād" that there is one foot impressed on stone (li plunged in stone). From that day till now it exists and the place is washe At night, it shines like a lightening without a cloud. It is the workmanship God who created everything in perfection. There is a lesson for those who a possessed of wisdom. Benediction and peace be on the Arab Prophet wl prayed to God and received the Black and the Red. He helped him with aw made him strong and honourable and gave to his successors in creed ar successors in nation, Banu al-Asfar (yellow people). God took a covenant oath from them and so help was granted to them as informed in Suḥuf Ibrāhim and Moses. There would come the Promised Mahdi and the word God and His spirit Jesus for honour of the creed as stated therein. Again it mentioned in Suhuf that there would come in future, Intercessor of men ar genii, prophet of the Holy Places, Remover of grief, preserver of the natio polisher of blackness, source of bounty, our lord, our authority, our intercessc our friend Muḥammed, Messenger of Allāh, owner of the Praiseworthy plac may peace and benediction of God be on him, his descendants and h companions.

After that, 'Abdullāh Muḥammed son of 'Umar famous as Ḥājji-ud-Dab al-Āṣafi, al-Makki Ulugh Khāni, may God show grace to them says that I wro what I thought necessary from histories, to explain about the Sultāns Gujarāt as to how they established independent power and how they met wit fortune and misfortune. The first daftar is brought to completion with succes I turned reins of my description to composition of the second daftar. I singl out Gujarāt, with additions, looking to its Zafar who first established indepe

* Original Text, p. 645.

dent authority and his descendants in opinion of the people. It was not Hind* with its extensive frontiers suspecting its qualifications for appreciation of its qualities. The book was written in a city which is made safe and secure by God, Makka, a door. There is no wonder that it is situated between sea-shore and Jiddah, its landing-place. It was conquered by Sikandar and made it famous as Bāb (a door, a gate). He was protector of its honour. If you observe, for : You will find three vanishing things for sorrow : water, verdure and beautiful face. They are found in sufficient completion. It was under jurisdiction of Delhi and its capital was Naharwāla Pattan. Zafar Khān and his descendants established independent authority. Afterwards, it continued for a period. They expanded its frontiers, raised tributaries in the east, prospered regions and subjects lived in plenty. They followed the religion for which they had lofty praise. During the regime of the pious Khalifas, the companions, may God be pleased with all of them had victories towards Hind such as Sind, Kābul and Makrān. All these places belonged to Persia under Zāl bin Narimān and afterwards under his son, the famous Rustam. There was a passage to him being adjacent to Baṣra, cities of Najd to Sind by land as stated in histories of Persia. Hence Amir-ul-Mumnin 'Umar, may God be pleased with them, ordered to populate Baṣra, to block up passage of Persia to Hind in expectation of asylum and assistance. During the regime of the Umayya and the 'Abbasiya, jihād continued constantly. Conquests in the neighbourhood were from top to toe. Maḥmud had established absolute sovereign power in Ghazni. Before him, his father Subuktagin ruled over it. He opened conquests in the neighbouring regiou. He fought religious wars. Traces are found in the neighbourhood. The last ruler was Khusraw Malek at Lāhore. It was last in course of time. Mu'azuddin Muḥammed Sām became an absolute ruler at Ghazni. He was prop of Islām. One ruler followed another. His efforts brought successes. It became a centre for religion. Details will follow this short account. Praise be to God, Lord of both the worlds. This is an account from the conquest of Delhi region which is a base of directions of the kingdom of Hind sufficient enough for the ruler. It has passed through fortune and misfortune (rise and fall) till this time. I wrote in abundance. I had sufficiently written about the life of the deceased-biography of one who died during his days. He lived in Egypt, 'Irāk, Syria, Hijāz and Yaman. I have† given a concise account of events with pleasant anecdotes. I do not allow myself in everything concise out of importunity for obstacles such as this is little, it should be more and I do not exhibit myself like one acquainted with information. I resort to God for help and to Him is the place of return. Effort is from me and completion is upon Him. And now, I, with an oath of the

* Original Text, p. 646.

† Original Text, p. 647.

rank of the Messenger, peace and benedictions of God on him, hope for acceptance. Muḥiyuddin son of 'Abd-uz-Zāhur says:

Verily the world is a night
Then day is its place of disgrace.
Do good, you will get
Verily, profit in business.

Ali Muzaffar Muḥammed bin As'ad bin Muḥammed bin Naṣr, al Ḥanafi al-Wā'az composed the following lines:

I became weary of the world and I was certain that I
Will leave it in disgust. I then left its emptiness.
My self exercised patience from its desires and always
I left them for its wishes are sinful.
Light of truth began to radiate
It showed its fraud to the heart.
Humiliation of the world is greatest. He who got interested in it
Wish it in every state and is pleased thereby.
Or He who sought honour with God, honoured his self
Became free from world and its contents.
If I were dead and then became alive—Shortly I will die
Honour permanence in abode of annihilation—Build a house
in abode of permanence.

Efface steps in glistening house
He drinks tears who always suffer.
Our time did not rotate which was
With pleasure of wakefulness or dream.

Early account of Sultān Mu'izuddin Muḥammed Sām al-Ghuri as an Amir. His relation to Ḍoḥāk famous as at-Tāzi. A section of their chosen lives.

Abu 'Umru 'Uthmān bin Muḥammed al-Minhāj al-Juzjāni narrated in his 'Ṭabaqāt' which he compiled in the name of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Din Maḥmud bin* Iltamish, mercy of God be on them, that a son of Ḍohāk at-Tāzi, king of Hind and Sind, Bistām fled to Ghor during the regime of Afridun. He settled at a place called "Hazār Chashma" that is, a thousand fountains for luxuriance of grass or for its being so. Sons of Ḍohāk remained attached to it. Time favoured them with good fortune. They embraced Islām. It is said that a man from among the descendants of Sām came to Ghor. He was an Amir (commander) of the army of the king Sur's brother. Daughter of his brother was married to his son. Sām spent the night (with her) before the nuptial. Sur changed his mind for marriage of his daughter with him. His daughter

* Original Text, p. 648.

informed her cousin about what was decided. He, thereupon, fled to Ghor with her and halted at a place called Rumandish. He was then called Malandish. She gave birth to a son. He had many children through her. They lived for a long time. They embraced Islām. They ruled over the territory and extended it. Their fame spread. It is stated in 'Habib-us-Siyar' from a historian of Ghor to the effect that when Afridun defeated Ḍohāk, he summoned members of his family to a place of safety away from him. They found such a place in the mountains of Ghor. They lived there and built strong forts. There was always between him and the army of Afridun what happens between enemies. Later on peace was concluded on acceptance of payment of tribute. Generation after generation continued till King Suri of the race Ḍohāk. He was a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmud on that frontier. Suri became a captive in war. Sultān Maḥmud shed his blood. His grand-son Ibrāhim Sultān fled to Hind. He lived with unbelievers in one of the temples and died there. He left a son behind him whose name was Sām. He had a mantle of good fortune of Islām. He engaged himself in business. At the close of life he went by sea to Ghor. But when he approached the shore, the sea became stormy. The boat sank. His son Ḥusain bin Sām alone escaped safely. He was on a wooden plank—on a side from him there was an aged man—for three days. He landed on the shore and intended to go to the city. He slept on a shop in its market. At night, the night patrol arrested him on suspicion of a thief and imprisoned him. He had nothing to say in defence. He remained in jail for seven years. When the governor (hākim) of the city fell ill, he ordered for release of all prisoners. He then was released. On release, he went towards Shazni. On the way, he came across a gang of robbers. They found him young and strong. They gave him garments, or sword and a horse. They moved on taking him with them. By chance, there was an assault of army of Sultān Ibrāhim, ruler of Ghazni.* It was in search of them. They captured all of them including the youth. When they were brought in presence of the Sultān, he ordered to put them to death. When the executioner by turn came to him, he heard him saying in tears and moans "Oh God! know that they should not execute your commands erroneously. The cause of it is that they kill me without any offence. The executioner left him and referred his case to the Sultān for what he had heard from him. He summoned him and inquired about his condition. He informed the Sultān about his life from beginning to end. He felt pity for him and made him his hājib (chamberlain). He constantly rose higher and higher till he became an amir in the regime of Sultān Masud. When Husain bin Sām died, his sons invaded Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawi. During the regime of Ibrāhim Ghaznawi, they domineered over his kingdom. He fled from them to Hind. Suri firmly estab-

* Original Text, p. 649,

lished himself in the capital, Ghazni, 'Alāuddin and Sām returned to Ghor. On way, Sām died of pleurisy. 'Alāuddin established his power as Sultān of Ghor. So said Khundamir, author of 'Habib-us-Siyar' and the historians of Ghor. The first Sultān of Ghor, whose account they give, is 'Alāuddin. They were five and period of their rule lasted for sixty-four years. The author of 'Ṭabaqāt' Abu 'Umru-al-Juzjāni says that the first amir-was Fawlāz. He was present at the conquests of Abi Muslim, master of the 'Abbāsi mission. Then there was Banji bin Nāzān. He fought with Sish bin Bahrām and conciliated with the order of Hārun al-Rashid 'Abbāsi. Both came to Baghdād. Banji knew a merchant. When he saw him and his brother in dress of residents of Ghor he said to him, "I show you a trick to go head of your brother; will you give me liberal alms?" He replied in the affirmative. "Then come in the dress of amirs to Baghdād on the day of their entering upon the Khalifa. He wore the dress. His brother remained in the desert dress. Banji appeared great in view of the dress in the eye of the Khalifa. He verified the maxim "Men are known by the dress". He ordered amirship for him and command of the army for his brother. This status continued among their descendants even after their death. Amirship of the kingdom was for the son of Banji while command of the army remained with the son of Sish. Suri helped Banu Ṣaffār during his regime. Suri fortified himself within lofty mountains. He was followed by Muḥammed bin Suri. He was a wicked man. He did what he willed. Maḥmud bin Subuktagin invaded him during his regime and presented him in the fort of Āhangarān (blacksmiths) and made him a captive and brought him to Ghazni.* He had a ring with poison in his finger. He blew his nose, poison dissolved, he put it into his mouth and died. His son Abu 'Ali Sish bin Muḥammed succeeded him as a king. He hated disobedience of his father to Maḥmud even during his father's regime as well as his evil conduct in the kingdom. He always loved Maḥmud and maintained relations with him by correspondence. When Maḥmud captured his father, he decorated the son with robe of honour of the kingdom and returned. His son 'Abbās bin Sish invaded him, captured him and ruled the kingdom. 'Abbās was an arrogant despot. During his regime, it did not rain for seven years. No animal gave birth to a young one man included. He had dogs who were adorned with gold necklaces and chains and clothed with glorious gold-embroidered silk. He nicknamed one of them as 'Abbās Ghor, that is, himself. The other was nicknamed Sulṭān Ibrāhim, that is, the Sultān of Ghazna. Hostility and animosity constantly continued between the two. Ultimately, he gained ascendancy over Ibrāhim, became furious and ruled over the people. When people experienced sternness from him, the chiefs decided to secretly help Ibrāhim, ruler of Ghazna. Ibrāhim

* Original Text, p. 650.

came to Ghur. 'Abbās came out to fight with him. When they assembled in the battlefield, the amirs surrendered him to him. He captured him and returned with him. 'Abbās was proficient in the science of astronomy. He built a fort on Zārmurgh of Malandish. There was a palace within the fort which was strongly built on twelve turrets on number of months of the year. Every turret had thirty vaults; total number of vaults was three hundred and sixty. These are rising places of the sun like horizons of the sky in accordance with seasons of the year. I say, through his knowledge, he was able, inspite of largeness of the Sun's body to adjust its distance from the vault of its palace. It changed with rotation of its rising place in the sky to its adjacent vault. He was ignorant enough to realize his helplessness with smallness of his body and nearness of his self to it to control it. That would have proved good for explanation. Science of mathematics tries to explain possible things. Knowledge of guidance of self guides one to God. There is a tradition, "Oh God! Bring my soul to its guidance." I felt surprise at this place and was convinced of the art. Ḥāfiz Abu 'Abdullāh Muḥammed bin Maḥmud bin Ḥasan bin Hibtullāḥ bin Maḥāsin al-Najjar in the foot-note of Tārikh-i-Baghdād of Ḥāfiz, al-Khatib Abi Bakr Aḥmad bin Ali bin Thābit al-Baghdādi has narrated that there was a ledge attached to the Madrat-ul-Muṣtanṣariyat-ul-'Abbāsiya, opposite to the Dār-ul-Hadith containing a wonderful circle. Its figure was figure of the sky.* In it were small vaults with doors. Whenever a gun-shot fell on it, one of the doors of vaults got opened. It was golden and then it became silvery. An hour passed. The gunners took out a nutfrom mouth of golden hawks in gold trays. The golden sun rose in the sky of swift motion (?). In circle of the sky, the sun moved with rotation and set with its disappearance. When the sun set the night came. Moon rose from light behind. After an hour, brightness became complete in circle of that moon. It then began in the second circle till cessation of night. The sun rose. During the regime of Muḥammed bin 'Abbās, blessings multiplied and good deeds were abundant. His brother Quṭbuddin Ḥasan bin 'Abbās descended upon Taknāt from the region of Wajiristan and war lasted between them for a day for conquests of the fort when an arrow hit him in the eye and he died. This became the cause of victory. His men became furious for so aiming. They attacked singly and conquered the fort and burnt it with everything it contained. They met Quṭbuddin weeping and got engaged in shrouding him and returned with his coffin. He was succeeded by his son 'Izzuddin Ḥusain bin Ḥasan. He was called Abu-al-Salātin. From Fawlāz to 'Izzuddin, these rulers were called amirs. After 'Izzuddin, they adopted the title of Sultān which continued till its extinction.

* Original Text, p. 651.

First ruler with designation of Sultān

Saif-ud-Din Suri son of 'Izzuddin Ḥusain son of Quṭbuddin Ḥasan brother of Muḥammed son of 'Abbās son of Abi 'Ali Sish son of Muḥnmmed son of Suri son of Banji Nahārān was from the race of brother of Amir Fawlāz al-Ghuri. Fawlāz did not leave any one behind him and so the Imārat passed on, after him, to son of his brother. History of this dynasty ended with the regime of Amir Banji Nahārān. The historian al-Juzjāni said that his history was destroyed at Ghur along with other thing at the time of Tatar invasion. With its destruction, I recorded what I knew about them. As this account was not found else where, I describe it. Some of it would be found in 'Tārikh-i-* Nāṣiri' of Baihaqi as well as in the history of Abul Ḥasan Haiḍam bin Muḥammed al-Nābi. I reproduce what I heard from the holy men of Ghur. Whatever was reliable for narration, has been recorded as their history. I apologize for what I had not seen. It is on hearsay. The narrator who narrated is intelligent. When Suri ascended the throne at Ghur after his father 'Izzuddin, he divided the kingdom among his brothers—Shihābuddin Muḥammed, Fakharuddin Mas-'ud, 'Alāuddin Ḥasan, Bahāuddin Sām, Quṭbuddin Muḥammed, Shujāuddin, Amir of Khurāsān. Quṭbuddin was titled Malek-ul-Jibāl (King of Mountains) for making it its capital. It belonged to him in the region of Wazsār. He then searched a place for construction of a fort to garrison himself within it. His judgment decided a place at Firoz Koh. He built the present fort, which exists even to-day. He founded a city in expanse of its mountain. He invaded Ghazni before completion of the fort. It was later on completed after him by his brother Bahāuddin Sām. Cause of his going out was what exists between brothers. He could not endure such a relation. He marched from Firoz Koh to go to Bahrām Shāh, ruler of Ghazni. He treated his arrival with honour and did what was proper in respect of him. He was of handsome appearance and noble in disposition. People loved him for that. Bahrām was affectionate towards him for his good qualities and seated him near him. People were not devoid of jealousy. Some one of them caluminated against him before Bahrām and attributed him perfidy in his harem. He, therefore, ordered him to be poisoned. He died and was buried at Ghazni. On account of this, there was insurrection in relation which brought about extinction of Subuktagin's dynasty. When Sultān Saifuddin Suri received intelligence about this occurrence with his eldest brother, he waited for a year in mourning. His brother Bahāuddin Sām succeeded him at Ghur and become the ruler of Malek-ul-Jibāl. He resided at its capital, Firoz Koh. It was in 544 (1149) Suri lived in the fort of his capital. Suri then marched to Ghazni when both the armies met in the battle-field, he defeated Bahrām and conquered Ghazni. He ascended the Ghaznawi throne. Its citizens became loyal to him. Bahrām fled to the

* Original Text, p. 652.

frontiers of Hind which belonged to him. On approach of winter, he permitted soldiers of Ghur to return to it. Some of them remained with the army of Bahrām. None of Ghur remained with him except his Wazir Majduddin* al-Musawi and few servants and favourites. When the Ghaznawis learnt about blocking up of passages of Ghur due to snow-fall and it became extremely difficult for the Ghuris to come to the assistance of Suri or to get information from him, they wrote to Bahrām about this state of his. He immediately, marched to Ghazni and arrived in his hour of inadvertence. Suri did not try except to come out with what he had with him to flee towards Ghor. The Ghaznawis pursued him and found him in the frontiers of Sang-i-Surākh. He turned his reins and made an effort to fight when his horse fell down. The rest went walking surmounting mountains. His quiver became empty, he sat on knees, and took to darting in self-defence. Only the Wazir remained with him. His arrows got exhausted and only the dagger remained. With this, none came to him from among those who had sworn for safety. When this happened to him at the hands of those who had taken an oath or with the departure of power and authority, those who came to him from Gate of Ghazni to make him ride a camel and the Wazir on another camel surrounded him around Ghazna and did not cross beneath a window or at the foot of it. On the contrary, they threw dust, ashes and filth over their heads. The general public did not approve of it. Such was the state of Sultān. When we were at a place from Ghazna, it was said to him that there was only one bridge. They were hard with him.

Bahāuddin Sām bin Husain succeeded Suri at Ghur. He established his authority over it after him. When he was free from construction of Firoz Koh, he built and repaired several forts. One of them was "Kaṣr-i-Khajurān" at Garmsir of Ghor, port of Bughristān, Sursank among the mountains of Herāt, Fort of Fiwār between Ghuristān and Fārs. Daughter of Badruddin Gilān was married to him. He had two sons through her, Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed and Shihābuddin Muḥammed. When he received news about his brother's fate, he stood up for religious war in retaliation for him. He issued forth with the army of Ghur to proceed to Ghazni. They alighted in the expanse of Gilān. It was here that they were overtaken by sorrow and wrath that he suffered from internal disease. He perceived death and died. His brother 'Alāuddin Ḥasan succeeded him at Ghur. When he passed on to the mercy of God, the Almighty. His brother 'Alauddin Ḥusain bin Husain established authority after him. He prepared and came out. When he encamped at Gilān, those who had come out with Bahāuddin, met him. They all marched to Ghazni in grandeur and pomp. Bahrām Shāh received intelligence of that. He came out with his army and†

* Original Text, p. 653. † Original Text, p. 654.

passed Garmsir from Rakhaj and Taknābād to land of Dāwar. 'Alauddin had encamped at that spot. Bahrām sent an envoy to him advising him for return to Ghur. He had informed him that if he had assembled for war, he had no strength to fight against him as he had elephants with him. 'Alāuddin replied to him, "If you were one who bore the Holy Qurān, there is wonder from you that you are indifferent to the Commandment of God the Holy. "He who is killed unjustly, we made a Sultān as his friend," you killed my brother, I am his guardian. How can I go back from you? It is again said 'Do not transgress in killing' for he would be victorious. He is promised victory thereon. Again you said that you have elephants with you but with me in your resistance are Kharmil Sām Ḥusain and Kharmil Sam Banji. In regard to it, God has revealed in His Book "Did you not see what did your Lord do to masters of elephants? A veiled reply." He then sent for two brave men wrestlers and said to them as to what message was brought by the envoy of Bahrām and what reply he gave by way of consultation. They kissed the ground in his presence. Both of them asked him as to what was his order. He said, "I want a match for his elephants." They repeated kissing of ground and departed. Both of them met at a place known as Kutah Bāzbāb (?) Each one dismounted from his horse and united sides of his armour and joined the army. They jumped right and left. He came beneath the elephant and rent asunder his belly by means of a dagger. He who was with the elephant on the ground was Kharmil Sām Banji. The elephant was upon him. Both of them died. When the elephant fell down, the other one came out safely to 'Alāuddin. 'Alāuddin was there at the time of assault in his armour. He sent for a silken robe red in colour and wore it over the armour. He was questioned for doing it. He said, "I intended to hide blood in case I am hit by an arrow etc. so that the Ghurian soldiers may remain engaged in war while the Ghurian infantry may maintain array for reliance in war and they should not come out from hide of oxen like board on height of man. They place a cottonstuffed cloth over the face joined with it. It is called Kāruh. When they stand in a row and receive a blow on shoulders, it covers them. They become like a wall. Arm is not softened. Whenever there was a war, Dawlat Shāh son of Bahrām Shāh came forward. 'Alāuddin ordered the infantry-men to open the path for him to enter. They keep aside on a side. He came with his elephant and horse. Dawlat Shāh ordered them to assemble and to array with shields as usual from all sides. He then fought with all those who were with him. Bahrām fled away* with the rest of his Ghaznawi soldiers. 'Alāuddin pursued them manzil after manzil to a place called Josh-i-Āb-i-garm in the neighbourhood of Taknābād. Bahrām returned, fought and fled to Ghazni while the Ghuris were in his wake.

* Original Text, p. 655.

Those who were at Ghazna met together and fled to the frontiers of Hind. 'Alāuddin entered Ghazna and alighted in government palace and subjected the city for seven days to assassination, ravishment, plunder, capture, murder and arson. 'Alāuddin dis-appeared for sport. He neither moved in it except hearing from those whom he met nor lived in it out of disregard for knowledge of it. On the eighth day, he raised the veil and composed following lines extempore for self-glory:

World knows that I am Sultān of the world
I am a lamp of the family of 'Abbās
'Alāuddin Ḥusain son of Ḥusain I am
May kingdom remain permanent for him.
When I sit upon Gulgun (horse) of fortune
Earth and sky become one for me
Hope is a striker of whip around my soldiers
Death is a juggler of point of my spear.
I will conquer the whole world like Sikandar
Seat a new king in every city.
I had decided that from vagabonds of Ghazni
I flow a river of blood like the river Nile
But for old men and children
My young fortune pleads intercession
I pardoned them their lives
So that their souls may unite with my soul.

He ordered a songstress to tune up a song and she chanted it. He then issued a proclamation for amnesty. He entered the bath and came out from it in mourning dress to visit his brother's grave. They had pitched tents there and carpeted it. He visited them and shed tears for them and permitted the high and the low for mourning. He stayed there for seven days for alms, feeding, recitation of the Holy Qurān and litany. He did not spare a single grave in Ghazni from which the buried was not unearthed and burnt except that of Maḥmud, Mas'ud and Ibrāhim. Such is the decree of the Powerful and the Knowing. He then ordered to blow the bugle and marched with coffins to Ghur. He captured many persons and carried bags of dust on their backs from Ghazna in retaliation for the Wazir. When he arrived at Firoz Koh, he collected in heap earth of Ghazna and killed all carriers of earth on it. He mixed it with* their blood and built turrets in Firoj Koh. He was designated 'Jahānsoz' (world-burner) on account of his incendiarism at Ghazna. He committed excesses in destruction of Mahmud's monuments. His manner in his return was swift. Whenever he saw a monument of Maḥmud, he remarked that it would

* Original Text, p. 656.

be of none else than he and ordered to construct palaces similar to them, and approaching them. Those which were lofty on side were pulled down to the ground. His other excess was that he did not make captives other than the Syeds of Ghazna. "There is no power and strength except that of God." The historian al-Juzjāni said that those turrets exist even to our age. May God forgive us and he. When he settled down at Firoz Koh, he ordered to remove Ghiyathuddin Muḥammed and Shihābuddin Muḥammed, sons of his brother Bahāuddin Sām to fort of Wajiristān and imprison them. It was practice of the king of Ghur to carry every year arms and textiles worthy of him to the ruler of Khurāsān. The ruler of Khurāsān in that age was Sultān 'Alauddin of the Sanjar Dynasty. 'Alāuddin arbitarily stopped that practice and continued upon it. It became cause of invasion of Sanjar on Ghur. 'Alāuddin received report of it. He came out for resistance with army of Ghur to the frontiers of Nāb town situated between Herāt and Firoz Koh. He collected grass in abundance from neighbourhood in the plateu of Hariv river where there was moss spreading far and wide. It is called "Seh Koshah Nāb." The battle took place in its proximity. A day, before the battle began, 'Alāuddin ordered to establish control over water at that spot which was behind the army of Ghur. The place was rendered muddy. By proclamation, he ordered his soldiers to remain firm and steadfast in order to prevent them from flight. There was no passage to come out of mire. Both the armies arrayed themselves face to face. There were six thousand horse from Ghuzz, Turks and Khalaj on the right wing of the Ghuri army. They had only to heed to attack opposite array of Sanjar. The Ghuri fled away immediately without a war. Most of his amirs and soldiers got stuck into mire. Many of them were made captives and the rest killed. 'Alāuddin was brought to Sanjar. He ordered him to be imprisoned. When the man intended to put him in chains he said to him to seek the opinion of the Sultān in respect of him. He further said, "Tell him, do with me what you have decided in his respect and that if you make him a prisoner he should be in gold chain out of regard for a sultān. He had carried with him all my treasure." He reproduced the discourse of 'Alāuddin before Sanjar. He accepted it. They* brought gold chains, put them in his feet and carried him on a camel. Sanjar returned from his place to his capital. 'Alāuddin was renowned for his intellectual power, graceful temperament, marvellous witticism and sagacious wisdom. Sanjar treated him with affection when he was informed about his qualities after a day or three of his imprisonment. He ordered for his release, invited him to his majlis, honoured him by seating him on his side and addressed him in apologetic language. There was a tray in front of him full of octagonal gems. He presented them to him. He took it with decorum and composed these lines extempore:

* Original Text, p. 657.

He captured me and the king did not avenge me
Though I certainly deserved to be killed.
He gave me a tray full of precious stones
Such should be forgiveness and gift.

Sanjar was surprised, he seated him and elevated him. One day, he was on the throne stretching his legs to the ground. 'Alāuddin saw a mole. He stood up in the majlis and improvised :

Oh! dust of door of your palace is a crown for me
Oh! ring of your servitude is an ornament for me
When I kiss a mole of sole of your feet
Fortune imprints a kiss on my head.

He then sought permission to kiss it. He granted it to him. He desired with his head to sole of feet and kissed his legs. When he desired to raise his head, Sanjar toyed with his beard and caught hairs with thumb of leg. He lowered his head. Those who sat there began to laugh. 'Alāuddin felt ashamed. Sanjar understood it. He made amends for what proceeded from him and said, "I grant him amnesty. There is no excuse. I am pleased. I accept in heart. I give your kingdom to you. Have triangular meat preparation in it." He was about to go against the Ghuzz. He granted him leave for return to Ghur, and consigned to him his stores and treasures. As he was going against the Ghuzz, he did not take out horses, camels, cattle, goats and oxen. He said to him on his departure to go in safety and keep his pledge for what had been deposited as a secret from the Ghuzz, for they would remain with him till necessity. Abu'Umaru said that during the absence of 'Alāuddin, the affairs of the Ghuzz had become serious in the Sanjari kingdom. They caused great harm on the frontiers of Ghor. Amirs of Ghor decided to nominate Nāsir-ud-Din Ḥusain bin Shihābuddin Muḥammed Mādini bin Bahāuddin Sām as Sultān. During his* regime, a portion of territory went out of his hand and treasures and stores became empty for being spent on the amirs, favourites, vagabonds and most wonderfully on mistresses of 'Alāuddin. When the people of Ghur learnt about his return, those who were disposed towards him decided to murder Nāsiruddin. They induced those mistresses to assassinate him. They agreed to it. He slept in a state of drunkenness. They placed a pillow on his face and blind-folded him under its heavy weight till he died. 'Alāuddin received news of it and thanked sufficiently for this. Soldiers of Ghur gathered around him. He entered the capital and examined its affairs. He then went out to the region of Kishti. Its residents had rebelled. He entered it and demolished its lofty palaces, more than one thousand, uprooted mischief-mongers and returned to mountains of Ghur and subdued it and returned to Firuz Koh. He then con-

* Original Text, p. 658.

quered Bāmian, Jakhāristan, Jarun, Dāwar and Bush. After six years of his return, he encamped at the fort of Tulak. It was in Khurāsān among mountains of Herāt, conquered it and made peace. A poet of the name of 'Umar bin Sirāj lived here. When the war ended in peace, he composed a poem himself addressing 'Alāuddin

Having sat on a horse Warlak Fulak
Your object is Tulak, here is Tulak.

He intends by Warlak and Tulak, a race of horses going up and below. He then conquered Ghuzistan. He married Nur Malek, daughter of King of Ghuzz, Shāh bin Ibrāhim bin Ardashir bin Sabur. He subdued Marghāb in the plateau of Rudbār and its forts except the fort of Sanbakji. Continuously for six years, he was engaged in conflict. He then enjoyed peace. At the close of his life, a deputation of heretics waited upon him. He gave them asylum. He permitted them to carry on their mission. They spread themselves for propagation in his dominions. It was a blemish on him. He was overwhelmed with repentance on their expulsion. Death suddenly seized him and he died before that. He was buried by the side of his ancestor at Sanbaka(?). His son Saif-ud-Din Muḥammed son of 'Alāuddin Ḥusain son of Ḥusain became the ruler. He was a young man of handsome appearance. He was just, generous, a kind patron for subjects, humble, helper in the cause of religion, one who put into practice duties as enjoined by religion. In the first year of ascension, he ordered wealth to be distributed among those from whom his father had illegally taken and cancelled rights of unjust confiscation. He summoned messengers of the heathens. They had spread themselves in different parts of dominion. They stood for totality * of their mission. He arranged their general massacre. He pursued those who accepted their creed. Many people of his kingdom had accepted their mission. He counted their number. He killed all those who did not abandon misguidance. Similarly, he pursued mischievous carmalthians in his kingdom. None was left. People of Ghur loved him and they prided themselves on obedience to him. These persons respected him for three reasons. He ordered release of his cousins Ghiyāthuddin, and Shihābuddin. They were incarcerated by his father at Wajiristān. Ghiyāthuddin chose to live with him. Shihābuddin was with his uncle Fakharuddin Mas'ud till life of his brother Ghiyāthuddin. During the regime of Saifuddin, the country prospered, good multiplied and comforts became general. His period did not prolong. His reign lasted for something more than a year. The Pahelwān of Ghur and the Chief Amir Abul 'Abbās Sish murdered him. It was practice of amirs of Ghur and Muluk-ul-jibāl (kings of mountains). When they eulogise great men with respect, they ride him on a horse with trappings of gold studded with jewels. In the later age, the royal robe of honour

* Original Text, p. 659.

what was called in their language 'Kamar' belt of gold, studded with jewels. as a strap with a knot in the middle. It so happened with Saifuddin that as in the courtyard of his residence. He ordered to fix a target, he took up t, and invited the amirs who were present to participate in archery. There present the Commander-in-chief Warmish son of Sish, brother of Sulaimān Sish and son of a brother Abil 'Abbās Sish. When he stood up for a throw he target, he saw a sawār with two riders. He recognized them. They for the seraglio of his father 'Alāuddin. Nāṣirud-Din Ḥasan was respected ng them during his days. He stood after his father in the kingdom. He what he wished. He had power over the stores of his father. Self-zeal ed him up. He cast a dart at the target and ordered him to come with an w. He went towards him. His back was void. He filled his bow with an w and darted it; it pierced through his heart. He fell down dead. Abul bās bore spite for him and kept it secret in his heart when Saifuddin went n search of the Ghuzz. During Sanjar's decline of fortune, they had become inant on frontiers of his kingdom and extended their hands to environs of r. Saifuddin started for Ghuristān and Fārs. He marched thence to bār-i-Marv left it behind him and passed beyond the city of Dazk. He* ht with the Ghuzz. At such a time, Abul 'Abbās came from behind him stabbed him with a spear. It penetrated through his heart. He was say- at the place of target, "Do not kill a man as my brother was killed." He in such a plain. He instantly fell down. There was some breath in him. his fall, the army of Ghur fled away including Ghiyāthuddin. A man the Ghuzz stood upon Saifuddin and saw the signs of grandeur of Sultān im and especially the belt. He intended to remove it as it was difficult for With the help of knives, he cut out the knot. He plunged needle into open it. He inserted a running band into its depth with all strength. It ed through the belt to its end. This passed with him, may mercy of God him.

Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed bin Bahāuddin Sām sat on the throne of nat of Ghur after him. He was in the army of Ghur. He had fled from the n of Rudbār and environs of Dazk and treading the path of Asirdarah and came to the city of Afsin, capital of Shārān Ghuristān. Thence the encamped at a town called Wazāwarad. At this spot, Abul 'Abbās Sish Ghiyāthuddin. He had collected chiefs of the army. They were obedient im. He, therefore, took the oath of loyalty first. He then ordered them ke the oath. None objected to it. He built a fort there. It existed till invasion and similarly the town. Ghiyāthuddin, then, marched to Firoz and ascended the throne of sovereignty. His title was Shamsuddin but he

* Original Text, p. 660.

was titled Ghiyāthuddin. His brother Shihābuddin Muḥammed came to meet him from Bāmian. He was appointed head of Jāndāriyā and Amirs. He was given the region of Astih and Kajurān. Ghiyāthuddin then came out to punish disobedient elements of Ghur. They belonged to the party of the Commander-in-Chief Abil 'Al Lās Sish and his followers and to make them take of oath of allegiance. He became chief commander of the army (Amir Umrāul Jish), established more power than the king and obtained extreme priority therein till Ghiyāthuddin had become almost a king in name. Besides, when Ghiyāthuddin, mentioned the name of Saifuddin, he saw him that he was put to the blush. It was done in an hour of leisure. He did not feel safe and remained in anxiety for long. It chanced that his brother was free from anxiety in respect of him. He sent for the Turk in whom he had confidence and said to him that when Abu 'Abbās presented himself, and Shihāl uddin placed his hand upon his cap,* he should hasten towards him to cut off his head. One day, he sat according to his habit when Shihābuddin entered with his men as usual. Abul 'AbLās then came, saluted and stood at his place as usual. The Turk was watching Shihābuddin while the Sultān was talking with Abul 'Abbās with mildness and kindness to keep him engaged when Shihābuddin raised his hand to his cap and Abul 'Abbas's head was near his feet. With his assassination, Ghiyathuddin became an absolutely independent ruler and his order was treated with seriousness. None of his uncles except Fakharuddin Mas 'ud was left. He was the ruler of Bāmian. Fakharuddin saw importance near him elt but it belonged to his brother's son. He coveted the saltanat of Ghur. At the same time, the amirs of Ghur were in his service including a large number of persons. Hence conqest of Ghur was near with their help thinking that his mission would be accepted with their summons. When he marched to Ghur, 'Alāuddin Kumāj al-Sanjari, ruler of Balkh and Tājuddin Ilduz, ruler of Herāt came out for succour in response to his call. Ghiyāthuddin received intelligence of that. He came out of Firoz Koh with the army of Ghur. His brother Shihābuddin was commander of the army with him as far as the place called Zāgh Zar and halted there. Herāt is nearer to Firoz Koh than Balkh. Tājuddin treaded the path of Hariv river to it. He liked to fall upon the army of Ghur without them so that the victory would be in his name. He went in all haste. When he encamped at Zāgh Zar, Ghiyāthuddin learnt about it. He rode the horse and arrayed his army and stood under his standard. Horsemen of Ghur paused in his presence for war moving towards and kissing the earth and asked his permission with satisfaction. Tājuddin came, eulogised them and said to them, " we ride in the name of God for He is the Best Helper and He is the Best Assistant for you against him. They rode on and emerged from the row. His

* Original Text, p. 661.

flags fluttered and marched towards him and terminated near his array. One of them shouted and asked "Where is the king?" Some one from beneath the umbrella replied. People imagined that they were in delegation to him or they had some need from him. None heeded it. They entered into the army and penetrating further and further when they saw him beneath a canopy, arraying his companions. They moved and jumped upon him like a lion and pilfered his soul quickly within twinkling of an eye. He became a corpse on* ground. His army fled away returning to Herāt. The horsemen returned with tidings to Ghiyathuddin. He embraced them and praised them and elevated them with robes of honour. 'Alāuddin Kumāj learnt the next day about misfortune of Heratis. Ghiyāthuddin despatched a heavy battalion against him. He was going out by the high road from Ghuristān. Before he could arrive at Fakharuddin, he had pitched his tents when the Ghurian battalion fell upon him and won a victory over him. They killed him and returned with his head to Ghiyathuddin. His soldiers dispersed. They assembled after dispersion at Balkh. Ghiyathuddin ordered to carry head to his uncle. He was near him and rode in wake. When his uncle stood at the head, his wisdom fumbled. He turned his reins to return to Bāmian. The Ghurian army surrounded him. He paused staring and saw Ghiyāthuddin and Shihābuddin walking towards him. Both of them behaved with decorum as was his right and requested him to come to their pavilion. He did it. They seated him on the throne and stood before him with submissiveness and humility. He felt extremely ashamed by their good mannerly behaviour. Out of great disgrace, he did not try to attribute their obedience and excuses to ridicule. He talked with them in that respect, got down from the throne, went out to his horse, rode him and returned to Bāmian. They followed him in company to a distance of one manzil. He permitted them to return to Ghur. Ghiyāthuddin then marched to Garmsir and Dāwar and conquered them. The kingdom of Ghur was raised and put in order by him. Abu 'Umru said that after Tājuddin Yalduz, Bahāuddin Ṭughril al-Sanjari established his authority at Herāt. It remained under his control for a period. He conquered the region of Kadas, Suliwan, Fiwār and Sifarud. He married Tāj-ul-Ḥarair Jawhar Malek daughter of his uncle, Sultān 'Alauddin. He constantly conquered some portion of some region. Ultimately, the Khuṭba was recited in his name in all the cities of Ghuristān, Ṭakān, Jarurān, Jarum and Taknābād. He then assembled his army and marched to Ghazni. The Ghuzz had become dominant over it during the regime of Khusraw Shāh. His period had come to an end. He had left behind his son Khusraw Malek bin Khusraw Shāh at Lāhore in Hind. When the Ghuzz received news of it, they came out for war with him. They encamped

* Original Text, p. 662.

at a place which they had chosen for battle. They adopted roads through wood preventing the enemy from show and attack. When both the armies encounter-* ed, they assaulted the centre and put them to rout. Ghiyāthuddin was in the centre. They got the better of the royal standard and returned with it and displayed it on all sides. The Ghurians of the Right and Left wings saw it. They knew with certainty that the Sultān was beneath the flag and that he had entered the paths. They assaulted from all sides on roads (Ṭarāk), rent as under their arrays, entered into them and placed sword among the Ghuzz. It was a victory. Ghiyāthuddin received news of that. He returned to them, praised them and marched to Ghazni, conquered it and conquered Ghazni and their kingdom called Kābulistān and Zābulistān. It happened in the year, five hundred and sixty-nine, 569 (1173-74). His brother Shihābuddin became the Sultān at Ghazni. He was given a canopy. He was titled Mu izzuddin. He returned to Ghur. In the year 571 (1175-76), the Harawis invited him. He marched to Herāt. Bahāuddin Ṭughril al-Sanjari fled to Khwārazm. It was a victory. In 573 (1177), he conquered Kushanj. He was then invited by the people of Sajistān. He conquered it as well as the country of Nimroz and its all frontiers. All the people of Khurāsān entered into his obedience. He gained ascendancy over Kirmān which was under the Ghuzz, Balkh, Ṭālkān, Andkhud, Maimand, Fāryāb, Panjdeh, Marw-al-Rud, Jalam, Dazk etc. Khutba was recited in his name in all these places. In the year 588 (1192), Sultān Shāh Jalāluddin Maḥmud bin Il Arsalan came to Ghiyāthuddin for partition of Khwārazm for his brother Takash bin Il Arsalān for his ascension on its throne. He welcomed him and elevated him by reception as far as possible. There was a pact between Takash and Ghiyāthuddin to esteem him in every respect. Some directions of Khurasān were under control of the Ghuzz and a portion of it under control of the Sanjari kings which the rest was added to Ghor. Sultān Shāh requested him for help against his brother Takash to release it from him as well as the Ghuzz which they had under their control in Khurāsān so that he would become Sultān. Ghiyāthuddin waited for sometime for compliance with his request and gave him a portion of his kingdom for his sufficient management out of regard for him and that he should spend its income on his maintenance. He prayed to him for breach of promise. Sultān Shāh stayed for a period in Ghur in hope of help to him. When he was despaired of it, he parted from him and went to Transoxiana (Māwarā-un-Nahr) in Turkastān and met its Sultān Khān-i-Khānān-al-Khaṭāi. He sought help from him against his brother. He agreed to help him. First of all, he conquered what§ was under control of the Ghuzz in Khurāsān. When he settled down at Merw, he equipped an army for march on Herāt. They encamped at Kushanj besieg-

*Original Text, p. 663.

§ Original Text, p. 664.

ing it. They then entered the frontiers of Ghur and instigated an insurrection. From among those who joined the revolt was Bahâuddin Tughril Sanjar, king of Herât. Sultân Shâh then resolved upon despotism. He did not stop with correspondence and communication. Ghiyâthuddin summoned his kings from different parts of his dominions. His brother Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed arrived from Ghazna, Shamsuddin Muḥammed from Bâmian, Tâzuddin Harb from Sistân etc. They marched towards Rudbâr Merw and encamped between Dazk and Merw-al-Rud. In like manner, Sultân Shâh encamped for opposition. This continued for six months. The only distance between them and their advace-guards was a river known as Murgh Âb. They moved right and north and changed directions. Aibak Shal al: Mu'izzi was Amir-i-Âkhur (superintendent of stables) in charge of the stable of Mu'izz at Ghazni. In the camp of Murgh Âb, he became Amir-i-Kâḥi (Superintendent of Grass) for fodder. He did not find out fodder in the plains. He first rode out in search of it under protection of soldiers in order to get it from army of the Turks. After six months, it so happened that he was captured in a revolt between he and the Turks. Mu'izzuddin received intelligence of it. He lost his temper on him and crossed the river with his army. Ghiyâthuddin followed him in his wake for help and crossed the river. Mischief stirred up and the war blazed forth. There was display of great might and the battle had become hot. It resulted in defeat of the Turks. Sultân Shâh returned as an unlucky person to Merw. Many of his followers perished. Bahâuddin Tughril, king of Herât was captured by the soldiers of Shamsuddin of Bâmian. His head was cut off. It was brought to Ghiyâthuddin. He ordered it to be sent to Herât. He turned kindly towards Shamsuddin and titled him as Sultân and gave him a canopy in accordance with practice of the Government. Head of Tughril was propped up in Herât. A poet composed:

> Tughril who raised his head beyond pinnacle of the sky
> Had ornament and crown of pride and arrogance.
> He had come bodyless for spectacle of Ḥerât
> He had too much wind (desires) of Herât in head.

This event took place in the above year (588 = 1192). Sultân Shâh came to Merw. He suffered from a disease. Its treatment was poison. It recurred every year. It hastened him with return. It occurred to him through despair. As usual, he treated it with poison in a mischief in which he was involved. He* took a heavy dose of it and died. Ghiyâthuddin was sufficient for his kingdom. On the death of 'Alâuddin Takash Khwârazmshâh, in 596 (1199-1200), Ghiyâthuddin marched with Mu'izzuddin to Shâd Yâkh Nisâbur. It was under 'Ali Shâh bin Takash. When he descended upon it, he went around it for a day for

* Original Text, p. 665.

fortification looking for a side for adjustment of catapult. When he stood on the turret, 'Ali Shāh was there—this is in Habib-us-Siyar—He saw him seeking peace. Victory was nigh from him. He raised his hand. He was talking with his king pointing out the place by hand. He said, "From this to this. He agrees to peace." With walls of the fort to measure of his limit, pointing by the hand, joins with the ground. It opens a passage for entry from it. That was. He made 'Ali Shāh, Sar'āsh and Qizil Khān etc. amirs of Khwārazm captives. In "Tārikh-i-Guzida" of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfi, it is stated that 'Ali Shāh was brought to him as is brought a captive. Ghiyāthuddin did not like it. He ordered to send him to his hand, seated him by his side, talked with him with kindness and respect and permitted him to go to Khwārazm. In "Al-Kāmil" of Ibn-i-Athir, it is stated that he conquered Nisābur in the year 597 (1201) 'Ali Shāh was brought to him on foot. Ghiyāthuddin felt disgust at those who brought in that manner to him. It is a great matter. Nurse of 'Ali Shāh was present with Ghiyathuddin. She said, "Does he do this with children of kings?" He said, "No, nay, in this manner." He took his hand and seated him on the throne with him. He was pleased etc. Those who were present with him at the conquest of Nisābur were Abu Ali Ḍiauddin Muḥammed bin 'Alāuddin, Abi 'Ali ibn-i Shujā'uddin, 'Ali bin 'Izzuddin Ḥusain. He was son of his uncle. He had married his daughter. Nisābur was given to him. He went to Merw Shāh Jahān. After its conquest, he issued an order that Naṣiruddin Muḥammed Khurnak should act as his Nāib (Viceroy). He conquered Sarakhs and nominated Tājuddin Zangi bin Fakharuddin Mas'ud al-Bāmiani as his Nāib. This took place in 598 (1201). Juzzāni said that he established order in Khurāsān. Envoys of Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh visited his court for friendship and pact as existed in the regime of Takash. He was asked,* citing examples of Khwārazm and Khurāsān to conquer 'Iraq, and Māwarā-un-Nahr. He wrote to him in respect of his mother whether he would like her to be married to his brother Mu'izzuddin and adopt him as a son. That would be better. When Mu'izzuddin received news about it, he did not accept it. Ghiyāthuddin wrote to him at Khurasān. That led to wars and bias. Ghiyāthuddin was triumphant in them at the close of his life. Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh was disposed to despotic rule. 'Abbāsi Khalifa complained against him. Ghiyāthuddin avoided it. Al-Nāṣir Le Din Allāh Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad bin al-Mustaḍi corresponded with Ghiyāthuddin. The first who came to him as an envoy from the Khalifa was Ibn al-Rabi'. He had brought with him a robe of the Khalifa. On his return, he made Kāḍi Majaduddin accompany him as leader worthy from his side, to the Khalifa. Ibn-ul-Khatib came and addressed a sermon on Friday at Firoz Koh. During the course of his sermon, he said when Ghiyathuddin

* Original Text, p. 666.

was at his seat of prayer, "Oh Helping God! I seek, I seek your help against Takash, the rebel, the insurgent. The historian al-Juzjāni said, "On his return Imām Shamsuddin Turk accompanied him. My father Mawlānā Minhāj Sirāj was with him." When Shamsuddin returned with a robe of Khilāfat from the Khalifa, Ghiyāthuddin obtained saltanat and kingdom from East of Hind and from frontiers of Chin Māchin to the frontier of 'Irāq and from the frontier of Jaihun and Khurāsān to sea of Hormuz. Khutba was recited in his name for forty-three years. He lived for sixty-three years. Juzjāni said that his (historian's) father died on the environs of Makrān. Nāṣir wrote that Sirāj Minhāj had fallen on the road, may God reward him. This account preceded on the conquest of Nisābur in the account of Shād Yākh. Ibn-ul-Athir says in his 'Al-Kāmil' that 'Abdullāh bin Ṭāhir bin Ḥusain al-Khazāi' was Amir of Khurāsān on behalf of Māmun 'Abbāsi. He saw a beautiful woman leading a horse intending to make him drink water. He asked her about her husband. She informed him that she would bring him in his presence. He said to him, "Looking after horses is the work of men, I think. Why did you sit in your house and send your wife with your horse?" The man wept and said, "We bear your injustice for this." He said, "How?" He said, "you lodge soldiers with us in our houses. If I had gone out, my wife would remain in the house with no work. The soldier would take away whatever was with us in the house. If I were to conduct the horse for drinking water to him, I have no faith in the soldier in respect of my wife. Hence I remained in the house and my wife* looked after the horse." He attached much importance to it. He immediately came out of the city and lived in tent. He ordered soldiers to come out of houses of people. He built Shād Yākh Nisābur with houses for himself and the soldiers. He lived there and they with him. He thanked God for that. He watered his grave. It is written in "Al-Kāmil" that there lived a Turk in Balkh whose name was Atiz. Every year he carried tribute to Khatā in Māwara-un-Nahr. He died in the year 594 (1197). Its king was Bahāuddin Sām bin Muḥammed bin Mas'ud al-Bāmiani, son of the sister of Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed. In that year, Khwārazm Shāh Takash journeyed to Ray, Hamadān, Ispahān and encamped there and ruled them and demanded saltanat and Khutba in Baghdād. The Khalifa at Nāṣir Le Din Allāh Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad sent an envoy to Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed al-Ghuri to have designs on the cities of Khwārazm Shāh to make him give up his designs on 'Irāq. Ghiyāthuddin corresponded with him threatening him about his wicked deed. Khwārazm Shāh sought help from Khaṭā (Cathay). If they did not correct him in what he said, he would seize Mawara-un-Nahr as he had occupied Balkh. Help arrived from Khatā with the amir Ṭāyanku. They marched and crossed

* Original Text, p. 667.

Jaihun. Ghiyāthuddin was with him from Alankaras. He did not prevent him from march. His brother Shihābuddin was the commander of his army to Hind. When Khatā arrived, Khwārazm Shāh marched to Tus with an intention for Herāt. Khata crossed the river. They arrived at the cities of Ghur, and resorted to plunder and pillage, capture and murder. People sought for help from the Helper of religion. Amir of Ṭālkān Muḥammed bin Khurnak Ghuri lamented for war with them. He was brave. He wrote to Amir of spearmen Ḥusain bin Kharmil. He had created disturbance in his region of Khatā. Amir Kharosh Ghuri met them. They marched to Khatā and made a night attack on them and killed a large number of them. It was a custom of the people of Khatā that they do not come out of their tents at night. They defeated them. The Ghuris pursued them. Jaihun was in front of them. They imagined that it was Khatā. Ghiyathuddin took them unawares. In the morning they knew who fought with them. They stood firm and fought with the public at day time. Volunteers joined the Ghuris and there came succour to them from Ghiyāthuddin. They were engaged in war. The Muslims stood firm. Amir Kharosh assaulted the centre of Khatā. He was a great shaikh (old man). He received a wound and died of it. Then the two amirs assaulted among their companions. They* proclaimed neither to hit any one by bow and nor stab by a spear. They took their swords and assaulted Khatā. They put them to rout and joined at Jaihun. Those who waited were killed while those who cast themselves, got drowned. A report of this came king Khatā. He sent an envoy to Khwārazm Shāh informing him that "you killed my men and I want ten thousand dinars for every killed man. Twelve thousand persons have been killed. Give him who returns to Khwārazm and compel him to appear before him." Khwārazm Shāh sent an envoy at that very moment to Ghiyāthuddin to acquaint him about this state of affairs in connection with Khatā and conciliate him instantly. He ordered him for obedience of the Khalifa. Khwārazm Shāh returned the reply "your army had designs for expropriation of Balkh but they did not come to my help. They also did not assemble with them. I did not order them for Ghur. Whereas you became helpless against the Ghuris. I was ready myself for this word. I had entered into obedience of the Ghuris. You have no devotion to me." Malek Khatā prepared a large army and marched it to Khwārazm and laid siege to it. Khwārazm Shāh came out to them in the night. A large number of volunteers had joined him. He always fought with them and killed most of them as they came. Most of them fled away. Khwārazm Shāh moved in their wake with intention to lay siege to Bukhārā. He prevented its citizens to come out from it. They fought with Khatā. They seized one-eyed dog, dressed him with a robe and a hood and said that he was Khwārazm Shāh. He was one-eyed.

* Original Text, p. 668.

They moved around with joy. They then cast him in a catapult to the army saying 'This is your sultān.' He continued the siege and conquered it and forgave the residents. The historian Juzjāni said that what preceded in regard to a question of Muhammed Khwārazm Shāh for his adoption as a son by marrying his mother, I heard from a reliable person who wrote to him thus: I, Muḥammed Takash, request you that Sultans accept me as a son. If I do not possess worthiness of a son, it is necessary that Sultān Ghāzi Mu'izzuddin who is lord of the world should marry my mother so that I may gain victory and unsheath sword for the servants of that world-court in the name of coin and Khutba of His Majesty and be one of his servants.*

The historian said that Ghiyāthuddin looked to suitability of the subject. But Mu'izzuddin did not accept the proposal and started for Khurasān. He subdued its frontiers. On their return to Ghur, Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh followed them and came to a distance of one or two manzils. He was in complete flight and did not pause for resistance to them due to their strength. He was almost exhausted to death. He then came to Herāt and its governor 'Izzuddin Ḥusain Kharmil al-Ghuri came to him and made him safe in it. Ibn-ul-Athir mentioned about generosity of Ghiyāthuddin. When he heard about the death of Takash Khwārazm, he forbade beating of nauba for three days and sat in mourning inspite of war and enmity with him. He said prayers on his behalf. Observe his wisdom and manliness. May God, the Almighty be merciful to him. Juzjāni narrated in the life of 'Alāuddin Muhammed Khwārazm Shah bin Takash that when he conquered Turkastān, Balāsāghun and Kāshghar, the army of Khatā assembled for war. The soldiers were numberless. The general of the army was Ṭāyanku Ṭarāz. He was a man of age, of victorious banner and a famous horse-man. Forty-five rows of soldiers were with him. He gained victory in all wars. These wars included war with Sultān Sanjar and war with Sultān Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed Sām. In this war, Muḥammed Khwārāzm Shāh made him a captive. The army of Khatā was defeated. He first of all saw that he was safe in his hand. He dismissed his majlis and called him for his account. One day, Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh asked him about his previous wars with kings and Sultāns as to which he found more difficult and which stripped him of his valour and who was a powerful horseman and who was weak in prowess. He replied "al-Ghuri". If I had seen him and even though I was weak with few men, his horse crawled from running in different directions and I overpowered him." He said to him, "you are true. He was such." Ghiyāthuddin was on the religion of Muḥammed bin Kirām. He saw in a dream that he was in a masjid and the Kāḍi Wahiduddin Muḥammed al-Marwruzi al-Shāfai was with him. He was with Imām Muḥammed bin Idris al-Shāfai; may God be pleased

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* Original Text, p. 669.

with him in the holy arch saying prayers. Both of us stood behind him to say prayers with him. When he awoke from sleep, I thought over what I saw. He sent for the Kādi. A chair was brought for him. He gave a sermon and ordered him for deeds of the promised day. He saw that night in dream what* Ghiyāthuddin had seen. They opened topics in regard to seeing of dreams. When he finished, Ghiyāthuddin remained alone with him. He spoke about his dreams to him. The Kāḍi informed him about knowledge he had of dreams also. They agreed to renounce the creed of carmathians and follow the path of Imām Shāfai. It was the guidance of God to them. In 'al-Kāmil' of Ibn Athir it is stated that al-Fakhr Muḥammed bin 'Umar bin Ḥusain al-Rāzi, the famous Shāfi 'Imām came to Herat in the year 595 (1198-99) for death of Bahāuddin al-Bāmiam. Ghiyāthuddin and his brother Shihābuddin honoured him. They built a madresa for him at Herāt in the vicinity of Jāme'. The theologians intended to remove him from the cities. It became a serious matter with the Carmathians. They lived in a large number in Herāt. All the Ghurians were Carmathians. They detested him. Ḍiauddin son of Ghiyāthuddin's uncle was powerful among people. The Carmathian theologians, Ḥanafis and Shāfi's were brought together before Ghiyāthuddin for debate. Fakhruddin Rāzi, Kāḍi Majduddin 'Abdul Majid bin 'Umar known as Ibn-ul-Kadwa were present. The latter was a Carmathian. He occupied an eminent position among them on account of his religious devotion, knowledge, and night vigil. Rāzi spoke to him. Ibn-ul-Kadwa remonstrated with him. The debate prolonged. Ghiyāthuddin stood up. al-Fakhr-ur-Rāzi lengthened the debate, insulted and reviled and exaggerated in causing him harm. Ibn-ul-Kadwa did not allow him to speak more than what he said "Do not do, oh Mawlānā, no, may God punish you, I seek forgiveness of God." The majlis dispersed on this. Malek Ḍiauddin stood up in midst of that incident and complained to Ghiyāthuddin and reproached al-Fakhr and connected him with heretics and creed of philosophers. Ghiyāthuddin did not hear him. Next day, there was a public sermon of Majd ibn-ul-Kadwa in the Jāme'. When he ascended the pulpit, he said, after praise of God, the Almighty and benediction on the Prophet, may peace and salutation of God be on him, "There is no god but Allāh, our Lord with what He revealed to you and we obey the Messenger, write us down us the witnesses. Oh men! I do not say except what is correct with us from Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benediction of God be on him. We are not acquainted with learning of Aristotle, unbeliefs of Ibn-i-Sinā and philosophy of Fāryābi. Alas! yesterday, a shaikh from among shaikhs of Islam used abusive language frightening us with wrath of God, the Almighty and rule of the Prophet may peace and benediction of God be on him, and wept." It became clear to people. The Carmathians wept, complained and sought help from the Sultān

* Original Text, p. 670.

for he who was mild to al-Fakhr-ur-Rāzi. People got excited at every place, the city was full of insurgence and on the point of spreading wherein many* persons would have perished. The Sultān received a report of it. He despatched a party of men who were with him to the people. They pacified them and promised them for expulsion of al-Fakhr from him. They approached him for return and departure. It happened. Ghiyāthuddin abandoned the Carmathian creed and became a Shāfai'. The cause of it was that there was a man by his side. He was called Fakhr Mubārak Shāh. He composed verses in Persian language. He was an adept in many branches of learning. Shaikh Waḥiduddin Abul Fath Muḥammed bin Maḥmud al-Marwruzi, a Shāfai' theologian came to Ghiyāthuddin. He explained to him unsoundness of the Carmathian creed. He became a Shāfai'. He built Shāfai' madresas. He built a masjid in Ghazna for them. He mostly showed regard to them. The Carmathians tried to cause harm to Waḥiduddin. But God, the Almighty did not enable them to do so. It is stated in "Habib-us-Siyar" that Fakhr Mubārak Shāh was a poet of Ghiyāthuddin. He composed encomiums in his eulogy. There are books to his credit such as "al-Madkhal-ul-Manzum Fi Bahr-un-Nujum." It is stated in "Rawḍat-uṣ-Ṣafa" of Syed, a scholar Mir Khwānd bin Khāwind Shāh that Fakhr-ur-Rāzi lived at Ray. He used to reproach heretics and heap curses on them from the pulpit. Their king was, in those days, Muḥammed bin Ḥasan. One of the heretics made him his pupil. He sided himself with the creed. He approached with effort in acquisition of the service of the Imām. He superseded all his other servants. The Imām looked to him with favour. He presented himself before him even in hours of his privacy. He waited for an opportunity which came to him. He got it after seven months. He rejoiced at it. He closed door of privacy and came up to him. He caught him by his two hands and laid him flat on the ground and sat upon his chest. He took out a dagger from his waist and raised his hand to see him. He was stabbing him. Fakhr said to him "What do you intend with this?" He said, "I want to split you from your navel to your chest." He said to him, "Why do you shed my blood?" He said, "For extending curses upon us from the pulpit." He said, "I will stop them, took an oath and strengthened it by the right hand." He uttered a word. I uttered it for freedom from him. He then explained or pronounced unbelief and returned to from what I did not return. He said, "I will never go back to it." He then took a pledge and stood away from chest† and said, "I was appointed for your murder. I tell you that my master Muḥammed bin Ḥasan 'Alā writes salām to you and requests you to honour him with your presence in his majlis to wait on you and bear your scarf. He then says to you, "Do not cause harm to me by your public utterances. He suffers from delirium tremens. It causes pain to him by what men like you speak. It

* Original Text, p. 671.

† Original Text, p. 762.

becomes like an impression on stone, you turn back from it perhaps he may mourn your loss in course of time. He acknowledged what he said. There was no alternative in his presence. His talk was his last pledge. In the meantime, he took out from his pocket three hundred and sixty mithkal of gold and placed it in his hands and said to him, " This is from Mawlānā for you, an allowance of this year, you will have similar to it every year till you live. Abul Faḍl, the head-man will bring it to you as per order. In my room, there is a pair of cloth-sheet of Yaman. When I go out from you, you take them from it. He saluted him and left him. Juzjāni said that the chief Abul Faḍl used to come to him with an amount of money every year till end of his life. The Imām was engaged in opposition to the principles of Isma'ilism and stuck to it. Before, he spoke against the heretics, may God curse them. His enemy questioned him about his previous behaviour and a change to the second. He replied, " It was so with me and there is a convincing proof for it. He said that this Muḥammed bin Ḥasan was in his sixty-seventh year. His son Jalāluddin Ḥasan bin Muḥammed bin Ḥasan assaulted him and killed him. He cursed his father and grand-father. He burnt books of the Head of heretics Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. He changed his creed of heresy to that of men of sunna. He thus made his Islām good. Zakariyā bin Muḥammed bin Maḥmud al-Kazwini has written in his " Āthār-ul-Bilād " that Ray is a city in the fourth region. Imām Fakhruddin Abu 'Ablullāh Muḥammed bin Umar al-Rāzi belonged to this city. Abul Qāsim bin 'Asākir counted the number of mujaddid (reformers) to one sixth in hundred. The first is 'Umar bin al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him, then Muḥammed bin Idris, then Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad bin Shariḥ, then al-Kāḍi Abu Bakr Muḥammed bin aṭ-Tayyab al-Bāqlāni, then Imām Abu Ḥāmid Muḥammed al-Ghazāli, then Imām Fakhruddin Rāzi. He said that Fakhr came to Bukhārā and presented himself in the circle of Raḍi-ud-Din Nisāburi. There were four hundred scholars in that circle such as Zakiuddin al-'Amidi,* Ruknuddin al-Ṭawoosi as well as those who were of their class and those without them. They sought information in that majlis. There was none from the community who did not bring a question or two in it. Every one sent it to him and he replied it and put forth excuse for such advantages. Raḍiuddin said that there was no need for the reply for there was no more for it. People were surprised at his control, return and arrangement. It is said that he went to Khwārazm before his renown with a messenger of the Sultān. People of Khwārazm said to the messenger " We have heard that a scholar is with you. We intend to hear from him something of advantage. " They were in the Jāmé on Friday after prayers. The messenger suggested to Fakhruddin about it. Fakhruddin said, " I do that on condition that they should not debate except face to face. They undertook it. He said, " From what knowledge do you

* Original Text, p. 673.

want?" They said, "From scholastic philosophy." It was perseverance. He said, "What problem you want?" They chose the problem of religion in it. He spoke for a short while. There was a large crowd of the public as well as the public of Khwārazm. Every one of them was a scholastic. They realized that Fakhruddin established proof. He won a victory over every one of them. He wanted the people to be in order to keep a secret of that preservation for the maḥfil of the Rais. He had said that it took a long time and the advantages multiplied that day. There should be conciseness. He completed in another sitting in the presence of Mawlānā Fakhruddin. The Rāzi said, "Oh Khwarazmis! verily the Mawlānā spoke without standing in this majlis. Whether one be an unbeliever or a wicked person, the order is obligatory with argument. If he does not believe, he is an unbeliever upon his own responsibility. He who believed it and did not know, is a wicked man upon his own responsibility. God is the Gracious. He delivered a sermon from the pulpit at Khwārazm. There cropped up different problems between the Mu'tezalites and the Ash'aris. He then delivered a perfect speech. It was said that the Mu'tezalites were unable to make such a speech. It was said to them, "Is this speech good?" They said, "yes." It was said, "Hear its cancellation. He made it null and void with strong arguments." The Mu'tezalites resolved upon abandonment of secession (retirement) for it was obligatory upon them to obey the argument. Their mashāikh said to them, "Do not give up your creed for God has given this man wonderful power of speech. This is due to his power, not to weakness of your creed." He was on the pulpit when he quoted a thing from Taura. It was said, "How do you know that it is from Taura." * He said, "What travel you intend to see with eyes till I read it before you." A pigeon came to him followed by a hunting bird which intended to hunt it. The pigeon entered behind back of the Shaikh. One of audience extemporised:

> Solomon of the time came with solicitude
> And the death flashed from seizing wings
> He who recognised the pigeon that it was on your sides
> Forbade and verily there was no fright.

The Shaikh covered it with his shirt and turban. The Imām died on 'Id-ul-Fitr day, in the year 606 (1209). Mercy of God be on him. He said that Ghiyāthuddin was disposed to devotion of God. He helped the religion. He ruled with justice over his subjects. He applauded men of scholarship. He was affectionate towards the learned. He esteemed the righteous and honoured swordsmen. He paid attention to the faqirs, cheered the guests and extended his territory. In "al-Kāmil" it is stated that Ghiyāthuddin was victorious and triumphant in his wars. He did not suffer a defeat in wars. He had finesse

* Original Text, p. 674.

and fraud in him He was liberal, of good faith, much charity and abundant knowledge of Khurâsân. He built masjids and madresas in Khurâsân for the Shâfai's. He built houses (inns) on the roads. He gave up drinking. (He repented of drink). He did not interfere in the wealth of any man. When a man died without an heir, his wealth was distributed in alms and charity. When a merchant of known city died in his city, his wealth was given to residents of his city. When no one was found, his wealth was entrusted to the Kāḍi. The Holy Qurān was recited on his behalf and the amount spent was taken from what was found on him according to requirements of religion. When he went to the city of his uncle, he obliged members of his family and esteemed every one who came to his presence. He possessed kindness to an abundant degree and very wide decorum besides beautiful calligraphy and eloquence. He transcribes books and visits madresas he founded. It is vicious to say that he was a bigot in religious matters. He suffered from the disease of arthritis and so it was difficult for him to take direct part in wars. He was probably found to be in a litter. He died at Herāt on Wednesday, seventeenth of Jamādi I of the year five hundred and ninety-nine, 599 (1202-03). He was entombed in a cupola which he had built for this day in vicinity of the famous Jāme'ul-Kabir. May mercy of God be on him.

Conqueror of Hind Shihāb-us-Saltanat Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed Abul Muzaffar ibn Bahāuddin Sām bin 'Izzuddin Abi-us-Salātin Husain al-Ghuri. *

The historian al-Juzjāni said in his "Tabaqāt that Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed was Head of Jāndāriyat (body-guards) during the regime of his brother Ghiyāthuddin and he had Astih (as Jagir). He happened to go to Sajistān in censure. He was conciliated. He annexed Qasr-i-Khajurān to what he already had. He was appointed Chief Commander-in-chief (Amır-i-Umrā-ul-Jaish). He was Sipahsālār in the terminology of Persia. Shamsuddin then was the ruler of Sajistān. He returned to his brother after a year. He stayed with him. Ghiyāthuddin had Garmsir under him. He gave Taknābād from it to him. At Taknābâd, a battle was fought between the Ghuris and the Ghaznawis. It was the most famous city of Garmsir. 'Alāuddin Jahānsoz descended upon him during the regime of Khusraw Shāh. He composed following verses there:

> First of all, your father laid foundation of revenge
> So that all people of the world fell to injustice.
> Yes, so that you may not give for the sake of Taknābād
> Entire kingdom of Maḥmud's descendants to ruin.

This was what he said. When Mu'izzuddin settled there, he saw the defeated Ghuzz of the army of Khatā who ruled over Ghazni. They had snatched the kingdom from Khusraw Shāh and Khusraw Malek and established absolute

* Original Text, p. 675.

authority over it since twelve years. For that purpose, he resolved upon seizure of kingdom from them. He always assailed their environs for pillage, let loose his horses in pasture-lands and graze fodder on entry in 569 (1173-74). His brother Ghiyāthuddin marched to Ghazni and conquered it in that year. He assigned it to him and appointed him its Sultan. He elevated his dignity by grant of a canopy. It was a shade over head. He titled him Mu'izzuddin. His laqab (epithet) was Shihābuddin. He returned to Ghur.

In the year 571 (1175-76), Mu'izzuddin conquered Multān. It was under control of the Carmathians. In that year, there was an insurgence of its residents. He led an expedition against them and killed a large number of them.

In 575 (1179), he crossed over Ujja and Multān as far as Naharwāla capital of Gujarāt in ancient times. An unbeliever was the ruler. He was called Rāy Bhimdev. It was his ancestral dominion. He was a minor at the time of invasion of his kingdom. He, therefore, did not fight with might and vigour. When Mu'izzuddin entered boundary of his kingdom, Bhimdev's Vakil * came out with Bhimdev for resistance. He had ample men and elephants. He cast all of them in the battle. It was a fierce battle to end it with entry. He, therefore, returned to Ghazni.

In 577 (1182), he descended upon Lāhore. Its Sultān was Khusraw Malek. His son Bahrām Shāh came out with a corps of elephants to be presented to him for conclusion of peace. He accepted them and returned.

In 578 (1182), he conquered Dewal in Sind along with its villages and towns which were situated on the bank of its river Saihun and adjacent to it. In 'al-Kāmil', it is stated that he laid siege to Ujja but did not conquer it for long. It was situated in Sind. A woman ruled over it. Shihābuddin corresponded with her for marriage. The reply was that it was not advisable for him. She had a beautiful daughter whom she sent to accept her in marriage. Her husband drank poison and died. The city thus remained safe. He took the girl with him, converted her to Islām, married her and carried her to Ghazni. He appointed a teacher for her to teach the Qurān to her. He was anxious for her on the death of her mother after ten years. He did not see her. He did not go near her. He erected a mausoleum over her. People of Ghazni pay visits to her tomb.

In 580 (1184), he returned to Lāhore, plundered its environs and chose it for pillage. He marched to Sialkot, repaired its forts, entrusted it to Ḥusain Kharmil. He was appointed an Amir of Sialkot. He returned to the capital. Khusraw Malek came out with Hindi army to Sialkot and descended upon it. He strove hard to win it but failed and returned to Lāhore.

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* Original Text, p. 676.

In 582 (1186), he conquered Lāhore. Khusraw went to him for peace but he was put in captivity along with his son Bahrām Shāh bin Khusraw Shāh. He left behind his commander-in-chief 'Ali Karyākh as its Amir and returned to Ghazni. He sent an envoy to his brother Ghiyāthuddin with them from Ghazna. He imprisoned Khusraw Malek in the fort of Balrawān, a fort in Ghuristān while Bahrām Shāh was incarcerated in the fort of Sifrud in jurisdiction of Ghur. They continued in prison till Ghiyāthuddin came out to Murghāb in the incident of Sultān Shāh. It was then that he met with felicity of martyrdom in 587 (1191). He was the last of the Maḥmudi class of the family * of Subuktagin. May God forgive them. In the 'Rarwḍat-uṣ-Ṣafa,' it is stated that Khusraw Shāh, father of Khusraw Malek died at Lāhore in a siege. Ibn-ul-Athir connects the invasion with peace with him. He states in "al-Kamil" that Muḥammed Sām sent Khusraw Shāh to his brother Ghiyāthuddin and his son was with him. When both of them came to Karshāpur, its residents went to them weeping and inviting them with prayers. The servants restrained with reproof. They said that "a Sultān pays a visit to the Sultān. Why do you weep?" They beat them so they returned. The son came out for an address from his father in a painful manner. He said, "When I came to him, I informed him about a message of my father. I said to him that I had not talked with him. I had no need for the service of any one else." He said to me, "Salute him." Give me an apron of freedom and a prayer-carpet which are the deeds of a ṣufi. This was a reminder of his father to my father. He saluted him. Hemistich: Know. How can one have a house in the world. He recited with eloquent tongue:

> And it was not like the period of house, Oh mother of Malek
> But surrounded by chains of control.

He said, "I departed from my father knowing his condition." He wept and said, "I had known man with certainty for death." He was the last king of Subuktagin dynasty. Blessed is He whose kingdom is permanent and times do not change it. He cried tush for this mean world. How do you do this to your children? We question God, the Almighty to unveil it to our hearts till we see it with eyes of reality, and accept it and get engaged with it. Verily He is powerful over everything.

In 584 (1188), Mu'izzuddin assailed the fort of Tabarhind in Hind for good. Its ruler fled to Rāy Bathu (Prithviraj) for shelter to Ajmer. His brother Rāy Kubha was there and met him. His brother Rāy Govind ruler of Delhi got ready for his help. He returned to Tabarhind with them. Mu'izzuddin received intelligence of it. He marched against them to Narāyan and there he saw both of them assembled. They arrayed rows of the army. It was a fierce

* Original Text, p. 677.

battle. One of them was emboldened in self to repel it. The unbelievers were in a large number. They came in the way of victory. In the meantime, it so* happened that Mu'izzuddin in his encounter with Rāy Govind could not recognize one from the other. The unbeliever was on an elephant. He struck him with what was in his hand, that is, a mace or what was heavy in weight on his shoulder. The blow was near the teeth with a stab of Mu'izzuddin. Two of his teeth gave way. They fell upon his face and turned to his elephant from him. Mu'izzuddin, inspite of the wound and the stab being in even combination, as preordained, lost his consciousness by the wound. He turned reins of his horse and he fell on the ground. The Ghurian army fled. One of the preoccupied men who was near him saw him in that state. He followed him and embraced him and came out from the battle-field with him. His soldiers gathered around him. They dismounted him from the horse in a painful state. They took out with a fork the point of a lance and applied something to soften it. They attacked them on heads and drove them to a place of safety. It is stated in 'al-Kāmil' that Mu'izzuddin took a stock of difficulties in a war with Hind. When the army was separated from him, his wound was healed. His left hand became useless. He fell to the ground by another blow on his head. The night stopped war between them. Ghiyāthuddin sympathised with his party of Turk slaves in darkness of the night. They were in search of him in the battle-field and weeping for not finding him. The Hindus had returned. They talked with them. He was in strain due to what had happened. They came to him in all haste and attacked them on heads, walking by turns. They continued attack till they reached Ujja. His safety's report spread. The first thing that he did was that he punished the Ghurian amirs who fled from him. He kept them safe. He filled nose-bags of horses with barley and took an oath. In case they failed to eat it, their necks would be struck off. They ate it through necessity. His brother Ghiyāthuddin received a report of his defeat. He wrote to him blaming for his haste. Abu 'Umaru al-Juzjāni said that Kaḍi of Tulak was in the fort of Tabarhind as its Amir. When this event took place, Rāy Pṛithvirāj besieged it. War continued constantly between him and the amirs Diauddin, Kāḍi of Tulak, Muḥammed bin 'Abdussalām Narsāwi Tulaki along with men of Tulak twelve hundred or more for three months. Rāy Prithvirāj retreated. He returned to Ghazna with his companions.

In 588 (1192), Mu'izzuddin made his appearance with his brother Ghiyāthuddin. He had encamped at Murghāb in an encounter of Sultān Shāh.† He then equipped himself with one hundred thousand (foot) and twenty thousand horse for Tabarhind. Rāy Prithvirāj came to his brother and decided upon war. Mu'izzuddin had come to Narain. He arrayed his army. He had

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* Original Text, p. 678.

† Original Text, p. 679.

taken with him some weapons of iron resembling points of Kitâd (a thorny tree) with triangular head to control elephants. He ordered to sprinkle them on the plain at a distance of bowshot (furlong) or two. The commander-in-chief had eighty thousand soldiers under him. He advanced with vanguards of forty thousand. He became a dodge for the army of unbelievers, retiring and fleeing, right and left. They were under the impression that vanguards of the army are not equal. Vanity assailed them to attack the vanguards. They scattered themselves in search of them. They were before and behind till they supervised the army which had a mistaken notion. They distributed the vanguards from face of the army near scattered thorns. One joined with the other. The elephants came and treaded upon thorns. They felt pain and turned against their companions. It became extremely difficult for them to isolate them. They goaded the army in their wake. Time became a strong factor as well as action of the sword. It was an uneasy day for the unbelievers. Rāy Prithvirāj was killed in the battle-field. His head was brought. Rāy Govind perished on the environs of Narsi at the hands of one of his followers for the sake of plunder. He came with his head. Mu'izzuddin had known him on the occasion of spear-fight. Rāy Kula](Gola) was lost. God made His party victorious. Mu'izzuddin then advanced to Ajmer and conquered it. He conquered Hansi, Sarasti and all the region of Siwālik that year. He then elevated the rank of one of the amirs from among his mamālik, Quṭbuddin Aibak. He appointed him his Nāib (Vice-roy), in this region. Its capital was Kuhrâm fort. He advised him with what advice was o be given and returned to Ghazni. At the time of this victory, Malek Diauddin Muḥammed, son of his uncle made his appearance before him and praised him.

In the year 589 (1193), Quṭbuddin marched from Kuhrām to Meerat and conquered it. That very year Quṭbuddin conquered Delhi, basis of the kingdom of Hind.

In the year 590 (1193), Mu'izzuddin marched from Ghazni to neighbour-* hood of Banāras and Kanauj and conquered them on the environs of Chandâwal. It was a fierce battle with Jaichand which resulted in his defeat. He left his elephants behind him three hundred and ten rings in number. They fell in the hands of Mu'izzuddin. Afterwards, his conquests in Hind continued in succession at the hands of Quṭbuddin Aibak. An account of his conquest, in particular follows in this book.

In 599 (1202-03), Mu'izuddin marched from Ghazna towards Khurāsān to meet his brother. He got a report of his death when he was between Tus and Sarakhs. He turned towards Bādghis and alighted there. He sat in mourning. He then divided his kingdom. He gave Bust, Farāh, Asfarār to Ghiyāthuddin

* Original Text, p. 680.

Maḥmud bin Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed and Firoz Koh, the capital of Ghur, Dāwar, and rings of elephants to Ḍiauddin Muḥammed Aba 'Ali and Herāt to his sister's son Nāṣiruddin Ghāzi Alp bin Kurra ·Arsalān Saljuki. He then returned to Ghazna. In 601 (1204), Mu'izzuddin marched to Khwārazm and encamped there. Its ruler was Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh. Each one of them strove hard for a period for escalating the city. Ultimately, it was won. Many persons of both the parties were killed. When he felt scarcity of fodder and blockade of supplies Mu'izzuddin moved on from that place towards Balkh travelling on the coast of Jaihun. On the environs of Andkhud, he encountered the advance-guard of the kings of Turks and Khatā. They had alighted at river on his way. They were in large numbers preventing him from opposition. Mu'izzuddin, inspite of a small army with him—he had become weak on account of his encampment at Khwārazm—put sincere faith in patience, stirred his men with reward and advised them to be firm recited what God had revealed in His Book " A small army overpowers a big army by the command of God and God is with those who are patient". He assailed the vanguard of the commander of spearmen, Sālār Ḥusain Kharmil, pressed him hard, routed him and returned endeavouring to move on to his army in their wake as far as their kings' encampment and to take them unawares without their knowledge. He replied "Since long, I was in search of such a day, when God has obliged me with it, I will not mix it with what mischief one commits out of perfidy, night-attack and artifice. He ordered for encampment. At mid-night, Malek-ul-Gurzwān (king of spearmen) was covered over by darkness and isolated through intense desire * for martyrdom with multiplicity of the Turks. He had five thousand horses. He was deprived of divine grace. He had a large number of followers, double the number of men and horses. In the morning, Mu'izzuddin had none of his muluk with him except those who were like pure gold and mamālik needed for the occasion. He ordered to blow the bugle and despatched elephants in advance as was his wont and in their wake were footmen. They passed with all grandeur and splendour with remaining companions, one hundred horses, and some rings of elephants. He was not returning from war, with a canopy over his head with a thing like porcupine in its centre. Just then, one of his greatest mamāliks, the Turk Aibak Akhu Aibah Joki stood in his way and turned him with his reins to the fort of Andkhud and entered the fort with him along with the subordinates who were with him and spent the night in it. A large number of Turks and Khatā perished. The Muslims were inclined for peace with their efforts and the effort of Malek Uthmān al-Samarkandi. He belonged to the party of Mu'izzuddin. They concluded peace. Army of Khatā went from where they had come. Mu'izzuddin came out of the fort and started for Ghazni. Juzjāni

* Original Text, p. 681.

narrated in this manner. But Khawānd Mir had narrated this incident i "Ḥabib-us-Siyar" thus : When he alighted at Khwārazm, he fought with it Sultān Muḥammed Khwārzm Shāh. Mu'izzuddin was defeated by him and fled t Firoz Koh or to Ghazna. On different versions, Khwārazm Shāh correspondec with him saying " It was dread from you in the beginning and later on injustice I treaded the path of warning. You then turned to personal reform. I hac resolved upon it." Mu'izzuddin replied to him. Juzjāni said that when he came to Ghazni, he decided to conquer Turkastān. In the meantime, he receivec a report of Khokhar revolt. The residents improved. He took pride for he was free from it. He said in the account of Ghiyāthuddin, that Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh questioned Ṭāyanku Tarāz al-Khatāi when he was safe in captivity, "Whom did you find of strongest might?" He replied, "The Ghuri". He did not mention Ghiyāthuddin who fought with him. He intended thereby one who came to him from Khatā for help of Takash Khwārazm Shāh or for help of Sultān Shāh. Just then, he fixed the Ghuri to be Mu'izzuddin. He did not mention him as he fought with him with steadfastness. Perhaps it was sufficient. He* informs about victory of Ṭāyanku Tarāz in wars, in accordance with the statement "like war of Sanjar and war of Mu'izzuddin. He is clear for it was he whom he intended.

In the year 602 (1205), Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed Sām's career came to an end with his martyrdom. When he resolved upon entry in the region of Turks and Khatā and had announced for preparation, he received news of insurgence of the Khokhars for three years. They committed robbery and brigandage on the environs of Lāhore. It was most important to summon the outside ruler to make amends for that. He came to Lāhore. Quṭbuddin Aibak presented himself with the army of Hind. He moved in various directions eradicating mischief-mongers. On one of the events, Mu'izzuddin saw Shamsuddin Iltamash wading through river Jhelum with his horse. He fought with great ferocity He was surprised at this. When he appeared before him in company of Quṭbuddin; he inquired about him from Quṭbuddin. He spoke of him with praise. He admonished Quṭbuddin to marry his daughter with him. He permitted Quṭbuddin to return to Delhi while he himself set out for Ghazni. When he was at the manzil of Damik an Ismā'li heretic came to him in his leisure time for which he was waiting and stabbed him with a dagger. He died. May mercy of God be on him! Juzjāni states that it is narrated that the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him was asked about the Day of Judgment. He replied that it would take place at the end of sixth century and some more. Martyrdom of Mu'izzudin took place in 602 (1205). It exhibited one of the signs of the Day of Judgment. In that year, Changiz

* Original Text, p. 682.

Khān al-Mughali, King of Tatār issued forth (for his barbarities and atrocities). Thus, he became cause for fixation of the Day of Judgment, for he stood for absence of security. Changiz Khan's emergence was for destruction of the world. There is no doubt for the Day of Judgment. Ibn-ul-Athir has narrated that Mu'izzuddin was brave. He was the precursor of many religious wars in Hind. His character was excellent. He was a ruler with religion. It is related that an 'Alawi child, who was five years of age met him. He called him and said prayers on his behind. The child said, "I have not eaten anything for the last five days. Mu'izzuddin returned from ride. The child had departed. He alighted in his house and fed the 'Alawi with good food in his presence. He then gave him money. He surrendered the amount to his father. He distinguished him among all the 'Alawis by great wealth. The historian further says that he made learned appear in his presence. They talked about theological problems etc. Fakhr-ur-Râzi used to give sermon in his palace. One day he* appeared in his presence and gave a sermon. He said at the end of his sermon, "Oh Sultān! you are not the Sultān to live for ever. Fraud of Rāzi also will not last. Verily our return is to Allāh. Shihābuddin wept. People pitied him for his copious weeping. He was tender-hearted and belonged to Shāfai'school of thought. Again it is said that he was a Ḥanafi. Mu'izzuddin had no son but only one daughter. He was very fond of purchasing Turk mamālik (slaves). He educated and trained them. Forty of them had become famous. They became muluk (kings). One day, it was said to him " We wish you had a son to be remembered." He said, " I have forty mamalik. They will rule after me. My name will remain because of them." The historian said that they were known as " Chahalgāni " that is, the number forty. It was like that. He further said that his treasure contained gems of different varieties, as it reported that Ismā'il was his treasurer. He said that diamond is the most precious gem. The weight of diamonds alone was fifteen hundred maunds. From this, imagine the rest of gems which were other than diamond. Gold and silver were in untold quantity. There is nothing to invalidate evidence. Some one has written about the date of his death:

> Martyrdom of king of sea and land, Mu'izzuddin
> No king like him was born from beginning of the world.
> Third of Sha'bān in the year six hundred and two
> He fell (died) on the way to Ghazni at manzil Damik.

Original Text, p. 683.

CHAPTER XXV

History of the Slaves

Quṭbuddin Aibak, the Conqueror of Delhi

It is stated in "Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri" of al-Juzjāni that Quṭbuddin Aibak was paralytic and that he was a Turk by origin. He came to Nishāpur. He was bought by the Chief Kāḍi Fakhruddin 'Abdul 'Azif al-Kufi, a descendant of the Imām-i-A'zam Abi Hanifa, may God be pleased with him. He gave him the most excellent training and seated him in the Maktab (school) along with his children. He learnt the Qurān and acquired necessary knowledge of theology of religion as well as nice practical behaviour in the world. He displayed himself as a worthy man. Some one bought him from Fakhruddin and came with him to Ghazni. He brought him to the presence of its Sultān Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed who bought him from him. He had paralysis in his hand. He became known as Aibak (paralytic). Though he was not qualified with handsome appearance, he was a man of excellent morals, laudable in qualities, a horseman, brave, wise, accomplished, great, generous, upright, felicitous, an* amir (commander), administrator, victorious, grateful and worthy of praise. Imām Malek-ul-Kalām (king of speech) Bahāuddin Awsani speaks thus about him:

Your gift is in lac in the world
Your palm has tired mine with work
Through envy of your palm, the heart of mine is congealed with blood
It produced sufficient rubies of great value in its midst.

The cause of his advancement was that Sultān Mu'izzuddin had pleasant night conversation in connection with eminent leaders. At times these were means of pleasure and delight. At the end of assembly, there was a general award of gifts and presents to those who were present as well as close asseciates. There was a turn of mamālik. He had reserved a share of every one of them except he. He distributed presents among servants in the majlis. There did not remain anything for him. Mu'izzuddin learnt about it. He applauded him and thanked him for his liberal attitude. He looked towards him with favour and made him nearer to himself and raised him rank after rank till he attained to the post of "Amir-i-Ākhur" (Superintendent of Stables). In the battle at Murghāb, he was an amir for supply of hay-stock. He fell in captivity. It became the cause of victory as narrated before in the account of Sultān Ghiyāthuddin. After the victory, he was brought in iron-chains on a camel.

* Original Text, p. 684.

Mu'izzuddin ordered to break chains and invested him with Amirship. When Mu'izzuddin conquered Ajmer and Siwālik, he gave him Kuhrām and ennobled him by appointment as his Nāib in Hind. Victories continued in succession during his vice-royalty. He conquered Meerat in 587 (1191), Delhi, basis of Hindi region in 588 (1192) and in the year 590 (1193), Mu'izzuddin made his appearance. He and Sālār 'Izzuddin Husain Kharmil were in command of advance-guard in the vicinity of Chandāwal. After a fierce war, Rāy Jaichand, ruler of Banāras fled away. It was annexed. In 591 (1194), he conquered Bhikar (Bakhkar) and in 593 (1196-97), he marched toward Naharwāla and routed its ruler Rāy Bhimdev in a war and conquered it. It got included in the dominions of Islam. It was the capital of Gujarāt till this day of ours. He continuously conquered a city after city till his conquests in the east touched distant countries of Chin, Māchin (a country to the south of China and east of Hind, Tibet). After the death of Sultān Mu'izzuddin, the Mu'izzi Muluk in concert wrote to Ghiyāthuddin Mahmud son of Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammed requesting him to remain in the capital of his uncle, Ghazni. He complied with the request and contented himself with what he had of his father's territory. He* examined the question of appointment of his Nāib in Hind. He chose him and addressed him as Sultān Quṭbuddin. Till that date, he was called by his name Aibak Shall. He sent an envoy with a canopy. In 602 (1205), he marched from Delhi to Lāhore and ascended the throne there. During his regime, Ikhtiyār-uddin Muḥammed Bhakhtiyār Khalji conquered Bihār, Bang (Bengāl), Kāmrud and Nudiya. In 603 (1206), a battle took place between him and Taj-ud-Din Yilidiz al-Mu'zzi, Sultān of Ghazni at Lāhore. After a victory, he pursued him to Ghazni, entered it and stayed there for forty days and returned to Lāhore. He married a daughter of Tājuddin Yildiz.

In the year 607 (1210), he was playing polo when he fell down from the horse when the front part of the saddle came upon his heart and he died. He was buried at Lāhore. A cupola is built over his tomb. The period of his rule in Hind was twenty years from conquest of Delhi to end of his life. His exact rule was for four years and some months. His name became current on the tongues in Hind on his conquest of Delhi. From the outset, he had design against the city. Its conquest became difficult. He went out for hunting once in one of its directions. He was isolated from his companions in the search of game. He became hungry. He stood at a house. The lady of the house brought hot milk for him and placed it in his palm to drink it. He was unable to take a morsel out of tray due to its being extremely hot. He tried frequently but failed. She laughed and said to him that he was like Sultān Quṭbuddin. He said to her, " What is the matter with him ? " She said, " He wants the kingdom

* Original Text, p. 685.

but does not intend except the city. It was difficult for him. If he began w environs and surr nnding region, like him, you will not place it in the mid of hand. It prevents you to take it from sides. Come to it, it is cold." said, "you spoke the truth. You have given good advice." He did accord to her advice and conquered Delhi. Quṭbuddin had three daughters. Tw them were married to Malek Nāṣiruddin Qubācha al-Mu'izzi and one to mamluk Shamsuddin Iltamash. The daughter of Tājuddin Yildiz was marr to Sultān Quṭbuddin, may mercy of God be upon them.*

Sultān Ārām Shāh bin Kuṭbuddin

Ārām Shāh ascended the throne of his father Quṭbuddin at Lāhore. N ru din Kubāch who was with him then marched to Uchch and Multān. Dur the regime of Ārām Shāh, the Quṭbi government was divided into four pa He ruled at Lāhore. Nāṣiruddin Qubācha was in Sind with its adjacent te tory; 'Ali Mardān Khalji at Lakhnawat and Shamsuddin Iltamash at De Ārām Shāh then marched to Delhi. A battle took place between him Shamsuddin on its outskirts. He was captured. Shamsuddin sent him Badāun and suppressed the information. That happened in the year of ascension.

Abil Muzaffar Shamsuddin Iltamish

Shamsuddin was a Turk by origin. He belonged to the tribe of E Ailam Khān was head of this tribe. He loved Shamsuddin and distinguis him from among all his sons who out of jealousy sold him to a merchant pas on the road. He was a child of handsome appearance. Jamāluddin C Qabā bought him and took him to Bukhārā. He came with him to M zuddin at Ghazna. He demanded him for a cheap price. He did not agree t Mu'izzuddin became angry and proclaimed against him in the city that no should buy him from him. He returned with him to Bukhārā. He came t to him after three years. Quṭbuddin was with him. He represented hin him and apprised him of the proclamation. He kept silent till the day o departure to Hind. He took leave to purchase him. Mu'izzuddin said to "But not in Ghazni; as I have proclaimed against him. If you want him, him from him after you go out of it." Jamāluddin accompanied him to D and purchased him from him at a sufficient price according to his pleasure paid regard to him in his training. Juzjāni said, "He who heard the r Shamsuddin inform me about him." He said, "When I was brought to Bukl for sale for relationship with Ṣadr-i-Jahān, I was like a son to him. All members of his family took care of me. One day I was sent to the market particles of gold to purchase grapes. They fell down from my hand. I sear for them but did not find them. Some one found me weeping. He was wea

* Original Text, p. 686.

a robe. He asked me as to why I wept. I informed him the cause of it. He* bought me grapes at the price of those particles of gold and gave them to me. He said to me, " When you become the Sultān, you call a man wearing a robe (khirkā)." He stared at him and applauded him. He looked at him with perfect eye. He took a promise from me for that and went away from me. Verily, it was a blessing for him. Juzjāni says that it became one of the causes of his advancement. A hājji, a merchant of Bukhārā bought him. Jamāluddin Chust Qabā bought him from him. From him, he came to the Sultān Quṭbuddin. He regardrd him as a son, nurtured him, beautified him with decorum and reached him to the attainment of men. He presented himself with Quṭbuddin in service of the Sultān Mu'izzuddin. He had come to Lāhore to punish rebels. He was then at the river Jhelum when he appeared to be great in the eyes of Mu'izzuddin. He admonished Quṭbuddin to take care of him and ordered him to marry his daughter with him. He did it. He then became chief of Jāndariya (body-guards). He then became Amir-i-Shikār. After Quṭbuddin's conquest of Kāliwar, he became Amir of this strong fort and its environs. He then annexed to it portions of the town of Baran and its suburbs. He bestowed upon him the region of Badāun and designated him Malek on account of valour, prowess, administration, personal accomplishments and qualities. He was formerly an amir and now he became a Malek. When Quṭbuddin died, he was at Badāun. 'Ali bin Ismā'il, Amir-ul-'Adl (Minister of Justice) in concert with other amirs and nobles decided to nominate him Sultān. They wrote to him. He came to Delhi and ascended the throne in the year of Quṭbuddin's death. The Quṭbi and Mu'izzi amirs who were at Lāhore and against whom he was biassed, came to Delhi. They were in his favour as wished by God. Those of whom who were in captivity perished. Those who surrendered to him were safe. Ruler of Ghazna, Sultān Tājuddin Yildiz al-Mu'izzi received intelligence of his coronation as Sultān. He was the greatest among Mu'izzi amirs from the life-time of Mu'izzuddin. He sent to him a canopy and other appurtenances and promised everything else later on, on concord. Tājuddin had caused trouble to Quṭbuddin in Lāhore. Just after that Shamsuddin cajoled out of regard for him to come out of his hand. Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh conquered the suburbs of Delhi in the year 612 (1215). After their subjugation, he conquered Zāwalistan and Kābul and controlled the region upto the sea of Sind. He was designated as Naib Khānsālār " between two seas of the sea of Persia, that is, † Māwarā-un-Nahar and the sea of Sind. His son Jalāluddin Mankabarni son of Muhammed Khwārzm Shāh ruled as Naib of Sultān of Ghazni, Dāwar and Jarrum as well as that portion that belonged to the brothers of Ghiyāthuddin and Mu'izzuddin. He returned to his capital. After the war, Sultān Tājuddin came to Sang Surākh and thence to Lāhore and stayed there without esteem

* Original Text, p. 687.

† Original Text, p. 688.

and courage. He extended his hand to neighbouring region of Shamsuddin's frontiers. He was prevented to do so but out of pride, he refused except by force. Shamsuddin marched against him. A war took place between them at Nārāin. Yildiz was made a captive. He was sent to Delhi and then to Badāun. It was at the close of his reign that Shamsuddin conquered Lāhore and what belonged to him on the environs of Hind. It took place in the year 612 (1215). It was the year of misfortune of Yildiz. His reign lasted for a few months to be of no account.

Rise of Yildiz to power and his fall

As stated above Sultān Mu'izzuddin left no son but a daughter of the daughter of his uncle Nāṣiruddin Muḥammed Mādini. He multiplied by purchase of Turk mamāliks. During his regime, they obtained their freedom, became famous and turned out dignified amirs. Among them were "the famous forty" known as Chahalgāni. They became worthy of the kingdom and the canopy. Sultān of Ghazni, afterwards Tājuddin Yildiz bought by Mu'izzuddin belonged to them. He had approached adolescence. He looked upon him with favour. He specialized him with nearness to himself. He raised him in esteem in the early part of service and gave him precedence over his other mamālik. He was always looked upon with affection till he became worthy of government. He assigned him Kirmān and Asfarār as his fiefs. He thus became of the renowned amirs. He stayed at Kirmān when Sultān Mu'izzuddin marched to Hind. His way lay on Kirmān, he used to stay there as guest of Tājuddin. He, his muluk, amirs and followers were his guests. After he came out of the essentials of* feast, he advanced trays of tashrif (robes of honour) before him. Every one of them was given a piece of cloth totalling one thousand, one thousand robes of honour and the cash was given to attendants. This was his annual practice. At the close of his regime, he had halted as usual. Tashrif was placed before him. He took a piece of cloth in his hand, a robe of honour and clothed them with robes while a tashrif was given to him. He raised his rank by grant of the banner of Malek. He was a black man. It was the last of his age. He had two daughters, one of them was married to Malek Nāṣiruddin Qubacha al-Mu'izzi and the other was given in wedlock to Sultān Quṭbuddin. He had two sons. One of them was in the maktab. The teacher was giving a lesson. The child was extremely hot-headed. He showed bad temper to the teacher. There was a jug of water before him. He lifted it up and hit it on the teacher's face. He died. Tājuddin was informed about this incident. He sent for the heir of the teacher and gave him an amount of money to go out of the city wherever he liked. The teached had a mother. The amount was placed in her hand. It was a limit for the patience and fortitude on behalf of the teacher.

* Original Text, p. 689.

After martyrdom of Sultān Mu'izzuddin, his coffin was brought to Ghazni. The mamālik assembled to remove what was in the treasury. The treasury was under control of the Ghurian muluk. It fell into their hands. When they came to Kirmān they appointed the Wazir Muaddul Mulk Muḥammed bin 'Abdullāh al-Sanjari to move with the coffin accompanied by the Turks and the Amirs. Others remained at Kirmān in concord with Tājuddin Yildiz. It was a group of Ghurian amirs consisting of Sipah Sālār Sulaimān Sish, Sipah Sālār Kharush. They sent information of Mu'izzuddin's death to Bāmian to send its Sultān 'Alāuddin Muḥammed bin Bahāuddin Sām al-Bāmiani for the saltanat of Ghazni. After arrival of the coffin to the capital in two or three days, 'Alauddin Muḥammed and Jalāluddin Muḥammed two sons of Bahāuddin al-Bāmiani came to Ghazni. He ascended the throne in concert with the Ghuris and the Turks who were present there. He controlled the Mu'zzi treasure and divided it half to half between himself and his brother. Juzjāni said that a reliable person informed me that half of it which moved on to Jalāluddin at Bāmian consisted of a load of one hundred and fifty camels of gold, silver, jewel-studded instruments and gold and silver utensils. But Tājuddin and his confederates wrote to* Ghiyāthuddin Maḥmad b'n Ghiyāthuddin Muhammed from Kirmān inducing him to ascend the throne at the capital of his uncle for he was a rightful claimant from among the sons of Bahāuddin. He replied, "I am quite contented with what my father had, Ghazni for Tājuddin. A canopy and designation of Sultān were sent to him. They took up arms for going out to Ghazni. In the meantime, letters of summons arrived to him from the Wazir Muadd-ul-Mulk and the Turkish amirs. He marched from Kirmān to it. 'Alāuddin came out. It was a fierce war between them outside Ghazni. Muadd-ul-Mulk and his confederates stopped their help. He and the Shansabāniya muluk were captured. Tājuddin entered the capital. He granted leave to 'Alāuddin and his confederates to return to Bāmian. Julāluddin met the ruler of Bāmian on foot for his boundary and al-Ghur. The army of Be'u from Waksh and Badakhshān helped him with might to get something out of Ghazni gold. He came out from Bāmian for succour of his brother 'Alāuddin and conquered it. He stayed there and returned to Bāmian. Tājuddin returned to Ghazni and 'Alauddin prepared the army of Ghur for resistance. When they alighted at the inn of Sanakrām, Amir Aitkan of Tatār fell upon them. Tājuddin prepared him against them. He captured the amirs in a state of drunkenness and killed all of them. Tājuddin descended upon Ghazna and besieged it for four months till Jalāluddin met him and arrived for help to his brother. When he was in its neighbourhood, the Turks encountered him. His soldiers fled away. They were captured and brought to Tājuddin. It was a victory on his death. He came to 'Alauddin as

* Original Text, p. 690.

a captive. He was kind to them out of regard for Mu'izzuddin. He then released them and permitted them to return to Bāmian after taking a pledge from them. Difference arose among them.

Jalāluddin was full of courage and valour. He marched to Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh requesting him for help for the conquest of Ghazni. But he did not do it. After the death of 'Alâuddin, his brother Jalāluddin sat on the throne. He came to him after conquest of 'Irāq on inadvertence of Muhammed Khwārazm Shāh, captured him and killed him. He conquered Bāmian. Then there was a war between Tājuddin and Quṭbuddin on the frontiers of Panch Āb of Sind. But he was defeated. Qutbuddin came to Ghazni and returned as stated before. Tājuddin entered it. Maḥmud Ḥusain Kharmil was an Amir at Herāt on behalf of Ghiyāthuddin. He rebelled against him. He got inclined towards Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh. Tājuddin sent an army to help Ghiyāthuddin. It was a victory. Tājuddin then marched to Sajistān and descended upon it.* It lay within jurisdiction of Tājuddin. He fought, made peace and returned. On the way, a war took place between him and Malik Naṣiruddin Ḥusain, Amir-i-Shikār contrary to what they wished from him. Naṣiruddin fled away and proceeded to Khwārazm and then returned. On Tājuddin's proceeding towards Hind, the Ghaznawi amirs agreed upon killing Naṣiruddin Ḥusain and Khwāja Muadd-ul-Mulk Muḥammed bin 'Abdullāh al-Sakhari. It so happened. After a lapse of forty days from their murder, Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh came to Ghazni from side of Takhāristān. Tājuddin came out from the way of Sang Surākh to Lāhore. A war took place between him and Shamsuddin. He was captured and martyred, mercy of God be on him. He was buried at Badāun. A mausoleum was built. People get blessings. He ruled for nine years.

In the year 614 (1217), a war took place between Shamsuddin and Nāṣiruddin Kubācha at Lāhore. He fled to Sind.

In 619 (1222), Shamsuddin marched towards Lāhore. The cause of it was that Jalāluddin Muḥammed Mankabarani son of Muḥammed Khwārazm Shāh was with his brother in the event of invasion of Changiz Khān, Malek of Tatār. When he died, many persons gathered around him and among them were those who were under the sovereignty of his brother. Tartars fled away. He defeated them many a time. His rule became serious. Victory was about to be his.

Account of Jalāluddin Mankabarani al-Khwārazmi

The historian has narrated in his 'Tabakāt' that Jalāluddin ruled over Ghur and Ghazni during the time of his father. His wazir Was Shihābuddin Alb al-Sarakhsi. He governed Ghazni on his behalf. He was a man of perfect

* Original Text, p. 691.

:nt and a Malek of Karbaz. Mubārizuddin Shirāzi was at Firozkoh, ·ul-Umara at Kirmān ; Abi Bakr at Pur which was in jurisdiction of Malek ruddin Muḥammed bin 'Ali Kharbust. At the time of Tatār inroad, he* mained with his father. He dispersed his soldiers at Madan and invincible is reserve. He encamped outside the city of Balkh. In 612 (1215), the atrocities started at Bukhārā in the shape of assassination, captivity, , and incendiarism of books, martyrdom of learned men including Ruknud-nāmzāda. It is related that he composed the following verses on the on of his martyrdom :

I said, "Who ?" My heart said, "Who has shed our blood?"
I said, "My soul" He said, "Who is behind us ?"
I said, "The dog of your lane fell among us."
He said, "Do not speak for it is elevated by us."

, (1220), he received intelligence of what occurred at Samarqand. His rs consisted mostly of Tatārs and Khatā. His soldiers were old-fashioned. residents of his kingdom who were with his fore-fathers gained ascendancy hem at Madan and Kalā' (forts). Only a small number of them remained iim. Those who were with him from Tatār and Khatā proved perfidious. carried him to Changiz. He received a report of it. One night, he came his tent to a side. When he was with him, they surrounded his tent and ed to plunder. His fear became most serious. He went to Nishāpur with who were with him. The Mughals soldiers of Changiz came in his wake. ed to Māzandarān and halted at a river known as Darah Kamisa. The als saw him. He went walking in flight from them to mountains of ıdaıān and ascended them. Jalāluddin and son of Ra'is of Māzandarān with him as well as a small number of his subordinates. He journeyed hem to halt at an island of Kharba in the sea of Khazar. He stayed there period. He then complained of stomach-ache. He came out of it with pre· rance of black bile in him. Abdomen pain recurred. He said to his son, ish you to carry me (on back) to Khwārazm. My intention is to get hold alth which is there from the commencement of my saltanat. It is on the se as :

When people are engaged seriously in their work
Nothing is better than this that they should be joined to it.

as weak enough to ride. He was carried in a camel-litter. They went to razm. He died before reaching it. He entered Khwārazm. He was d by the side of his father, Takash. It happened in the year 617 (1220).

In the absence of Muḥammed Khwārazm, Ukim his son ruled under the nce of Quṭbuddin Arzalushāh. He was younger than Jalāluddin and†

* Original Text, p. 692.

† Original Text, p. 693.

cautious among all. Jalāluddin separated him and entered deserts of Shārastān. He treaued thence deserts of West Nishāpur and Khurāsān to Kirmān and to Ghazni. The historian narrated from reliable sources that he met Khiḍr, may peace be on him in that desert he treaded and gave him good news of kingdom on condition of not shedding the blood of a Muslim himself. He gave him a pledge for it. When he came to Ghazni, the king of Herāt Amin Ḥājib titled Malek Khān from the outset of invasion was there on his way to Hind along with his men. He met him and joined with him. Changiz received news of it. He prepared his son-in-law Fikar Nawin to march to Ghazni. Jalāluddin encountered him and fought with him on the environs of Barwān and put him to rout. Help continued to come to him to Thalath. He continued to fight and defeat him upto Ghazni. Changiz Khān learnt about it. He was at Tālqān in Khurāsān. He marched towards him. A multitude of hordes prevented him from resistance. Jalāluddin proceeded towards Barshur. He was going in his pursuit and a war ensued between them on the shore of sea of Sind. After a fierce war, he entered his horse in sea and came out of it. He was safe against Changiz. Changiz was wonderstruck for he was out of the sea. It was most wonderful for its depth. The shore was at a distance. He would not have crossed except by the horse or similar to that. Juzjāni says that Malek Ikhtiāruddin Muḥammed bin 'Ali Kharbust came, under order, from his region of Barshur to Ghazni. He was accomplished in person and qualities and renowned in wars. He was an administrator, brave, intrepid, and victorious. He was from among the greatest maleks of Ghur. All persons who had gone away assembled around him at Ghazni. Their number was one hundred and thirty thousand horse. Shihābuddin Alp, the Wazir along with Jalāluddin was in attendance upon Khwārazm Shāh. He too came to Ghazni; Malek Khān also was there. The Wazir then brought the report of Jalāluddin's march from Khurāsān to Ghazni. Ṣalāḥuddin, Amir-ush-Shurta (Superintendent of Police) hinted for the murder of Malek Ikhtiāruddin Muḥammed. A feast was arranged. Ṣalāḥuddin stabbed him with a knife and he died of it. All those who were with him dispersed for this reason. A large number of 'Arabs had gathered in the army of Jalāluddin. It was a third defeat of the Mughals. They lagged behind for the spoils in * Persia. When Persia was conquered as desired, the soldiers dispersed, with the death of the Malek and the isolation of the 'Arabs. In an hour of need, Jalāluddin was undone by despair. He waded through the sea with horse. Changhiz was surprised at his rashness. He forbade to throw dart at him for he was to be caught alive. When none took courage, he entered the sea and ordered to throw a dart at him. Only the last breath of life remained with him. He had caught his collar by the teeth when the waves flowed over him. He turned to

* Original Text, p. 694.

his sons and said, " If one had a son, he should be like him. This incident took place in the month of Rajab, 618 (1221).

Jalāluddin then roamed about in the neighbourhood of Sind. He used to receive news in it. He journeyed to Dewal and Makrān and returned to the precincts of Lāhore. Shamsuddin permitted him to come to Delhi. He turned away from him. He then journeyed to Uchch, Multān and Siwastān and thence to Kirmān and Fars. He married the daughter of Atābek Abi Bakr ruler of Diyār Bikr and treated him well in a feast. He stayed at Fars for several days. He then travelled to Azarbaijān and conquered Karkh, killed unbelievers and subdued the region. He then invaded Syria and Rum and conquered the people of Syria. He returned to Multān. Tarani Mughal had encamped there. When he heard about him, he embraced Islām at his hands. He then attacked the Mughal and gained a victory over him.

In the year 618 or 619 (1221 or 1222), he descended on the outskirts of Āzarbaijān from the direction of Diyār Bikr and Syria and the Mughal army made an assault on him. He fled from them to a village of the region of Akhalāt. The ruler of the village recognized him. In a battle with Syrians, his sons were killed. He fell upon him unawares and killed him in their retaliation. The ruler of Syria learnt about it. He felt sorry for it and killed the killer. His wife, daughter of the Atābek was in the village with him. The ruler of Syria sent her to her brother. The Khwārazmshāhiya Dynasty. terminated with him.

In 622 (1225), Shamsuddin marched towards Lakhnawati. Its Sultān Ghiyāthuddin made peace with him in exchange for recitation of the Khuṭba and the sikka and sent to him thirty rings of elephants and eighty lacs of coins of the age.

In 623 (1226), he marched to Ranthambhor and encamped for two months and conquered it. Histories of Hind relate that when he landed there,* seventy kings met him for opposition. He travelled from them without a victory.

In 624 (1227), he conquered the fort of Mandur on the outskirts of Siwālik and returned with booty.

In the same year, his son Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud bin Shamsuddin conquered Lakhnawati. He sent a canopy for him and confirmed him in the saltanat. His account will come in the history of Sultāns of Bengal as to how the victory was won.

In the same year, Shamsuddin marched to Uchcha and Multān. The historian, Juzjāni reported that he left Khurāsān in the last months of the year

* Original Text, p. 695.

623 (1226), at the time of Tatār inroads and came to Ghazni and Bany. arrived by leading the horse to Uchch and entered it on Tuesday Jamādi I, 624 (1227). Its ruler was Sultān Nāṣiruddin Kubācha al-ı In Zilhajj of the year, he appointed me a trustee of Firoziya Madresa army of his son 'Alāuddin Bahrām Shāh was ended. In Rabi'I of th Sultān Shamsuddin came to Uchch and encamped outside it. Nāṣı Kubācha had encamped outside the town of Lahrut. Boats of the sea ‹ had anchored with their cargo. Others were on the coast of sea. In the time, a report came from Multān about the arrival of Nāṣiruddin ‹ al-Mu'izzi from Lāhore to him. Multān was under him. On the arr Shamsuddin to Tabarhind, Wazir 'Ain-ul-Mulk Ḥusain al-Ash'ari, under carried treasures of Uchcha with him to the fort of Bhakkar. It was a fort in the middle of the sea. In the wake of its departure from it, the ad guard of Shamsuddin came there. Malek 'Izzuddin Muḥammed Sālāri as Amir Ḥājib and Malek of Tabarhind, Kazalik Khān Sanjar Sultani wer it. Shamsuddin came there after four days. In the meanwhile Nāṣi embarked the sea to Bhakkar and garrisoned it. Shamsuddin sent his Nizām-ul-Mulk Muḥammed Junaidi to it for a siege. Jamāluddin Muḥ 'Awfi narrates in his book " Jāme' ul-Hikāyāt " advancing arguments information of it for he was with him inside the fort. He begins the boo divides it in chapters where he takes his side. When Nāsiruddin perish stopped for time to arrange it and divide it in chapters. He lost it bu on, found it in the majlis of Nizām-ul-Mulk the Wazir and obtained it t his favour. He improved its arrangement, completed it and adorned it v address in his name. He described him " On end of Nizām " with an enc in his praise. On 1st. Rabi'I, 625 (1227-28), Sultān Shamsuddin encam the fort of Bhakkar. On 12th of the month, Nizām-ul-Mulk the Wazir enc at its gate and the ruler Nāṣiruddin was in it. He was making prepa but the sea was there. On Monday, 2nd Jamādi I, Nizām-ul-Mulk got from a boat intending to enter the fort. The ruler had taken shelter in t Nizām-ul-Mulk opened the fort and proclaimed amnesty to those who wer the fort. Hence none lost anything. People said prayers on his beha then granted amnesty to Nāṣiruddin. Only fifty persons had remained w inside the fort. He sent son 'Alāuddin Bahrām Shāh bin Nāṣiruddi treasures to Shamsuddin. Nizām-ul-Mulk raised no objection. When Shamsuddin, he was not contented from him for sending his son, nay, he him to come to him. He took courage to come to his majlis. It was : thing for him to demand safety with surrender of self. He came out of t and stood at the sea and recited.

* Original Text, p. 696.

If your benefit lies in harm to a person like me
May days of mark like me be few
I did not choose a hair that in may get polluted
Hand of a person like you is in blood of one like me.

Image of death in his eye created fear in him. He fell in the sea and got drowned. It happened on Thursday night, 19th Jamādi I of the year.

Early life of Nāṣiruddin al-Mu'izzi

Juzjāni narrated that Nāṣiruddin Kubācha was a great Sultān from among the Turk mamālik of Mu'izzuddin. He was wise, sagacious, intelligent, full of judgment with valour, prowess and pride etc. elevated mind, skill and forsight. He boiled over with praise for him for all his services chiefly as an* Amir of the army and regions and in the incident at Andjud with Turk Muluk and Khatā. Malek Nāṣiruddin Aitam al-Mu'azzi obtained martyrdom as ruler of Uchch and Multān. He was praised for his deeds. Mu'izzuddin returned to Ghazni by granting him Uchch. He had married the daughter of Quṭbuddin. 'Alāuddin, Bahrām Shāh was result of the union. Bahrām was handsome, and liberal in morals. He was submissive in youth. May God pardon him. On her death, Quṭbuddin was at Lāhore. He went to Uchch, in the reign of Ārām Shāh. He conquered Multān, Sandustān and and Dewāl as far as the sea. He did not leave a single fort in Sind, nor a city, nor a town which belonged to him. He raised two canopies over his head. His kingdom terminated to Jabarhind, Kuhrām and Sarasti. He acted in Lahore many a time and in a battle which was fought between him and Khwāja Muadd-ul-Mulk al-Sanjari, wazir of Tājuddin Yildiz, his feet slipped and he returned from Lāhore to his capital Uchch and lived there. At the time of Tatār inroads, many great men of Khurāsān, Ghur and Ghazni fled to him for shelter. In a war which look place between Changiz Khān Mughli and Jalāluddin Mankabarni Muhammed Khwārazm Shāh, Jalāluddin came to Sind and journeyed towards Dewal and Makrān. After Mughal ascendancy over Nandana, Tarani Nawin Mughal encamped for a period with a large army at Multān and besieged it for forty days. Nāṣiruddin retracted in a war with him and made efforts as efforts should be made in the path of God, seized the treasures and distributed them for protection of abode of Islām and for help to needy persons. He gained victory, Tarani Narain returned in a fearful manner. This happened in the year 621 (1224).

In the year 622 (1223), Maleks of Ghur and its eminent men passed through a period of trial due to exile. They came to Nāṣiruddin who sheltered them and treated them well.

In 623 (1226), the army of Khalaj from the Khwārazmiya came to the land of Manṣura from cities of Siwastān. They were under the banner of Malek

* Original Text, p. 697.

Khan Khalji. Nāṣiruddin marched towards him, fought with him and defeatec him. Malek Khān was one of the killed. He returned triumphant to Uchc. On Tuesday, 17th Jamādi I, Shamsuddin besieged Uchch for two months ar twenty-seven days and conquered it. When Nāṣiruddin received intelligence its conquest, he sent his son to him. After his arrival on the 22nd Jamādi : Shamsuddin heard about conquest of Bhakkar, Nāṣiruddin cast himself in t sea and got drowned. He ruled for a pretty long time in Sind, Uchch, ar Multān that is, twenty-two years.

In the same year, those who belonged to the party of Nāṣiruddin assembl in the Diwān of Shamsuddin. Among them was Malek Sinānuddin Ḥabas ruler of Sind, Dewal and territory extending to the sea and what belonged Nāṣiruddin. He returned to Delhi. Juzjāni, the historian narrates that on t! day of his alightment outside Uchch, he met him, enjoyed his favour and to him in his service to Delhi. His arrival took place in Ramḍān of the year, 6 (1227-28). That very year, the envoy of Khalifa of Baghdād came by land Nāgor.

In the year 626 (1228), the ambassador of the 'Abbāsi Khalifa Amir-u Muminin al-Mustanṣir Billāh, Abu Ja'far bin al-Zāhir came with a robe honour of the Khalifa and standards to Shamsuddin. He received him ar ordered him for decoration. It was a day worth seeing.

In this year, he received news of death of his son Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud . Lakhnawati as well as the invasion of Balkā. He marched towards it.

In 627 (1229-30), Balkā Khāriji fell in his hand. He ordered him to l put to death and invested Malek 'Alāuddin Jāni with vice-regency. He retur ed to Delhi.

In 629 (1231), he descended upon a famous invincible fort at the fort Kāliwar. Its ruler was an oppressive unbeliever. His name was Milakdev s of Bisal. He strove to climb over it and fought several times. The sie continued for eleven months. Guzjāni said that he was appointed for fixi stated time in the majlis. He used to remain present with Shamsuddin. was he who recited the khutba and led the prayers on the occasion two 'Ids.†

In 630 (1232), he won the fort on Tuesday, 16th Ṣafar. One nigh Milakdev went out of the fort. His eight hundred or more men were capture All of them were brought and produced in front of the Sultān's tent. When was free from conquests, he made Sipahsālār Majd-ul-Mulk Diauddin Muhamm Junaidi an Amir. Amir Rashiduddin was charged with administration of t Police Department. Juzjāni narrated that he was in charge of Qaḍā (magi

* Original Text, p. 698.

† Original Text, p. 699.

tracy), khutba, Imāmat (leading prayers) and accounts. He marched back to Delhi on 2nd Rabi II of the year. In 631 (1233), Shamsuddin marched to Mālwa and conquered the city of Bailsān and its fort and demolished its famous temple. The historians have narrated that its citizens built the temple by digging its foundation and raising its walls one hundred cubits from the ground in 300 years. All the images are fixed with lead. The temple is called Gawājit (?) (Vikramajit) Sultan of Ujjain Nagari. The history of the temple is a proof of what is said about its construction and demolition, that is, eleven hundred years. People of Hind are ignorant of history.

In 632 (1234), Shamsuddin directed his energies for conquest of Khurāsān. He marched towards it with very powerful weapons, which were not with muluk and amirs at the time of Tatār invasion. He was accompanied by chiefs of tribes as well as common people. They all assembled in his Diwān. Swordsmen were in large number. It was a great multitude. His kingdom was extensive. It was efficiently governed by those who were connected with him. they carried earnest desire to their lands and loved them with faith. They marched with such sincerity. On conquest, they encamped. When he alighted in the expanse of Banyād, he fell ill and became extremely weak. He returned to Delhi. He entered it in a litter on the morning of Wednesday, 1st of Sha'bān as chosen by the astrologer: The Lord of the Star does what He wishes.

In 633 (1236), Sultān Shamsuddin Iltamish, mercy of God be on him.* died on Monday, 20th Sha'bān (29th April). He was virtuous, wise, accomplished, clement, generous, righteous, felicitous, gracious, triumphant, a good horseman, an administrator, submissive, brave, laudable and grateful. He was full of sound judgment and intellectual powers. He was well disposed towards scholars, loved the righteous, helped the poor, bestowed gifts upon them. His days were prosperous. He was humble to ṣufis and donned them with robes (khirka) according to their rank. He always continued to carry out his pledges with the ṣufis till end of life. He used to say, "I am in blessings of them." He left behind him a daughter, Raḍiya Sultān. He had five sons—Ruknuddin Firoz, Mu'azzuddin Bahrām, Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud and Ghiyāthuddin Muhammed and Qutbuddin. His tomb is at Delhi. He reigned for twenty-six years.

Sultān Ruknuddin Firoz

Ruknuddin Firoz son of Shamsuddin ascended the throne of his father on Thursday night, 21st Sha'bān, 633 (30th April, 1236). He was his eldest son after Nāṣiruddin who died at Lakhnawati. During the regime of his father, he was a sultān at Badāun. His father had granted him a green canopy. 'Ain-

* Original Text, p. 700.

ul-Mulk Ḥusain al-Ash'ari was a Wazir to him. He was a Wazir of Nāṣirruddin Kubācha. It was in the year 625 (1227-28). He was then granted Lāhore in 630 (1232). When he marched towards Khurāsān, Ruknuddin had accompanied him. He was present at the time of his father's death in Delhi. He sat on the throne after him. His officers rejoiced at his saltanat for he was accomplished in person and qualities. He then dispersed all those who were present at the travel to Khurāsān. Every amir returned to the region of his charge. Ruknuddin enthralled himself to his satan (devil) and allowed low desire to rule over him. He indulged in intoxicated drinks and loved carnal desires. He squandered away what his father had amassed and neglected state affairs. His mother Shāh Turkān dominated over him and conducted affairs of the state. It happened what God had wished, due to his vicious deeds. She established her power over everything that belonged to fellow-wives out of* jealousy. Shamsuddin did not cause harm, injury and ruin during his life. Qutbuddin was blinded and murdered. The amirs got prejudiced against her and resolved upon opposition to her. In like manner, Ghiyāthuddin Maḥammed son of Shamsuddin, ruler of Oudh invaded Ruknuddin and seized the treasure which was being carried to him from Lakhnawati and his horsemen carried on pillage in surrounding places. Most of the amirs of surrounding places decided to become insurgent. They were Malek 'Izzuddin Sālāri, governor of Badāun, Malek 'Alāuddin Jāni, governor of Lāhore, Malek 'Izzuddin Kabir Khān, governor of Multān and Malek Saifuddin Karaji, governor of Hānsi. They resolved upon establishment of independent power. Ruknuddin set out from Delhi to make reparation for these incidents. Wazir Nizām-ul-Mulk Muhammed Junaidi separated and marched from Kilokhari to Kaul. He met 'Izzuddin Sālāri. Both of them went to 'Alāuddin Jāni and Saifuddin Karaji while Ruknuddin marched towards Kuhrāni. On the way, the Turk amirs who were with him assaulted Tājul Mulk Maḥmud ennobled with the title of Malek, Bahāuddin Ḥusain al-Ash'ari, Karimuddin Zāhid, Ḍiāuddin bin Nizām-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Nizāmuddin Sarfāni, Khwāja Rashiduddin Māykāni and Amir Fakhruddin Dabir and all the 'Arab nobles, in the vicinity of Manṣurpur and Nārain and killed all of them. The Delhi nobles met Raḍiya Sultān daughter of Shamsuddin-Shāh Turkān emboldened herself to capture Raḍiya Sultān. She moved to take that step. Residents of Delhi stirred up to take the side of Raḍiya Sultān. Shāh Turkān was compelled to fortify herself in the palace for asylum. Raḍiya Sultān pressed her, seized her by force and killed her. After the murder of above-mentioned persons, Ruknuddin returned from his designs to Delhi. In the wake of Shāh Turkān's assassination, he came to Kilokhari. He learnt what had happened at Delhi so he halted there. The Turks parted

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* Original Text, p. 701.

company with him and assembled around those who were in Delhi for taking an oath of allegiance to Raḍiya Sultān. She despatched some Turk mamālik and Amirs to Kilokhari. They captured Ruknuddin and came with him to her. She ordered him to put in prison on Sunday, 18th Rabi'I. Without* prolongation in prison, he perished in a day or two in the year 634 (9th Nov. 1236). He ruled for six months, and twenty-eight days. He was a sultān of handsome appearance, features, morals, clement, generous, humble, sound, devoid of qualities of rulership, naturally disposed to good and not inclined to harm. He kept aloof from harm and abomination. He leaned to passions and passionate desires preponderated over him. He did not offend and did not obtain harm but he suffered because of his mother. During the life of Shamsuddin, he was known for good and qualified with good deeds. His deeds were like those of people of salvation who lived between fear and hope. Oh Lord! do not punish us for what the account is lengthy and protect us from evil place of return.

Sultān Raḍiya

Raḍiya Sultān daughter of Sultān Iltamish ascended the throne on the day of arrival of the Turks from Kilokhari to Delhi. She commenced with freedom from her brother Ruknuddin. She then examined the problem which created confusion in the kingdom due to weakness of her brother and excesses of vices of his mother. She made amends for that with tranquillity and reforms. She won applause for that. She displayed herself to men in the style of men. Shamsuddin trained her up for wisdom, nobility, judgment and statesmanship He looked after her much more than he did to his other children. He consulted her in his difficulties. In the early part of her ascension, 'Izzuddin Sālāri, 'Alāuddin, 'Izzuddin Kabir Khān, Saifuddin and Nizamul-Mulk assembled out-side Delhi in opposition to her, Malek Nusratuddin Tānsi, al-Tāzi al-Mu'izzi, governor of Oudh crossed the river Ganga in loyalty to Radiya Sultān. The opponents encountered him. He was an invalid. He was captured. He died after a few days. Raḍiya Sultān received news of his death. She came out of Delhi and encamped on shore of the river and sent envoys for concordance. 'Izzuddin and 'Alāuddin presented themselves one night in her Diwān. She conciliated them. They decided upon their captivity. They learnt about it. They left the manzil and dispersed. The army of the queen pursued them. They captured Saifuddin and his brother Fakhruddin. She ordered to put them to death. 'Alauddin Jāni fought in the neighbour hood of Bāyal and Darigwān. His head was brought to her. But Nizām-ul-Mulk fled to mountain of Bardār† and perceived his death. She established per power as a sovereign after them. She appointed Khwāja Muhazzab with the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk as her Wazir.

* Original Text, p. 702. † Original Text, p. 703

He was a deputy. Saifuddin Aibak Bhattu was designated as Katlagh He was promoted to the post of Commander-in-chief (Amir-i-'Askar). he died Qutbuddin Hasan al-Ghuri succeeded him to the post. He prepa go to Ranthambor to the succour of the garrison. When he came the army of unbelievers dispersed. The Muslims came out of the fort. desolated it and returned to Delhi. 'Izzuddin Kabir Khān marched to Lāl which he was the Amir. He entered into loyalty with other amirs from nawati to Dewal. Malek Ikhtiāruddin Aitkin became Amir-i-Hājib Chamberlain). He advanced to highest ranks of nearness to Malek Jamā Yāqut who was Amir-i-Akhur (Superintendent of stables). He always ros till the Turk Muluk became jealous of him. Envy entered into their Radiya Sultān as hinted before had adopted the style of men. She rode and elephant. She suspended a sword, wore a hood like the Turk Sultāns did not wear a veil. She prepared the army for Kāliwar. The historian J said that he was with her. 'I came out from her in company of Majd-u and Amir Diāuddin Junaidi etc. on 1st Sha'bān, 635 (1237) to Delhi. I met her, she favoured me with appointment in Nāsiriya Madresa in Dell magistracy of Kāliwar. In 637 (1239), 'Izzuddin Kabir Khān, governor of I rose in opposition: Radiya Sultān marched to Lāhore. He returned to l and she gave him Multān. It was under Malek Karākash. She retnrr Delhi. Malek Altuniya rose in rebellion. He was governor of Tabarhin was at the instruction of most of the Turk amirs of Delhi. Radiya marched to he . They were with her till she encamped at the fort. meantime, the opponents decided upon her captivity. They first assailed Jamāluddin Yākut al-Habashi and killed him. They then captured he carried her to Malek Altuniya in the fort and returned to Delhi. That hap in the year. Malek Altuniya left her in captivity until she agreed for marr The amirs of Delhi such as 'Izzuddin Sālāry and Malek Karākash met to upon nominating Mu'izzuddin Bahrām bin Shamsuddin as Sultān. Badr Sankar al-Rumi, Amir-i-Hajjb rescued Radiya Sultān from captivity and her to Delhi in regaining sovereignty. In Rabi'I of 638 (1240), the amirs out with Mu'izzuddin in opposition. When both of them met at Kaitu other Turk amirs lagged behind and joined Mu'izzuddin. *Her husband Alt was foremost in war. He had a canopy over his head and name of the S None was a victor due to extreme heat. They turned back. Radiya S followed them with a canopy. They were in the difficult neighbourhood Kaital. It was adjacent to rebel unbelievers. They fell in their hand killed them on Tuesday, 15th Rābi'I of the year. She ruled for three and six days.

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* Original Text, p. 704

Chief of the heretics, Nur Turk in Jāme' of Delhi on Friday, 6th Rajab, 634 (1236)

The historian Juzjāni has narrated that in the early part of the reign of Raḍiya Sultān, a revolt took place due to a man called Nur Turk. He made his appearance in Delhi in the garb of a sermoniser, and the deed of the appointed day. . More than one thousand Carmathians and heretics assembled around him for his sharp wit. He was as God has informed "Satan makes promises, and creates false desires. But Satan's promises are nothing but deception." Men of the sunna and among them Marjiya and Nasibiya put faith in his sharp-witted sermons. Future life formed part of their creed. He permitted fraud and made imposture brisk. He instigated to assassinate learned men of the sunna and mashāikhs of the Hanafis and Shāfai's. He held assemblies of the fixed day in the Great Jāme' of Delhi. Persons of ecstasy and mourners attended them. He instigated, by hints and suggestions, to kill those who gathered to say prayers on Friday in the Chief Masjid. They exhibited themselves fully equipped with arms. Their number was one thousand. Their parties came at the time of recitation of the Khutba and showed humility in hearing it and a party of them entered the masjid from its gate and a party entered from gate of the* fort. People began to leave the masjid with consciousness but the masjid was full of these people. They were with swords on the side of the masjid. Thus they fell in the hand of a heretic. Every one was afraid to see a sword in his hand. They had nothing for defence including a knife. They closed the door. They went in midst of people in the masjid and blocked their road. The strong one perished because of a spearhead and sword in their hands. The weak one perished being trampled under feet in a crowd. The news spread in the city. The first who tried were Amir Naṣruddin Aitam Bilārāmi and the Amir An-Nāṣir ash-Shā'er as-Sāmi and his party of brave men. They entered the masjid from the gate of al-Māwana and utilized their swords and killed heretics. Those who were at the foot of the masjid were overpowered by pelting stones on the heretics. Nur Turk perished. God is sufficient. Praise be to God.

Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh

Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh son of Shamsuddin Iltamish ascended the throne at Delhi on Monday, 17th Ramḍān, 637 (1239). It was written to those who had gone out with Raḍiya Sultan and to those who resided in Delhi about it. On their return to Delhi, they entered the palace and renewed oath of fealty to him. It was Sunday, 15th Shawwāl of the year. Ikhtiāruddin Aitkan was nominated Nāib with the unanimous opinion of the amirs while Nizām-ul-Mulk Muhazzabuddin Muḥammed was appointed Wazir. Within less than two months, Ikhtiāruddin communicated with firmness the marriage of his divorced sister

* Original Text, p. 705.

with him under compulsion and reluctance. He then ordered for the nauba of elephants at his gate. He displayed emblems of sovereignty one after the other. Mu'izzuddin suppressed anger. One day, the Nāib and the Wazir made their appearance in the palace for a meeting. It was held in the palace according to practice for certain days in a month. He used to hear. When he was with the Turk mamluks, al.-Mu'izz ordered them to kill him while he was present. He* was stabbed to death by a knife. They were about to stab the wazir but his death was to take place later on. He went to his house in flight otherwise he would have met with the same fate. They wanted to be safe from the subordinates of the Wazir in time. Badruddin Sankar, Amir-i-Ḥājib came and controlled the situation. It happened on Monday, 8th Muḥarram, 639 (1241). In this year, the assassination of Raḍiya Sultan and Altuniya took place as narrated before. Badruddin Sankar established himself with firmness after the event. He was next to Ikhtiāruddin. Nizām-ul-Mulk Muhazzabuddin continued Wazir as before with Ikhtiāruddin, Badruddin behaved with arrogance with the Wazir and managed state affairs in an arbitrary manner without reference to the Sultān. The Wazir tried to bring about a change in his temperament. Badruddin understood it from the Sultān. He resolved upon amends by making his brother remain with the Sultān. The Wazir was with him outside the palace. He concealed stabs which were more severe than embers. He intended to bring about Badruddin's ruin first for facility. He instigated him upon what he had resolved with proof of stabs to bring it gradually and then to cause fall. In the above year, on Monday, 7th Safar. Badruddin Sankar rode to the house of al-Musharraf Sadr-ul-Mulk Tājuddīn Ali-al-Musawi. He was in concord with him in relation to dethronement of the Sultān. All the principal officers for management of state affairs presented themselves in a meeting. They were Kāḍi Jalāluddin al-Kāshāni, Kāḍi Kabiruddin, Shaikh Muḥammed Shāmi. They deeply meditated over the question of dethronement and arrived at unanimous decision. Sadr-ul-Mulk sent a messenger to the Wazir to summon him to know his mind. The Wazir internally was with the Sultān, not for sincere devotion to him. He was for destruction of Badruddin as has been said.

He who loved him, pitied him
But other persons hated him.

It so happened that some persons of the Sultān hid themselves with him on arrival of Sadr-ul-Mulk to him. He kept them concealed in privacy hearing the conversation of those who were outside. He then called Sadr-ul-Mulk. He sat with him at the door of the private room and heard from him the information in regard to assemblage and their concord on dethronement. There was

* Original Text, p. 706.

no delay except for his arrival to them. He had come to summon him. The* Wazir applauded him and responded to him. He ordered him to return to his house and promised him that he would come in his wake after performing ablutions and saying prayers. Sadr-ul-Mulk returned. The Wazir opened the private room. When the man who was inside came out, he said to him, " you heard what he said, without any intermidiary. Go in haste to him and inform him with what you heard from him; and tell him to ride at that very hour to the house of Sadr-ul-Mulk like a visitor to him without sitting and coming out from his house to his house and they would come out with him. When he entered with them, he would say something to defend them." A reliable person reported about it. The Sultān rode to Sadr-ul-Mulk and returned with them to Dār-us-Saltanat (royal palace). When they assembled with him, he ordered Badruddin Sankar to go to Badāum immediately as an Amir. He dismissed Kāḍi Jalāluddin and expelled with fear Kāḍi Kabiruddin and al-Shāmi from the city. He imprisoned Sadr-ul-Mulk. After four months, Badruddin returned to Delhi without a summons from the Sultān. He ordered him to be imprisoned and done to death. Sadr-ul-Mulk was killed in prison that year.

Juzjāni narrated that in that very year, a large number of unbelieving Mughals and Tatārs who were in Khurāsān and Ghazni assembled at the fort of Lāhore. Karākash was its Amir. He tried for some time to defend the fort but he noticed weakness on the part of its citizens and inadvertence to help him when he was repelling them from them. He went from Lāhore to Delhi. The unbelievers entered it on Monday, 16th Jamādi II of the year. It was a great event in Islām. It was a famous city. There were assassination, captivity and pillage of one-fourth of the prosperous city. But the Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk and persons of similar status did not say that it was made desolate. When the city returned to normal peaceful life, Badruddin Sankar was done to death. He was safe against his fear, nay, he forgot the effect of knife. He was free from retaltation for himself from the Sultan. The first thing that he did was exhibition of truth in the incident of Badruddin. He mentioned nothing against the amirs. It was Badruddin who obsessed him till the Sultān disclosed with caution. He was suspicious of him for that. In the midst of fright, the Sultān put faith in Ayyub al-Turcomāni al Ṣufi. At the outset, he secluded himself in† the palace of " Hawz-i-Sultāni " in the garb of a Qalandar. The Sultān visited him and commenced to put faith in him. It culminated in propagating royal orders and hearing them for himself. He lived before in the town of Meher and at times he went with Kāḍi Shamsuddin and he did not like to endure anything from him so he ceased to call him. The Kāḍi did not allow any one to disobey him but to respect him. It so happened that the Kāḍi one day made his

* Original Text, p. 707. † Original Text, p. 708.

appearance in his face in the Diwān of the Sultān. Ayyub saw him. He ordered him to be thrown at the feet of elephant and that was done. Dread of the amirs and the wazir became very severe on account of this incident. There was always some kind of conflict between the two parties in his office. It was a proof for embers to blaze forth. It developed into the incident of Lāhore. Amir-ul-Umra Quṭbuddin Ḥusain al-Ghori accompanied by the Wazir Muhazzabuddin and other amirs went against him from the side of the Sultān. When they were at a distance of one manzil on the shore of the river Piyāh, the Wazir opened the door of mischief by writing a letter to the Sultān informing him about sedition of the amirs and the advisability of putting them to death. He further informed him to summon himself and Quṭbuddin immediately for submission. He requested him for a reply for execution of it. It so happened that the reply was as the Wazir expected. He did not wait. The Wazir held a meeting and showed the letter and consoled them for him. They agreed with him on his dethronement. Mu'izzuddin received a report of it. He sent Shaikh-ul-Islām Syed Quṭbuddin to them for amends of sedition and to suppress it from whomsoever it may be when he did not expect him to improve. On his return, the Wazir and his companions followed him. They alighted at Delhi and laid siege to it for two months and certain days. Mubarak Shāh, the chief carpet-spreader advanced for defence of the city. They had encamped at the city on Monday, 19th Sha'bān of the year. The historian said that a large number of persons of both sides perished in the siege. Eminent men of the city including Qādi of the army and the kingdom made efforts for peace as lay within their power. They did not agree on peace because of the carpet-spreader. He was a favourite of the Sultān. He ruled his mind and dominated over his temperament. He was not pleased with peace and the Sultān did not go against his will. When the Wazir Muhazzab ordered those who were connected with him in the city to conciliate stupid fellows by grant of something in cash. After the Friday prayers, they commenced to give money. Fools of the city presented them-* selves including vagabonds. Their number swelled. They stirred up mischief when it became difficult to control them. Mubārak Shāh felt anxious because of them for defence of the fort. Juzjāni said that, " I was in the Jāme. Some persons of my community instigated against me. They approached me with their swords while I had nothing in hand except a staff which was called Ghaddāra. They brandished sword at me and I defended myself with the staff. I had a party of mamālik and attendants with me. I was safely escorted from their midst to my house. This uproar continued in the city till night. It was 8th Ziqa'ad. " The Wazir resorted to an artifice and the city-gate was opened for him. All the amirs entered it and spent the night till dawn of the morning.

* Original Text, p. 709.

They then designed against Dār-us-Saltanat, entered it and captured the Sultān. They killed Mubārak Shāh, the carpet-spreader. It was Saturday 8th Ziqa'ad of the year. On Saturday night of the 16th, Mu'izzuddin was martyred. The historian narrated that three thousand Jitals were spent on unsocial elements of the city. I say, "It is an insignificant sum to he recorded by a teacher in a girls' school. He was only teaching them pronunciation of letters only. It is of no reliance when compared to expenses of those who had encamped for a siege who themselves had become weak for a long time. There were so many poor men on both sides. There was none in the city to defend it. As the histories relate that it was the carpet-spreader who prevented the managers of state affairs the maleks and soldiers and defended against them. He was, therefore, titled Mubārak Shāh. He exhibited himself with a drum, a flag and prevented their entry. If the Wazir had paid the paltry sum on the first day of encampment to the unsocial elements, there would have been no anxiety for prevention. They then spent the night in it. They did not think over it before. Such was the will of God. "A man does not own anything and does not know it. He has no judgment of himself. The will of God controls him or he controls the affair. Verily God manages his affair and He had made him capable to do everything."

Sultan 'Alāuddin Mas'ud son of Ruknuddin son of Iltamish Shamsuddin. *

'Alāuddin Mas'ud son of Ruknuddin Firoz son af Shamsuddin Iltamish ascended the throne on 8th Ziqa'ad, Saturday, 639 (1241). He appointed Quṭbuddin Ḥasan al-Ghori as Nāib. Nizāmul-Mulk Muhazzabuddin was appointed as Wazir. Bahāuddin Karākash was appointed Amir-i-Ḥājib. He was in the royal palace called Qaṣr-i-Sufid (white palace) on the day of captivity of Mu'izzuddin. Three persons—Nāṣiruddin, Jalāluddin and 'Alāuddin were near him. He came with them to the Firozi Palace. The one who was present with him from among the Turk muluk was 'Izzuddin Balban. His name was proclaimed in the city. There was unanimity about 'Alāuddin's sovereignty. He appointed 'Izzuddin Balban to the government of Nāgor, Mandur, and Ajmer; Tājuddin Sanjar Katlak to that of Badāun; and Wazir Muhazzabuddin to that of Kaul. The historian says that Mu'izzudin was relieved of magistracy and 'Imaduddin Muḥammed Shakurkāni was appointed to it on 4th Zilhajj. The Wazir prayed on his behalf for stability and tranquillity as he wished to keep himself away from Badruddin and Mu'izzuddin as well as expulsion of Turks from participation with him in execution of order and organization of the high and the low including elephants with nauba. They should always be at his gate for display of stability. He was stern in despotism and consequently the Turks decided for his murder. The 'Alāi soldiers alighted at the gate of Delhi near

* Original Text, p. 710.

the Hawze Rāni. It was on Wednesday, 2nd Jamadi I, 640 (1242). It was as informed by God, the Holy "whey they delighted with what they received, we suddenly seized them with punishment and then they got confused." The historian narrated that "I went to Delhi from Badaun on Friday, 9th Rajab of the year. Tajuddin Sanjar Katlak was there. I then went to Oudh where was Qamru'ldin Kirān. He showed me favour which could not be more than that. 'Izzuldin Ṭughril Ṭughān Khan, governor (ṣāhib) of Lakhnawati chanced to come there by water to Karah. I travelled alone from Oudh to Karah and met him. I enjoyed his company till arrival to Lakhnawati. I departed with his famliy from Oudh and lived under shade of his favour for two years. 'Alāuddin* appointed Sadr-ul-Mulk Najmuddin Abā Bakr as Wazir after Muhazzab, 'Izzuddin Balban was appointed as Amir-i-Ḥujjāb at the capital. He (Alauddin) married his daughter. He was designated Ulugh Khān and fief of Hānsi was granted to him. Conquests on surrounding places became easy during this period for 'Alāuddin. Vast wealth accrued to him. In the year 641 (1243). on his return from Kara to Lakhnawati, Tughān Khān sent Sharaf-ul-Mulk al-Ash'aia to the Sultān for his services. On behalf of government, Qādi-jalāl-ud-din Kāshāni was got ready with him. He worked as a Qādi in Oudh. He brought a red canopy and tashrifāt for Tughān Khān. He arrived in Sakhnawati on Sunday, 11th Rabi 'II of the year. Tughān Khān went out for his reception. He was applauded with canopy and thus his status was elevated. On 'Id-uḍ-Ḍuḥā of the year, 'Alauddin due to his above conquests, freed his aunt from observance of ceremonies in the palace. His uncle and aunt presented themselves in the majlis when he granted Kanauj to his uncle Jalāluddin bin Shamsuddin and prepared him to go there. He granted Bharaich to his uncle Nāṣiruddin bin Shamsuddin and prepared him to go there. Many praises and prayers are due to him for this. They fought religious wars on those sides.

In 642 (1244), unbelievers, residents of Chāchnagar alighted in a large number at Lakhnawati. The Sultān sent Tamar Khān Kirān to help Tughān Khān in the early part of Ziqa'ad. The unbelievers produced fright between Ṭughān Khan and Tamar Khān. Peace was concluded on Wednesday, 6th Zika'ad of the year on the term that Tamar Khān should remain at Lakhnawati. Tughān Khān came to Delhi on Monday, 14th Ṣafar, 643 (1245) and met 'Alāuddin. The historian narrated that "I had come out with him from Lakhnawati. When I met 'Izzuddin Balban on Thursday, 17th Ṣafar of the year, he bestowed upon me the Nāsiriya Madresa and management of its religious endowments. Similarly, he made the deed for future life at the Jāme' and Kaḍā (magistracy) of Kāliwar. It was with me before this date. He ennobled me with the usual robe of honour which was with him for such posts. More than†

* Original Text, p. 711.

† Original Text, p. 712.

this cannot be for human beings. It included a horse. In Rajab of the year, reports poured in for arrival of Mughals to the vicinity of Uchch with their Amir Mankuta. 'Alāuddin marched with the intention of Jihād and encamped on the river Piyāh. Mankuta received a report of his arrival. On receipt of his arrival, he returned towards Khurāsān. The historian narrated that he prepared an army which consisted of multitudes of men and might and the soldiers were tried and experienced. He halted for certain days on the river and left for Delhi after he ceased to hear about them. The historian narrated that 'Alāuddin was a sultān of agreeable qualities, good deeds and enjoyed company of wise men and scholars. He was of sound judgment. He avoided evil. He feared harm as one fears an evil eye. He then acquired evil from wicked persons. He became vicious and resorted to assault, disparagement of reputation and power with the amirs. It was with them. What he acquired from them, he committed abominable deeds and indulgence in intoxicated drinks and abandonment of good qualities and absorption in forgotten pleasures. How can they be congenial to king. When he exceeded the limits, the amirs resolved upon his dethronement. They secretly wrote to Nāṣiruddin, God gives kingdom to whom He wishes." He was at Bharaich. His mother carried him in a litter in which she sat and arrived in Delhi. No eye had seen and no ear had heard about it. The seekers assembled around him and entered the palace with him on 3rd Muḥarram of the year 644 (1246). They carried 'Alāuddin from majlis of pleasure to prison where he died on the above date. He ruled for four years, two months and one day. It is a couplet composed by a witty youth :

> How the freedom! he had divided his heart—between clear full moon and gazelle
>
> But you surrendered yourself to low desires—Be firm when you meet with perils.

Sultān Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud

Sultān, fortunate, guided, Naṣir-ud-Dunyā Wad-Din Abul Muzuffar Maḥmud bin Sultān Shamsuddin Iltamish al-Qutbi al-Mu'zzi ascended the throne in the Green Palace at Delhi on Sunday, 3rd Muharram, 644 (1246).* The absent and present muluk and amirs displayed their loyalty to him. It was a public oath of allegiance for him in the Firozi Palace on Tuesday; 15th Muḥarram of the year. That very year in the month of Rajab, he marched for looking after the kingdom and defence of frontiers from the onslaught of unbelieving Tatārs towards the river of Sind and the region of Banyān. On Sunday, 1st Ziqa'ad of the year, he crossed the river of Lāhore known as Nilāb.

* Original Text, p. 713.

He encamped on his way on the shore of river Sadra. He sent 'Izzuddin Balban Ulugh Khān al-Shamsi, who was Amiri-i Ḥājib during the regime of 'Alāuddin and on which post he continued with increased elevated rank, with a large number of soldiers under him towards Jabal-i-Jud. The rest remained at the coast as reserve with elephants and baggages that were with him and with them. 'Izzuddin marched singlehanded—an account of his being titled as Ulugh Khān follows—to the aforesaid mountain. He waylaid surrounding places and most of them by assassination, captivity and obtainment of spoils. He moved hither and thither in the vicinity of Jhelum, Gokhrān and adjoining places, and the region of Nandana as far as the big river of Sind, Saihun (Sindhu). He returned with spoils uncontrollable. Nāṣiruddin turned his rein towards Delhi. He had said his 'Id-uḍ-Ḍuḥā prayers at the mountain of Jālundhar on Thursday, 25th Zilhajj of the year. He returned to the capital on 2nd Muḥarram. He marched for religious war between Doāb in Sha'bān, 645 (1247). He alighted at the fort of Tāsanda under unbelievers in the vicinity of Kanauj. It was an invincible fort. Sultān of Hind Nāṣiruddin descended upon the fort under direction of a guide inspite of its impregnability and might of its inmates. It was unconquerable. It was won after a war of two or more days. It was won on Thursday, 14th Shawwāl of the year. He encamped on the frontiers of Kara on Tuesday, 12th Ziqa'ad of the year. Ulugh Khān Balban had gone to those sides three days before this date. It was situated between Doāb among lofty mountains, impregnable forts, narrow ramified lands under a renowned unbeliever Rānā Dalki and Malki. When he heard about it, Ulugh Khān* went to mountains and entered them. After assassination and captivity, he carried what was there to Kara. From all that fell into the hands of army, there were fifteen hundred horses. Other things can be accordingly imagined. Jalāluddin Mas'ud bin Shamsuddin was at Kanauj for the same purpose but it came to his brother Nāṣiruddin. Ulugh Khān met him and showered favours on him. He granted to him Kanauj, Sanbal and Badāun. After bestowal of tashrifāt, Jalāluddin returned to Kanauj and Nāsiruddin to Delhi. It was Wednesday, 14th Muḥarram when he entered it. On 6th Sha'ban 646 (1248), Nāṣiruddin went out for a religious war among mountains. It so happened that Jalāluddin Mas'ud harboured suspicious ideas about his brother and so he went from Sanbal to mountains of Santur under security of its ruler. Nāṣiruddin equipped the army to go to mountaneous Ranthambhor for pillage. He returned to Delhi on Wednesday, 9th Ziqā'ad of the year.

Qāḍi 'Imāduddin Sakurkāni was charged with an allegation and so he had to go to Badāun on Friday, 9th Zilhajj. He was shown an order for the same. Malek Bahāuddin Aibak Khwāja was martyred. This happened in the neigh-

* Original Text, p. 714.

bourhood of Ranthambhor fort on Sunday, 11th Zilhajj. He was one of the amirs sent there under the standard of Ulugh Khan. On Thursday, 3rd Safar, he returned to Delhi. On Monday, 10th Jamādi II, 657 (1249), daughter of Ulugh Khān Balban called Maleka Jahān was married to Nāṣiruddin. On Monday, 12th Rajab, Qādi Jalāluddin Kāshāni returned from Oudh to Delhi and met Nāṣiruddin and departed from him to his house. He was the Chief Qādi of the kingdom. On Sunday, 4th Shawnāl, the Sultān crossed the river Jamna and equipped an army for a religious war against those who disobeyed him or who were unbelievers. The historian Juzjāni says, "I received a messanger from my sister who was in Khurāsān. I produced him before Nāṣiruddin. He ordered a robe of honour, mandate forty muluk, one hundred animals to carry baggage while Ulugh Khān gave me a piebald horse, and a gold-embroidered robe of honour. May God multiply their good deed and may they live long, I left Delhi by way of Abuhar to go to Multān for equipment* of servants and animals for Khurāsān. It was Monday, 29th Zilhajj. I was on the bank of river Piyāh on Sunday, 11th Safar, 648 (1250). I met the great Malek Sarkhān, governor of Multān: I journeyed forth with his permission. I arrived at Multān on Wednesday, 6th Rabi 'I. On the day of my entry, Malek 'Izzuddin Kashlu Khān Balban, governor of Uchch came from it to it to gain ascendancy over an adjoining portion to annex to Uchch. I saw him. He had encamped outside it. I stayed with him till 25th or 26th Rabi' II while he was there camping. But he did not succeed in conquering it due to Sarkhān's prevention and opposition to him with a strong fort. He returned that day to Uchch. I returned from him to Delhi after preparation of things to be sent to my sister in Khurāsān. All those things were in her name. I met Nāsiruddin on 2nd Jamadi I. In Shawwāl of fhe said year, the Tatārs made their appearance at Multān. The frontiers of this kingdom are adjacent to those which are on the way of Tatārs from the direction of Chin Māchin; while those frontiers are adjacent to Khurāsān. The Tatārs had scattered over that region. When the Tatārs advanced, Malek Sar Khān was not there or he had no strength to resist them. God assisted his kingdom through the great amir Ikhtiaruddin Karbaz. He encountered them, fought with them and expelled them from frontiers. He became weak for having fought with them. He was about to lose life. One of them was fastened to the other. When he gained this victory, he wrote a letter of victory. In wake of it, prisoners came to Delhi. It was a day worth seeing. The Sultān ordered the city to be decorated. He sent an envoy to him with a reply of a robe of honour and other mandates.

In 649 (1251), 'Izzuddin Balban Kashlu Khan proved disloyal and he descended upon Nāgor. Nāṣiruddin marched against him to Nāgor. 'Izzuddin

* Original Text, p. 715.

came to him and surrendered. He pardoned him and returned to Delhi. In the absence of 'Izzuddin from his seat of government, Uchch as stated before, due to his encampment at Multān, Sarkhān encamped at Uchch. 'Izzuddin received intelligence of it at Nagor. He came out from it to Uchch and when* he approached it, he resorted to caution and practised an artifice. He, therefore, fell into his cords. When he advanced upon his army with a special party of soldiers to him he, according to usual tactics, delighted his guest to go back with life. Sarkhān did not know him. When he came to him, he welcomed him and displayed him with what a brother intended from him, just when Sar Khan alighted before his eyes at Multan. Besides, he met him in a majlis, he gave him to think that he was definitely for a march. He ordered for ceremony for him and said to him that he was safe in surrender of the city. It happened. He was in the majlis when friends of Sar Khān in the city came and expelled him with what he had with him—members of his family and subordinates. He then conciliated the soldiers with what they had from him and increased thereon for them. They left his party. Sarkhān entered Uchch. He then did away with ceremony and permitted him to go wherever he desired. He marched to Delhi and Nāṣiruddin granted him Badaun. On Tuesday, 25th Sha'bān Nāṣiruddin marched to Kāliwar. He encamped within precincts of Mālwa. Rāy Jāhir Ajār was the greatest king on this side. He had a Narol fort. Nāṣiruddin had designs on it. One day, the Rāy exhibited fifteen hundred horsemen and one hundred thousand footmen. He strove for war. The party of God was small but they were successful. The Rāy fled away. The fort was won. It was prosperous. He looted what was therein. On Monday, 22nd Shawwāl, 650 (1252), Nāṣiruddin marched to Lāhore by way of Uchch and Multan. He was accompanied by all the muluk and the Khāns. They consisted of Qaṭlagh Khān, govenor of Bhatāna and 'Izzuddin Balban Kushlu Khān. On his encampment at the river Piyah, 'Imāduddin Raihān was under displeasure of Nāṣiruddin for the sake of Ulugh Khān, nay, he was displeased with most of the amirs due to slander of Ulugh Khān. On Saturday, 1st Muharram 657 (1253), he issued an order from one manzil on the river for march of Ulugh Khān to region namely Siwālik and Hānsi. Nāṣiruddin returned from the river to Delhi with displeased temperament against most of the muluk for the above slander. He entered it in the early part of Rabi 'I of the year. Imām Māwardi in his book "Adab al Duniyā wal Din" says, "Know that the place of falsehood does not remain stable with truth. Back-biting is perfidy† and insult. They are a screen for talks from envy and treachery. God the Almighty said, "One of you should not back-bite the other. Does any one of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother?" It is reported by Asmā daughter

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* Original Text, p. 716.

† Original Text, p. 717.

of Zaid that the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, He who crawled through flesh of his brother with show of back-biting, it was right for God to make his flesh lawful for fire." Slander is an addition of baseness and evil to censure of back-biting and meanness and perfidy add to blame. It tends to separation of two united beings, creates distance between two close persons and produces rancour between two confidential friends. It is reported from the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him that "May I inform you about your evils?" They said, "yes". He said, "your evils create desire in you for slander of malcontents between friends who transgress defects." Calumny is the third evil. It mixes censure of back-biting and blame of slander with reproof of souls and wealth and disparagement of ranks and states. Ibn Qutaiba, may God be pleased with him reported that the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him said, "The paradise does not give entry in itself to the shameless deuce and the caluminator." A deuce is one who mixes with men and women and back-bites and behaves in a shameless manner. Kallā' is a caluminator. He is an influential man with the amir. He always drops something into the ears of the amir who ultimately uproots the other man. What 'Imāduddin Raihān said in regard to Ulugh Khān will bring about his fall. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Muḥammed bin Nizām-ul-Mulk Junaidi was nominated as Wazir. Kashli Khān was appointed Amir-i-Ḥājib of Ulugh Bārbak. Tuli Aibak brother of Ulugh Khān obtained manṣab of Imārat for the region of Kara. He went to it. 'Imāduddin Raihān was appointed as Vakil in Jamādi I of the year. The Sultān marched to Hānsi. On 27th Rajab of the year, 'Imāduddin summoned Shamsuddin Bharaichi for management of magistracy of the kingdom. Ulugh Khān learnt what Nāṣiruddin had intended to cause inconvenience to him. He went from Hānsi to Nāgor. He gave Hānsi to Ruknuddin bin Nāṣiruddin. He made him Amir-i-Ḥājib and returned to Delhi.

In the early part of Shawwāl of this year, Nāṣiruddin marched to Uchch * and Multān. They and Tabarhind were under jurisdiction of Sar Khān. He marched to Turkastān after being defeated in a war against the unbelievers in Sind. He left his territory in the hands of Amirs. The Sultān established his authority over them and appointed Arsalān Khān Sanjarjab over them and returned to Delhi from the river Piyah (Bias). In 652 (1254), Nāṣiruddin marched to the frontiers of Koh Pāya Bardār and Banjor and brought much booty. On Thursday, 13th Muḥarram of the year, he crossed the river Ganges from the side of Mayāpur and travelled keeping himself at level of Koh Pāya to end of the river Rahab. He encamped there. The amirs continued to go to the direction of Nangla Bāli. One of the amirs was 'Azizuddin Raḍi-ul-Mulk.

* Original Text, p. 718.

On Sunday, 15th Ṣafar of the year, he was about to carry out pledge witl Kāman when he got martyred. On 16th, the Sultān rode out and brandished sword among unbelievers of Kāthir whom he was about to destroy. He then turned to Badāun and thence to Delhi. He had appointed Ṣadr-ul-Mulk Najmuddin Abu Bakr as Wazir. The historian narrated that he was conferred th title of Ṣadr-i-Jahān on Sunday, 20th Rabi' I of the year on the outskirts oi Kaul. He arrived at the capital on Tuesday, 26th Rabi' I.

In this very year, an insurgence broke out at Tabarhind. When Nāṣiruddin dismissed 'Izzuddin Balban Ulugh Khān from the deputyship on account oi slander of 'Imāduddin Raihān and appointed 'Imāduddin as Vakil, a party o great amirs were affected thereby. Among these amirs were Arsalān Khār Sanjarab and Yati Khān Aibak Khatai. Ulugh Khān issued forth from Nāgoı which was his charge for Tabarhind on the counsel of Jalāluddin Mas'ud son oi Shamsuddin. It was the seat of government of Malek Arsalān Khān. Jalāluddin made his appearance and joined him. Nāṣiruddin received intelligence o that. He marched against them. He said his 'Id-ul-Fiṭr prayers at Sanām He then marched from it to Hānsi. Jalāluddin came to Kuhrām and Kaita along with his confederates. Nāṣiruddin turned towards them. The amir approached with might to wage war. The advance-guards were about to com to clash. It was a great mishap for Nāṣiruddin. He returned to Hānsi. Th amirs assembled at Kaital. Prudent persons of both the parties made attempt for peace but 'Imāduddin Raihān refused to make peace. He was mainly responsible for the conflict. None could approach Nāṣiruddin. When Nāṣiruddin alighted at Jand, Ulugh Khān secrectly corresponded with him. Ulugh Khā sent his mamluk Sipahsālār Karah Jamāk to him. There was no match for hin in valour. After making representation for which he had come, he returned t him with his reply. 'Izzuddin Balban, Nāib Ḥājib had accompanied him as security. Peace was to be concluded at his hands by the great amirs. Yat Khān Aibak al-Khatāi and Ḥusāmuddin Katlagh Shāh sent standards of sepoy When they came to the cupola of saltanat, 'Imāduddin resolved upon killin Yati Khān just when he entered upon Nāṣiruddin. But 'Izzuddin remonstrate with him. Peace was concluded and he remained as Vakil. It so happened tha Quṭbuddin Ḥasan al-Ghori learnt about it. He hastened* and sent Sharaf-ul Mulk Rashiduddin al-Ḥanafi to Yati Khān to inform him as to what emboldened him to see Nāṣiruddin and that he ordered him to stay at his place till th news to be would be received by him after his seeing Nāṣiruddin. Quṭbuddi Ḥasan as well as a party of amirs saw Nāṣiruddin and represented to him wha 'Imāduddin Raiḥān had resolved upon for stirring up conflict. Nāṣiruddin go infuriated. He immediately ordered him to go to Badāun. Quṭbuddin Ḥasa

* Original Text, p. 719.

then met Yati Khān and informed him about what had happened. He saw Nāṣiruddin and spoke on peace for the pleasure of both the parties. Yati Khān returned. At an auspicious hour, Ulugh Khan, his confederates and Jalāluddin Mas'ud arrived on Tuesday, 17th Ziqa'ad of the year. Jalāluddin was appointed at Lāhore. He proceeded to it. Nāṣiruddin returned to Delhi with Ulugh Khān and entered it on Tuesday, 9th Zilhajj. In Rajab of the year 653, (1255), 'Imāduddin Raiḥān was done to death. Its account is that a Hindi eunuch 'Imāduddin was an attendant of Nāṣiruddin. He back-bited Ulugh Khān as stated above. Men of his kind assembled around him and obtained elevated manṣabs and superseded the Turks in offices. They got prejudiced and gathered around Jalāluddin Mas'ud to prevail upon Nāṣiruddin to dismiss him and send him to Badāun and then to Bharaich. He was an Amir of it. The Turks had* rancour against him with his expulsion. Amir Tājuddin Sanjarmāh Peshāni Siwastani, governor of Oudh hastened to him at Bharaich. 'Imaduddin was there. He suddenly caught hold of him and killed him. The Turks enjoyed tranquillity of mind. In this year, the incident of Qatlagh Khān took place. The mother of Nāṣiruddin was in wedlock with him. It so happened that Nāṣiruddin became angry upon her. He ordered their expulsion to Oudh Then an order was issued for their expulsion to Bharaich. But he halted. He despatched the Amir Baktam al-Rukni to expel him. When he was on the frontiers of Oudh, Qatlagh Khān met him. A fierce conflict took place between them. Amir Baktam was killed. Nāṣiruddin received intelligence of it. He got infuriated and started to expel him personally. When he approached him, he went away to Kālinjar. Nāṣiruddin pursued him. Arsalan Khān Sanjarjab was in the advance-guard. He saw him in the neighbourhood of Kara. He fled to Santur and sought refuge with the unbelievers. He was with majesty and might and he had mountains well fortified and expansive valleys, and impregnable ramifications. Till now the army of Delhi has not penetrated into his region. The rebel amirs received news of his mighty power. They joined with him and Muslims and ignorant persons had become a part of his armies. He personally prevented the advance-guards as Nāṣiruddin was in the wake. Izzuddin Ulugh Khān Balban advanced. It was a resistance and fight which resulted in their rout and dispersion. Ulugh Khān pursued them to Salmur and encamped there and conquered it as a preliminary. He did to it as does a passer-by with disappointment and returned to his sultān with spoils beyond calculation. He was the first to descend upon it and conquered it in the early part of the year near to it. Kuṭbuddin Ḥasan 'Ali, the great Malek, Nāib of the Saltanat achieved martyrdom in Rabi II of the year. Nāṣiruddin heard something about him which infuriated him. He stood in his presence on

* Original Text, p. 720.

Tuesday, 23rd of the above month of the year. He was stern in address and rebuked him. Then an order was issued for his capture and impriso He was then ordered to be put to death in a day. He was a worthy ma

He who committed evil slightly
He who did good, was cut.

In this year, the great Malek Kashli Khān Ulugh-i-A'zam Bārbak Ail Sultāni came to Delhi from his seat of government of Kara. He met Nāṣirι He was delighted to show regard to him. He was ordered to go to the of Meerat and its adjoining territory. He set out for it on Monday, 7th I of the year. On Tuesday, 13th Rajab, Nāṣiruddin raised the rank worthy 'Allāma (a very learned man), with depth of knowledge in branches of learning to Imāmat (leadership). He was Mawlānā Jamā al-'Allāmi-al-Bistāmi. He was designated Shaikh-ul-Islām. He was wor it. In Shawwāl of the same year, Nāṣiruddin marched from Delhi to loo the frontiers of Hind. On Sunday, 17th Ziqa'ad, Ulugh Khān, under a order, marched to guard the region of Siwalik and Hānsi accompanied by and friends. He turned to royal pavilion on Wednesday, 19th Zilhajj.

In the year 654 (1256), Salmur was conquered. Nāṣiruddin aligh the Dār-us-Saltanat at Delhi on Wednesday, 4th Rabi' II. On a report return, Taghlak Khān made his appearance on the environs of Kar Manekpur. He was accompanied by rebel amirs who bore wrath of the hence they joined with him. It was for Arsalān Khān Sanjarjab. He him and expelled him from his limits. He returned with disappointm seize anything from Hind to Sanhir-residence of insects and worms, etc known trade friend. He therefore conquered Salmur.

In 655 (1257), the great amir of Government and administration, Ya Aibak al-khatāi was on horse-back on Sunday, 6th Rabi.I. Men of hi were talking in his army. He was of forgiving nature, upright charact controller of self; he had presence of mind and was watchful of conjectur a slight movement he fell down from the saddle to the ground and died. stated in saying that he does not bear disturbance except its smoke. I stern to those insurgents who attached themselves to Qatlagh Khan. were in necessity of sympathy and need. They suffered harm because of They assembled and decided upon deserting them and assailed Taghlak on ment. Nāṣiruddin was in Delhi. He marched to Agra. The leader of dis amirs Tazzuddin Balban Kashlu Khān encamped with his army at Uch Multān in vicinity of the river Bias. The rebels of Taghlak Khān and joined it. On news of their insurgence, Nāsiruddin sent Ulugh Khān tc

*Original Text, p. 721.

† Original Text, p. 722.

them. Kashlu Khān and Taghlak and those who were with him alighted in the limits of Manṣurpur and Sāmāna. On the encampment of Ulugh Khān at a distance of two or three farsakhs from them, some of the nobles of Delhi such as Shaikh-ul-Islām Syed Quṭbuddin, Qādi Shamsuddin Bharaichi etc. decided on perfidy because Delhi was without an army on account of Ulugh Khan being away against them. They wrote to Qatlagh Khān and Kashlu Khān about emptiness of the city. They incited him to come under such a situation. They further informed him that they had taken the citizens' oath of allegiance to them and that the door would be opened unto them. It was for their information. Juzjāni narrated that some sincere followers wrote to Ulugh Khān about it. :He wrote to the Sultān about what the leaders of the city had resolved upon and requested him to expel them from it. Action should be taken on perusal of the letter. On Sunday, 2nd Jamādi I of the year, Nāṣiruddin ordered them for expulsion to their residences. He then looked after for protection of the city. The letter of the Syed and the Qāḍi came to disloyal amirs. They were at a distance of two furuakhs from Ulugh Khān. They rode from Sāmāna at night and went post haste to Delhi. They covered the distance of one hundred farsakhs in two days and a half. In the morning, they were at gate of the city on certainty of its conquest. But they found no way to entry. They questioned about it. It was said to them as to what was good for them. One day, they alighted at the famous garden called Bāgh-i-Juz situated between kilokhari and the city. They took shelter with severest repentance. Efforts had been made for defence of the city and the gates were closed by Amir-ul-Ḥujjāb 'Alāuddin Ayāz Zanjāni, Nāib Amir-i-Hājib as well as Ulugh Kotwāl Beg Jamāluddin Nishāpuri, ṣāhib-i-Diwān-ul-'Ard (officer in charge of presenting persons and petitions to the king). At night Kashlu Khān went back. He was followed by Kallagh Khān and most of the nobles who had gathered around them lagged behind. They joined the Sultan's party. Ulugh Khān returned. The whole region was arrayed by row of soldiers. On Wednesday, 8th Ramdān, Ḍia-ul-Mulk Tājuddin titled Nizām-ul-Mulk and designated with the most elevated manṣab of Ṣadr-ul-Mulk seated as the Wazir. Sālin Navin came from Khurāsān to Uchch and Multān this year. 'Izzuddin Balban Kashlu Khān was in the region of Siwālik. He joined with him. His arrival was at request. Similarly, Qatlagh Khān* united with him and joined his party.

In 656 (1256), the Sultān pitched his pavilion outside Delhi with an intention for religious war. Most of the amirs who were near him except those who were on the frontiers assembled around him. He sent them to Uchch and Multān for defence against the Tatārs. He returned to the palace. He

* Original Text, p. 723.

wrote to his brother Jalāluddin Mas'ud for the grant of Lakhnawati. He marched from Lahore to it.

In 657 (1258), Malek-ul-A'zam Kashli Khān Aibak Ulugh Bārbak died in the month of Rajab. He had the region of Kara Manekpur under him. He was an equal of 'Izzuddin Balban Ulugh Khān in government, administration and rank. He was in relation of a brother to him. Nāsiruddin appointed his son 'Alauddin Muḥammed to the manṣab of his father-Amir-i- Hājib. In this very year, Sar Khān returned from Turkastān. The Sultān gave him Kaul, Bhatāna, Balārām and Kāliwar. In this year, Imām Hamiduddin Bārikala died on 1st Ramḍān. In this year, Shaikh-ul- Islām Jamāluddin al-Bistāmi died on 6th Jamādi II.

In this year, Qāḍi Kabiruddin whose account was given in the life of Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shah died on 24th Jamādi II.

In this year, Malek-ul-Kabır Tez Khān Sanjar came from his seat of government with what he had amassed in money and recruitment of soldiers. These were accepted with favour and regard.

In this year, the Sultān was delighted with birth of coolness for his eyes.

In 658. (1259-60), 'Izzuddin Balban Ulugh Khān marched from Delhi towards a mountaneous region inhabited by wild, disloyal persons with ten thousand horse on 13th Ṣafar. He pentrated into all sides of the region, killed and captured unlimited disloyal persons. It was the region of Mewāt inhabited by violent insurgents, with strength of men. Its residents were feather-brained vagabonds from ancient times engrossed in destruction and humming like flies over sweets and table-cloths. He returned victorious and grateful with spoils* in hand. People greeted him.

Abu 'Umaru Uthmān bin Muḥammed al-Minhāj-i-Sirāj al-Juzzāui author of Tabakāt dedicated to Sultān Nāṣiruddin son of Sultān Shamsuddin Iltamish, may his efforts be grateful, said that " what I wrote for the year 658 (1259-60) about Balbani conquest, of victorious standard was based on the knowledge of " Suwar-ul-Wakāya'-ul-Nāṣiriya " which I had. The pen moved with its ink to describe what happened on fall which was said to be for him. He forgives the slip, and improves mistake. He hoped to speak about it. I have narrated everything which I had with me as an eye-witness. I was in service of the Shamsiyya, Nāṣiriyya as well as those persons whose names I have mentioned in between. I did work for them in management, removal and partnership in tyranny and justice as was ordered to me at its suitable occasion. I described these events as happened by the bounty of God and His abundant beneficence. If life is spared to me, I hope with Divine Will to write about him till end of life

* Original Text, p. 724.

d year of his death. My God spare him for assistance of religion and osperity in the world, a protector for the kingdom and respect to the ruler. ıe further said in the life of Ulugh Khān Balban. In the year 658 (1259-60) envoy of the king of Tatārs, Hulaku came to Nāṣiruddin from Iraq. Muluk d the amirs received him well. The city was decorated for him. It was a ene worth witnessing. Arrival of the envoy became the cause of operation of ·ine will without the knowledge of any one of both the parties. Nāsiruddin uḥammed bin Ḥasan Karlagh, Amir of Banbān had become loyal to Hulaku ım among the Muslim amirs. It began with the marriage of his daughter :h a son of Ulugh Khān Balban. Ulugh wrote to his confidential friend :retly with what to begin with him. He gave information about it. He ›lied to him. He ordered Baktama to go to see the above-mentioned amir. ugh sent his envoy with a present with an instruction to meet him secretly thout the knowledge of Sultān. When he came to Multān, he saw Izzuddin ıshlu Khān from the side of Hulāku there. He questioned him about rrespondence and present. He said that it was for the king of Irāq alone and invited him to him. He went to Banbān and met Nāsirududdin, conveyed him the deposit and informed him. 'Izzuddin questioned him and he replied him. He did not try for invitation but permission as 'Izzuddin informed him.* e news spread about him. An envoy was sent from the king of Hind and ; absolute Nāib Ulugh to the king of Irāq with a letter and a precious gift ıich Ulugh received from his daughter's father-in-law and received him. The ıg of Irāq received intelligence about it. Contents of the letter and the esent were represented to him. He issued an order to the munshi (scribe) to .nslate it into Turkish language of the Tatārs. The Sultān alone was known Tatār. Hence Ulugh Khān was not addressed as Nāib. It was sufficient to ntion his designation and name, 'Izzuddin Balban. Till now, only the itāb is mentioned in Irāq. Hulāku became acquainted with contents through ınslation. There was no mention of Nāib in it. From his name, he under›od humility towards him from him as well as decorum. He was wonderuck at his behaviour of good manners towards him. He ordered the munshi give him a reply with his known address in Hind and Irāq. He wrote to the irs who were on the adjoining frontiers of Hind to show regard to the Sultān Hind without restraining him there. Nāsiruddin Karlagh started to send an ›oy of Irāq to Hind. He intended something and God the Holy intended nething. Affairs came into existence as pre-ordained from causes. The envoy Nāsiruddin after a feast and award of robes of honours. He stayed for two ›nths or more. He then was the guest of muluks and amirs under royal ler and gave him tashrifāt to free men and slaves for their sultān. Abu

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Original Text, p. 725.

'Umru Juzjāni did not mention the date of death of Nāsiruddin. Ẓia Barni too had not mentioned it. But Husām Khān has mentioned it in his history. I narrate from it. Sultān Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud fell ill in the year 662 (1263). He became extremely weak. His health was beyond treatment. Hence it was given up. They engaged in performance of good actions and charitable deeds for reward in the future life. His death took place on 11th Jamādi I. He was wise, scholarly, accomplished in person and qualities, God-fearing, abstemious, sound, generous, brave, administrator, statesman, pious in religion, indifferent to worldly pleasures. In spite of his extensive kingdom and powerful might, he personally devoted himself to accounts and economy of the state. He restricted his life to what has been reported from the Messenger of God, may peace and benediction of God be on him that a human being should eat as much as to maintain his health. He earned his means of livelihood by writing. Many a* time, he sold his books and obtained a sum of money. When he inscribed his books in gold letters, he fetched more price. He then increased his expenses. He sent some one to sell the book with instruction not to say whose handwriting it was. One day, his wife asked him for a maid-servant. His reply was, " I will not buy her for you till I get in the Bait-ul-Māl (Public Treasury) of the Muslims. He ruled for nineteen years, three months and certain days.

Early life of 'Izzuddin Bālban Ulugh Khān al-Shamsi with a title, later on, of Ghiyathuddin.

Abu 'Umru Juzjāni said that Ulugh Khān Balban was a Turk of the family of al-bara. He was from the most famous house of the Khāns. Most of the the people assembled around the family and were its subordinates. He said, " I heard from Karyāt Khān Sanjar that till now his cousins were men of distinction and renown among the Turkish families. Their family consisted of about ten thousand houses. Father of Ulugh Khān and father of Sar Khān were brothers. No member of the family was disloyal. During the Tatār inroad, he was captured and was taken to Baghdād in childhood. Khwāja Jamāluddin al-Baṣri bought him and brought him up along with his own sons. He grew up under his kindness and treated him with felicity. He displayed signs of advancement and nobility. He came to Gujarat with his patron.

In the year 630 (1232), he came with him to Delhi during the regime of Shamsuddin Iltamish. He produced him before him along with other mamālik. He was inclined towards him. He bought him from him. The rest were not. He engaged him in service and always kept him under his glance and in nearness. Whenever, he found him worthy, he sympathised with him. He always raised his ranks one after the other. Due to his powerful fortune, he chanced to be,

* Original Text, p. 726.

the service of his brother, Kashli Khān, Amir-i-Ḥājib. Something is narrated ɔove about his life and death. During the regime of Ruknuddin, the Turks ɛserted him and rallied round him. Ruknuddin ordered him to be imprisoned . a place worthy of him in the palace. The historian said, " I did not see that ɛcept in accordance with a saying, " the action of a wise man is not without * isdom ". What is related is that the Sultān was to him like a son. He grew p under his tutelage. He wrote to those who were away from among the iends and ordered those who presented themselves with a rise to the rank of sciplinarians. Those who assembled in his majlis were meritorious with that ɪalification. He was content with the most accomplished and departed the ;st. The disciplinarian made effort in his education till he became perfect and ɪus the Sultān attained to that. He ordered him to be present in the majlis ' examination. The teacher delayed three days for him. On the first, he went ɪt with his son for a ride outside the city. He then ordered him for a travel. e moved in front of his horse to a distance of farsakhs. The teacher was on ɔrse while he made him to walk by his side when he was about to stop due to .tigue. He was not fond of walking in compound of the palace except with fficulty. Then how he could walk by the side of the teacher's horse. He ɪen permitted him to ride. On the second day, he was made to appear in a .hool. He ordered him to acquire knowledge near him but he was found to be eak and helpless. On the third day, he bound his hands and feet and beat m and left him in that state. The disciplinarian fled away from the city ithout the knowledge of any one for fear of retaliation. One who entered the aktab found him in that state. He unbound him and went with him to the ajlis of his father. He pursued one who unbound him. He was wonderstruck his examination in two days before. He then summoned the teacher but he ɪs not found. He then assembled teachers of the city and ordered them for .amination of his son. They put him some questions. He answered them ɪd they showered praise upon him for the knowledge he had acquired. This ldded to the wonder of the Sultān as he had after all acquired so much knowl- ge. He did his duty well. The sultān had to pay the teacher dues of his ition. How could he do for what he did as he was not there. Who could vite him for that? He then ordered to make search of him. After some ne, he came with him to him. He made him easy in his presence, called him ar to himself and thanked him for education of his son. He then questioned m about it. He said, " He responded to receive highest kind of knowledge ɪt he did not understand how to practise it as he was brought up in a royal ɪdle. When he rode a horse, he never cared to walk. How can he walk? ɪnade him to move in front of the horse to understand trouble of walking. He

*Original Text, p. 727.

moved easily with mildness by the side of the horse. I applauded him for understanding it. I imparted to him all the knowledge I had from the first day. When he sat, he failed to realize the hardship of one who stood. He prolonged his sitting. While he who stood was unable to stand. He had a need. He was disposed to stand or he abhorred sitting. He connived at it to a limit of* pleasure and anger. What disturbance was to him therein, was not hidden. I liked that he should know it also and that he should not transgress the limit of moderation in anything. I did for him the next day. When he ordered punishment in administration, he failed to know the pain of him. He would cross the limit of punishing him to death unknowingly; or he practised tyranny over some one or he treated him with severity which he did not deserve. He would be indifferent to the suffering of the oppressed. He would bear rancour towards one who does deserve it. I liked him to acquire its knowledge. On the third day, I imparted that kind of knowledge to become informant and far-sighted in administration of the state." The Sultān said to him. I received benefit, guidance, applause for your ideas. Inform me why you ran away when what you did to him was good." He replied, " I was afraid of gallows for kindness for waste of trouble." He ordered to give him his wages and departed him. The historian remarks that the teacher did, not out of insult but for his great estimation. It was out of completion of his learning according to decrees of the knowing. During the regime of 'Alāuddin, he was Amir-i-Ḥājib. When his daughter married the sultān, he advanced in rank and designated him Ulugh Khān. He was granted a canopy. During the regime of Raḍiya Sultān, he was Amir-i-Shikār while during the reign of 'Alāuddin, he continued in the same post. At the time of Manku Nawin, it was he who displayed judgment and prowess which prevented him to advance further and retreat. It would have been difficult for 'Alāuddin to encamp at the river Bias. Mu'izzuddin returned on a report of Manku Nawin's retreat. He alone went to punish Rānā, ruler of Jud for his exit from the kingdom because he entered into his frontiers with the help of a guide. He resorted to murder, loot and desolation. During the regime of Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud, he advanced and attained to the post of a Vakil. He married his daughter to Nāṣiruddin and gave him counsel. On a slander of Imāduddin Raihān against him, he was transferred to the region of Lakna. He rebelled which he did not do before, under necessity. He then corresponded with him and met him with loyalty. This account is previously given in the account of Nāṣiruddin. His special conquests were Narol and† Salmur. His other conquest was Kara and Koh Paya in concert with Rānā Malka. The number of killed unbelievers was beyond ten thousand. Such an account is written by Abu 'Umru Juzjāni in his Ṭabaqāt.

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* Original Text, p. 728.

† Original Text, p. 729

The following account is given bv Diauddin Barni son of Muayyad-ul-Mulk. He begins with the reign of Ghiyāthuddin.

The historian Ḍiauddin Barni narrates in an introduction to his history of the Sultāns of Hind called Tarikh-i-Firozshāhi that he saw the compilation of Ṣadr-i-Jahān Minhāj-ud-Din Juzjāni called Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣari. He applauded it because of clarity and arrangement. I read it and wrote the following from it. I saw arrangement of his history into twenty-three Tabaqas. It begins from tabaqa of Prophets, may peace and benediction be on them and our prophet and ends with a tabaqa on Shamsiyya son and Sultān Naṣiruddin Maḥmud. I thought to myself if I adopt his arrangement, it will not be free from what it is his. Its reading would be only to obtain substance. If I write something other than it, the style would be different. Perhaps the reader will shrivel from it imagining it to be in the Tabaqāt. Hence I moderated it from all that he narrated in the Tabaqāt under its guidance. I narrate what he stated in the early life of Ulugh Khān Balban upto the close of reign of Nāsiruddin. Thus I have moderated the whole of Tabaqāt. I have moderated the account of Balban also from his early life, amirship, nāibship to an account of his ascension to the throne. May God help us!

Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Ulugh Khān Balban al-Shamsi

Ghiyāthuddin Ulugh Khān Balban al-Shamsi ascended the throne at Delhi in the year 662 (1263). All the Mu'izzi, Quṭbi and Shamsi muluk assembled around him. He established himself firmly in the issue of orders. He administered the government with good deeds under Shamsi rules and regulations. He imitated him in most important matters. He had a body of accomplished persons. He uprooted vagabonds. They stood in the way of comforts of life He eradicated sorrow and sadness. He ruled with judgment and with sword. His kingdom, including the capital city of Delhi, was without a share of another person, the same as it was during the regimes of the descendants of Shamsuddin Iltimish. It was of vicious impression for their engagement in producing calamity. When Balban established his power as Sultān, he eradicated those evils. The country and its inhabitants enjoyed peace and security. There were slaves of the best rank on whom he relied. He had risen by degrees to the elevated position of Sultān from the post of Amir-i-Shikār. He was exceptionally renowned in the knowledge of limbs and proficiency in hunting hence the khil'at of Imārat fitted him well on his proportionate stature, and that too especially in winter from among the seasons of the year during the regime of his saltanat. He always marched with ease and rode in the morning with wings of birds. Those who were appointed for hunting followed him; they

* Original Text, p. 730.

were one thousand eminent men. They were such whom he knew as an amir and of reliance. He had one thousand foot-men to carry his bows and arrows and rifles. He had one thousand horsemen who were of continuous appointment. They shared him in food and dress. Due to appointment, he would not return from hunting to the city and none lagged behind him. The historian narrated thus and his report is reproduced here. When the king of Tatār, Hulaku received this report he remarked that the Sultān of Hind was an experienced administrator, a wise man not indifferent to future. He goes out frequently for hunting but not for it. He returns in time when events are not in his hands except his horses and men. Ghiyāthuddin learnt what Hulāku spoke about him. He praised him and said that a sultān did not know administration unless he is a knower of his age. The historian said that one day, 'Ādil Khān and Tamar Khan made their appearance before him. They were from among the greatest Shamsi muluk of the mamālik. They conversed on the Quṭbi and Shamsi conquests. He asked them to stay as far as it was necessary for them. They replied that they had leisure because of the cessation of Tatār inroads. They spent money from the treasury to elevate the phrase of Allāh, currency of religion and restitution of the Public Treasury of the Muslims to double and double of what has been spent. Now we are in,time past the rule of the Tatārs. We are adjacent to the frontiers and region from the boundary of Lahore as it was not during the 'Alāi regime. This is not sufficient as it was in the Nāsiri regime because of the departure of the muluk of mamālik of his father to the Tatārs and surrender of ancient cities of Islām to them. The Tatars had learnt about wealth of Hind. Accordingly, they came out to conquer that part of the country. They gained ascendancy over the middle region of Doāb and they coveted what was in Delhi from the Public Treasury. Hence most of them came out* for the sake of benefits. They spent away their collection in the kingdom for recruitment of men. They deemed a centre indispensable. The Tatārs alone were before their eyes. They preserved what was in hand and deemed it most important to seize what was in the hands of others. In the early part of saltanat, they sought information from all about the strength of his fortune. Tamar Khān son of Arsalān Khān al-Shamsi with sixty rings of elephants was sent to Lakhnawati as its amir. All said prayers for establishment of general security in all directions and frontiers. After Sultān Shamsuddin, the caravans were waylaid, the frontiers were in a disturbed state, there was no peace and security. Residents of Delhi sought security from any ruler on its outskirts. During the regime of Ghiyathuddin, peace and security were established, and the roads were safe in the first year of his ascension. That was due to the roads being in charge of free persons, and virtuous men. For every deed has equal punishment according

* Original Text, p. 731.

to terms of the contract. Deeds improved because of the āmils. Benefits accrued in abundance, blessings increased, regions prospered and the roads became safe. In the first year of his ascension, similarly, the dacoits infested environs of Delhi, and hid themselves in woody neighbourhoods, and created fright on roads. He ordered to root them out and cut down insurgents till the surface of the earth was cleared of them and their hiding places were turned into open space. These people belonged to the community of Mewān (Mewāt). They plundered unawares the descendants of Shamsuddin. They prevented citizens to go to the Hawz and places of delight and pleasure from afternoon. They entered the city at night to commit theft etc. with the strength of heart and hand. When he was free from this, he despatched an army to the middle portion of Doāb. They killed most of them, plundered them till the earth was scattered with their corpses. They took warning from it and returned to their places and became loyal. Ghiyathuddin then marched to Kanpal, Patiali and Bhajburki. There are situated on the entrance of Hind. Caravans laden with goods pass through them to neighbouring places. Their owners assembled in unlimited number. He brandished sword among insurgents of those people and obtained immense booty. He built forts and masjids in every city. A rais with a large number of followers was appointed its Amir. They were mostly* Afghans. He ordered them to populate them in large numbers from the army and servant class. He permitted spoils to them. The historian narrates that from that day till his day the roads became safe and the caravans entered and went out of Hind with guarantee of safety and honour. Ghiyāthuddin returned from it to Charāli. It was on the way also. After Shamsuddin, its residents did not find it prevented. They assembled through his dread and abandoned brigandage. He built a fort for them. He gave them the Afghāns as amirs. He ordered them for maintenance of safety on the road and returned to Delhi. One day, he went to environs of the city at an untimely hour without any follower. He precipitated when he was on the bridge of Kuhar on the Ganges. He ordered five thousand archers to cross it. He then crossed it himself and attacked Kaithar taking its residents unawares and spared none with his sword except a woman and a child. Blood flowed in that place and it went beyond it. He did the same in all adjoining places. The place was terror-stricken. With the blow of wind, the atmosphere became stinking on the river and to a distance. The cause of his wrath was to subdue insurgence. The amirs of near-by neighbouring places were afraid of his awe. These places were Kabdāun, Amruha etc. After a lapse of time, they were upon the same activities as they were before. "They adopt Satans as friends other than God and they think that they are guided." On account of this, their number increased and their intrepidity became strong. After the death of Sultān Shamsuddin to their day, they were

* Original Text, p. 732.

thus seeing afar but a party frightened them and the amir did not disperse them. They assembled at an elevated place and got down like a drizzle. Unlawful things were lawful for them. The surrounding places became secure and their prosperity was widened. The historian narrated that this state of affairs continued till the close of Jalāli period. Ghiyāthuddin then marched to a locality called Kohjud and strove to punish its residents. They were horsemen in a large number. They assembled in his Diwān in an unlimited number and thus a multitude was there in the camp. Price of a horse rose to forty tankas. He then returned and marched to Lāhore. It had become desolate by the Mughals in the regime of 'Alāuddin. He rebuilt the fort and repaired all the sides. He put it in charge of an efficient amir and returned. He then examined the army and preferred a muster-roll and recalled in his mind and informed them about their respective duties.*

In 663 (1264), he bestowed the title of Kaān on his son Muhammed Sultān bin Ghiyāthuddin and put Sind, its suburbs and Multān under his charge. Multān was the capital. He was granted a canopy and made him a ruler. He appointed a party of great muluk and powerful Khāns to attend upon him. He came out for it and reached Multān when the Tatārs made their entry into Hind. He was not there but only so far as to protect its frontier because at any time he may he needed without return of the Sultān. He appointed Nāib at Sannām. He was his son Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud Buqrā Khān son of Ghiyāthuddin. He granted him Sāmāna and its adjoining territory and marched to his kingdom.

He appointed his slave Tughril Turki al-Balbani his Nāib at Lakhnawati. His account will be given in the history of Sultāns of Bengal. After his incident, he appointed Buqra Khān bin Ghiyāthuddin as Sultān over it and distinguished him with a green canopy. He advised him to visit the righteous and seek spiritual help from men of Allāh in affairs and events. He then said to him, "Oh my son! Qāḍi Jalāluddin was sent as an envoy to Sultān Shamsuddin by the Khalifa of Baghdād al-Mustanṣir son of al-Ẓāhir al-'Abbāsi. He was accomplished in person and qualities. One day, he copied from a book in the hand-writing of Māmun. I heard Shamsuddin saying, 'I loved to distribute half the glory of my state to one who copied it'. Jalāluddin said, "I learnt about the book in the hand-writing of Māmun al-'Abbāsi. He has written therein, 'my father al-Rashid was of elevated status. He has spacious palaces. At night, he came out walking with one of his favourites and went to Dāwood Ṭāi and Muḥammed bin Samak, may God sanctify their graves and may we be benefited through them. When he stood at the door, he sought permission for entry. He sat on dust. Hours of night passed but the door was not opened unto him. He returned. In this way, he went night after night but the door

* Original Text, p. 733.

was not opened. His faith and love increased inspite of his forbiddenness. He always pleaded everyone who entered but he returned them with a call of goodness. One who was with al-Rashid was annoyed to wait after prohibition Al-Māmun said, "One who was with Rashid said to the Qāḍi Abi Yusuf Ya'qub* in his presence in the majlis. When you go to meet Dāwood Ṭāi, take me with you to Imām Hanifa. He replied, "You and I are poor. When I went to him, I called him. Since then, I acted as Qāḍi and I am an envoy. Al-Rashid said to him, "I increased my faith in him." The Kāḍi said, "Oh Amir-ul-Muminin! It was not from Syed, and a learned man and a Shaikh and a teacher and an eminent man. He is a delegate of the Khalifa. He was in his majlis. It was a matter of pride for that for your relationship with the Messenger of Allāh, may peace and benediction of God be on him. You are his Khalifa, you are, because of it, Shadow of God on earth. The two hid themselves from you. For you are more rich than they." Al-Rashid said, "Alas! They are indifferent to the world. Hence they were indifferent to me. Others coveted it, hence they became needy of me. There is a difference between them."

In the year four or as the historian said five and sixty, (564 or 565 = 1265 or 1266), the great amir al-Mu'izzi Sar Khān, cousin of Ghiyathuddin Balban died in his capital, Bahtir. He had built a cupola there during his life and so he was buried there. The historian Diauddin says that he was a Shamsi Turk and formed part of forty eminent Turks called Chahalgāni. He was a Khān among them. He was a man of reliance and with extensive lands. His fame spread far and wide. He was renowned for his valour and strongest might. He was an intrepid warrior. He formed friendship with the Tatārs at Uchch and Multān. They were to him from his own region. During his time, the frontiers were safe against the Tatārs. During his rule, he built the forts of Tabarhind and Bahtir. They were under his charge. He marched from Multān to Turkastān during the regime of Nāṣiruddin. When he returned, Nāsir gave, in exchange for what he had, Sannām, Dibālpur and Lāhore. He conquered Ghazni and recited Khutba in the name of Nāṣir. He continued in its government to the end of Nāṣir regime. When Ghiyathuddin firmly established himself as Sultān, he expected from him to come to Delhi. The question arose as to who should rule the state after Shamsuddin, they paused for certain affairs. Muluk of the mamālik for Mu'izzuddin, Quṭbuddin and Shamsuddin were in favour of other than the muluks who plundered the spoils or who harboured revenge that perhaps they would have partners in the kingdom other than they. It was such a state of affairs with them. But they were on their guard for upright judg-† ment of eminent men. They met together to decide as to who had a mark of good men. He could not be in the kingdom from among them except one who converses little. The mamālik had decided upon absolute power and what they

* Original Text, p. 734. † Original Text, p. 735.

had in pursuit of carnal desires for good or bad. Transgression and insurgence would get them nothing in spite of equality in number and equipment to oppose them, or

When God intended for departure of wealth
It was due to wrong judgment of men.
He who is not void of envy from one who envied.

It was so. After Ghiyāthuddin, the kingdom departed from the Mu'izzi House, because of the mamālik, to others. Its account follows. Sar Khān had merits in him to advance unceasingly in the state. Ghiyāthuddin could not stop its departure. Hence, he was administered poison in beer under his own instruction. He died of its effects. Ghiyāthuddin divided his kingdom among efficient muluk in expectation of fulfilment of pledge and loyalty. He gave Sannām and Sāmāna to Tamar Khān bin Arsalān Khān al-Shamsi.

In 684 (1286), Qaān son of Ghiyāthuddin was martyred. He received news of march of Karah Mughli to his frontiers. He marched against him. Both the armies encountered between Dibālpur and Lāhore. It was a fierce war. Many amirs and muluk got martyred along with innumerable soldiers. It was a great calamity and chiefly the calamity of his father. Qaān was a virtuous man. Members of his family glorified themselves because of him. He was prudent, perfect, noble and scholarly. He moved in company of those who were men of felicity and derived beneficient advantages. He was disposed to decorum. Pleasure was not worthy of him. Amir Khusraw and Amir Ḥasan were his associates. Time cannot produce a man like him. He was fortunate enough to derive blessings through correspondence and messages from Shaikh Muṣleḥuddin Sa'adi. He had requested him to visit Multān. He prepared himself to come to him with a request for book which he saw him to write. He had resolved to build for him a madresa, and inn to be religiously endowed out of income of villages and immovable property in proportion to its benefits and for expenditure on his companions and servants. The shaikh got indisposed with weakness to travel. In spite of that, he continued correspondence with him and sought his help in prayers, and hoped to be near the friends. The shaikh came to him with his book of ghazals written in his fine script and auspicious hand. He got an excellent occasion of meeting him. He fell in captivity* because of incident of Amir Khusraw but God expedited his release. The books contained eulogies and elegies. Sultān Ghiyāthuddin lived but he was seized with intense gloom for death. He had become very feeble. He felt thereby the approach of death. He sent for his grand-son Kaikhusraw bin Qaān who was always with him and under his glance. He gave him what was his father's from the state and the saltanat. He came out of the Diwān of his grand-father with

* Original Text, p. 736.

a canopy over his head and the chiefs saying prayers on his behalf were in front of him and sergeants by his side inviting the muluk and the amirs to join the procession with decorum and on march to Multān. After a short while, he sent for his son Bukrā Khān. He came to him from Lakhnawati. When he saw him, he said to him, " My death is near. I wish you to remain present at your house of the saltanat after me. I have none except thee, therefore do not remain absent. Kaikhusraw and your son Kaikobād—they are my sons. They are not in the run for the kingdom of Delhi. They are minors. Lacking in experience and so they are not able to bear the load and understand politics. If you were at Lakhnawati and death made its appearance before me, you should be under the order of the ruler of Delhi. When you are there, bring all the surrounding places under your charge. "Call those persons whom you love." He said prayers for his long life in his presence. When he saw his weakness, he feared and lauded his recovery to health. He was desirous of the climate of Lakhnawati and its water. He, therefore, marched to it and did not seek his permission.

In 685 (1286), before his reaching Lakhnawati, weakness recurred. After the death of the martyred Khān, Kaikhusraw son of Qaān came for a sick-visit to him. This disease relapsed and became severe. Three days before his death, he sent for Malek-ul-Umarā Fakhruddin Kotwāl, the Hākim of the city and Khwāja Ḥasan Baṣri the Wazir. He and Fakhruddin talked among themselves what he had in mind. He said to him, " you are aged. You know what he does not know before of his small age. You are wise with experiences. You know the world as it should be known. You saw vicissitudes of the sky and that you do not need now till you are disturbed for death or delighted with life. God the Almighty said " Muḥammed is nothing but the Messenger. There had been Messengers before him. " Now death has made its appearance before me. My son, the martyred Khān was the heir-apparent. He has preceded me. After him, I make his son Kaikhusraw my heir-apparent. He is now upon what I* had pledged to him. He has merits of saltanat in him. He is grown up in the chamber of my training. When I die, take him by hand and seat him on the throne of saltanat. He is minor in age. If Bukrā is present I needed to give him advice. If he gets the news and comes to me, the sick king, but no body knows what he will get the next day. " Put faith in my advice and you who are present. All the affairs turn to God " The historian narrated that when he was free from giving advice, he left them and lay down his bed and abandoned the world. May God the Almighty show mercy to him. He ordered for moderation of advice. At the hour of his death, Kaikhusraw went out at their suggestion to Multān, his capital. They assembled around Kaikobād son of Bukrā Khān,

* Original Text, p. 737.

designated him Mu'izzuddin and seated him on the throne of saltanat and saluted him. They went out with the coffin of Ghiyāthuddin in the morning of his death from the palace to the grave. His muluks and mamālik made themselves bare-headed and rent garments. Others sprinkled dust over his face, wept and mourned. Malek-ul-Umarā Fakhruddin was the first to lament. They hastily carried him to a secret place. It was said of him that he was experienced with the world. One who narrated, heard of him that he wept and lamented. How should he not weep at such a king. He governed the kingdom for forty years. He had many rights over his subjects. It is said that he slept on earth after him for six months and abandoned comfort etc for forty nights. Residents of the city grieved his loss including the most distinguished. There was none who gave in charity for him. Many persons recited the Qurān and gave reward of recitation to him. Many persons fed the poor for his reward. May God accept this on his behalf and show mercy to him !

Sultān Mu'izzuddin Kaikobād

Mu'izzuddin Kaikobād bin Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud Bukrākhān bin Ghiyāthuddin Balban ascended the throne at Delhi in 685 (1286). He was, more or* less seventeen or eighteen years of age. He was of extremely handsome appearance and his character was moulded in the chamber of training of his grandfather Balban. He was in the prime of youth and therefore, he sought information from his compeers about subjects which satisfied the youth. He chose companions in whom he had confidence. They guarded his time and supplied him with information he sought. He was, during the course of his training restrained from lustful desires and enjoined upon accomplishment in person and qualities. He was in the prime of youth, much against ephemeral nature of the world, the characteristic of old age. But now, he completely changed his nature and disposition as stated in the couplet :

> Do not miss an opportunity when possible
> For the world is fast in rotation.

He then forgot refinement and cultural training received from his teacher. He adopted the course of pursuit of base desires. He indulged in society of pretty girls for satisfaction of sex and engrossed in drink. It became a matter of discussion among all sections of population: " People follow the religion of their kings." During his regime, there came forward the son-in-law of the brother of Amir-ul-Umarā Nizamuddin Amir Dād. He rose up without dispute and opposition. The manṣab of Niyābat and Vikālat was held by 'Umadat ul-Mulk Qiwāmuddin who in reality conducted government. Nizamuddin was in Diwan-ul-Inshā (Department of correspondence etc. Chancary). Mu'izzuddin

* Original Text, p. 738

needed only intoxication of the cup. His intoxication of inadvertence placed control of administration in hands of the Muluk and the amirs. This led to assumption of independent power. Mu'izzuddin went from Delhi to Kilokhari to live on the bank of Jamna. It got extended in construction for him. The Muluk lived there and made it a place of residence. No noble resided at Delhi. Mu'izzuddin lived in the midst of grossest pleasures in company of his associates, wits, singers, songstresses, poets, sycophants etc. listening to tunes of flutes and sitārs. Every hand had a timbrel and cymbals etc., some instrument of pleasure. They were proficient in giving delight to minds. They flung excellent witty remarks among themselves. They originated subjects of passionate pleasures. They were expert in production of pleasantry, impudence, ribaldry, theatrical representations and dance. Every beautiful woman and handsome man, noted in arts was present in the assembly. They all congregated to him from different parts of Hind. They thronged into his gathering and gave all their time to his intimacy and played games of drink with him. They renounced, as is said, 'the bird has no heart but wings,' and similarly, all men. Again, the* buyers and sellers fell attracted to the markets. The beauties were ignorant of adornment, decoration, embellishment, fragrance except wickedness in love. The historian narrated in connection with this that all such people had crowded themselves in the capital during his regime. Every house-holder had locked his house. There was general engrossment in pleasure, there was extensive acquirement of property; article of non-sense had a brisk market, they preferred insanity to sanity till revolts became easy. Everyone was blindfolded with arrogance and there was none but a slanderer. Every youth touched the hilt of his sword under these circumstances. Nizāmuddin seized this opportunity of negligence; his self instigated him to rise to saltanat and he began to prepare its means. He first began with Kaikhusraw son of the martyred Khān. He approached Mu'izzuddin in his state of intoxication and said to him, "In your sport and play, you are not safe. The muluk have assembled to summon him for kingship. He is the righful claimant to the throne. You call him and kill him." He summoned him. When he came from Multān to the town of Rohtak, he killed him. It was a great calamity for the muluk though it was not for the Ghiyathiya and the Shamsiyya. They outwardly sought information for internal working of his mind. They got plunged in anxiety. They had preferred him to him. They suspected Mu'izzuddin but there was no evidence as to who killed Kaikhusraw. They doubted him for he was in intoxication. He must have brandished sword and killed him. A party plundered their houses. Famous Ghiyathias were pursued. They were carried to distant forts for imprisonment. Then an effort was made to kill Malek Shāhak, governor of Multān and Malek Nur, governor of Baran. Diwan-ul-'Arḍ was with him.

* Original Text, p. 739.

Both of them were in solidity and power during the regime of Ghiyāthuddin. That took place. He then ordered to punish the Wazir, the great Khwāja who was paraded through the city on a donkey. He also wickedly punished those whom he suspected to have gathered for his sexual pleasure. Mu'izzuddin fell in anxiety and the unreal became real to him. He needed the loyalty of Nizāmuddin. He used to say to his wife, who was daughter of Malek-ul-Umarā. 'She is my mother'. She became ruler in his harim. She informed Nizamuddin what happened there and Mu'izzuddin informed him as to who came to him. In short, he informed him about everything nay, he felt safe with him. Muluk of the frontier region and amirs of provinces became cautious of Nizāmuddin.* Those who were in the city became careful of him. Mu'izzuddin was always in drink with his youth. Nizamuddin went beyond the limit. He was son-in-law of Malek-ul-Umarā Fakhruḍdin. He was also the son of his brother. One day, he closeted himself with him and said to him, "I am your patron. You are my son. My daughter is in wedlock with you. Government of the capital belonged to my father. It is now for me. It is for the last eighty years. Do not take it out of my house. This became the cause of peace and safety of the muluk and equality with them. Servants and attendants desisted from harm. The public were obliged. The high was treated with regard. The root of it was loyalty to the saltanat, well-mannered behaviour and practice of good, you are mine and your end is to sit in my majlis. The saltanat was not of members of his family. It is distant from you. Did you not see that those who put confidence in him were killed? My house is destroyed by you, you have heard what Ardashir had said, " The more fearful thing wear the kings is head which became a tail and a tail became a head.

> I was not surprised at claim of petition to be rejected
> Even if a thousand witnesses stood to prove it true.

you are beguiled by answer of your sultān in a state of intoxication, you insist on killing his people at his request. It is not for you as it is said

> The world had become dark for him, the rich got it
> Wisdom of the world reveals it to him.

Do you know who are the muluk who ruined themselves and laid waste the kingdom? Do you try to ruin what Shamsuddin tried from 612 (1215) to unite them, train them and give them experience? Ghiyāthuddin tested them for twenty years of amirship and shelter and twenty years of saltanat to 685 (1285). The sultanat became a prop and a head (capital) and a basis for the kingdom. In less than a year, this unity is torn asunder. Elevation is sought with this status. Alas! Alas! whence is this fog! It aimed at the cloud. The eagle desired a crow. Alas! the earth has acquired gracefulness of breeze

* Original Text, p. 740.

or the full moon becomes like the sun in brightness. Abi Ḥusain Muḥammed bin Tha'lab al-Fawshanji has said:

> How much of the sun you see in a gentle stream
> It is the favour of light and its spirit in movement.

Oh my son! hear me and return from your disobedience. Keep yourself busy with a comfortable life and make your life orderly for tomorrow as it is today.* I have given you advice as I was inclined towards you." "There is no life for one who cries." The historian said that the information reached Nāṣiruddin Bukrā Khān. He was much affected thereby. He continued correspondence with his son, Mu'izzuddin in regard to demands of the time and goading him to make amends and improve himself. He found himself determined after hearing him. He kept himself on guard against Nizamuddin. He moderated himself due to admonition of his father. He then wrote to meet him. He repeated the same thing and he responded to him. Nāṣiruddin came to Oudh. Mu'izzuddin also went to him and encamped on the bank of the river where Nāṣiruddin had encamped from his side. It was the famous river Sarāv. Nāṣiruddin had resolved to come alone at an appointed place to meet. When he learnt about Mu'izzuddin's coming out with those who were with him and what he had of preparation and learnt about that Nizāmuddin had frightened him from his father, he too came out with those who were with him and what he had. Every one of them encamped on the river. Mu'izzuddin sought permission to cross the river. He forbade him and said, "It is better that I should show regard to you as the Sultān at Delhi." He ordered him that he should not come out of his pavilion and not get down from his throne. He then crossed the river with his men. Men of his son Mu'izzuddin assembled together outside the pavilion on its different sides in an array. When he passed by the side of an amir, he greeted him with salute. He came to a place when he got from the horse; the muluk also dismounted from their horses. There was a problem of priority in obeisance before Nizāmuddin. When he went beyond the curtain, Mu'izzuddin was on the throne. He did what he was asked to do by kissing the ground three times at three places. When he was near the place of the throne, Mu'izzuddin could not bear the relation between him and his father. He dismounted from the throne, he could not control himself to behave with respect towards his father. He walked fast, prostrated at feet of his father and kissed them. Nāṣiruddin raised him up to his chest, embraced him and wept much so much so that others who were there began to weep out of pity. They then moved towards the throne. Nāṣiruddin held the hand of Mu'izzuddin and raised up to the throne and decided to sit without him. Mu'izzuddin got down, held his hand and raised him to the throne. They sat together. Their knees†

* Original Text, p. 741.

† Original Text, p. 742.

joined together in sitting before him out of respect for him. He ordered a offering. They were brought in trays of gold and silver. They conversed fo an hour. They found some yearning due to seeing each other and the bount of union with each other. A table-cloth was spread out. They sat upon They stood at a place without any one and talked about the positions of th boat. He left and returned to his pavilion. Next day, Mu'izzuddin crosse the river to go to his father. When he returned, he ordered to proclaim in th camp that he who was near or sāḥeb (officer) in the camp of Nāṣiruddin an intends to meet him, he should do so. Now he was alone. Men of both th parties visited one another and commingled among themselves. Nāṣiruddi came to Mu'izzuddin and Mu'izzuddin went to Nāṣiruddin. It was an excellen meeting between them. Most of the poets have sung encomiums relatin wonderful deeds. Amir Khusraw was one of them. He has composed a independent poem in Persian language called "Qiran-us-Sa'dain." It is goo in its respect in the style of history. He narrates therein the early part Mu'izzuddin's life, life of Nizāmuddin, conversation between the father and th son, meeting, camping on the river Sarāv, departing, mutual visits, admoni tions about covetousness and secrecy etc. There is a couplet in regard to visit

There is parting for sincere friends when meeting
There is a fraction of those who are without parting.

He ordered to make an announcement in the camp that none should go out fron either party without permission of his master. The historian narrated that bot of them halted at the river for some time. They visited each other and hel assemblies. Similarly, the literary men exchanged visits. There were fruit and fragrances in the majlis, musicians and minstrels, cups were drunk in company of pretty girls. It so happened that Nāṣiruddin said something in th majlis about his father Ghiyāthuddin and his training for him as well as of hi martyred brother. He began to weep. He then said to Mu'izzuddin, "Oh m son ! When myself and my brother were free from learning the language, copying the script which was shown to our teacher. He then taught us theology grammar and etymology. These subjects were taught in the beginning. W asked the teacher which was better for study from amongst optional subjects The teacher replied, "Artistic calligraphy brought a good reward. He then excused himself and departed. In theology as much knowledge is necessary a it is needed in prayers and fast. They have no relation with grammar. Durin the reign of Sultān Shamsuddin, there came books from Baghdād called "Adab-us-Salātin" and "Maāthir-us-Salātin". They assembled together to read thes books in presence of a perfect teacher. All were benefited. People sat in th majlis of aged persons who were full of wisdom, experience, knowledge of th sky and its vicissitudes. Teachers of history and literary men met together in the majlis. Many benefits were derived also from grammar. Accordingly, my

self and my brother began to read etiquette of the Sultāns from the teacher Khwāja Tājuddin al-Bukhāri; he was one of the associates of our Sultān Shamsuddin. When we were free from learning, we were produced before the Sultān, our patron. He ordered for the teacher an amount of money and two villages to be granted to him for life. Nāṣiruddin said that they learnt in the early part of the book about Jamshid and his grand-father Kayomurth. Every head-man of horses had ten horsemen under his command. He was designated Muqaddam. In Persia, he was called Sar Khil. Every Qā'id had ten muqaddams under him. In Persia, he was designated Sipahsālār (commander-in-Chief). Every Amir had ten Qā'id under him. Every malek had ten amirs under him. Every Khān had ten maleks under him. Every Sultān had ten Khāns under him. Every subordinate officer had to be with his wife, children, servants, animals and baggage. The important condition in the saltanat, besides above conditions, was that he should be of good family, renown and nobility. As they had positions of trust and authority, they should not be base-born, obscure and idiotic. Every vessel trickles what it contains. Hence Jamshid said to his son, " Every Sultān should have all these attributes in him to be called a Sultān. There is a similar story about wise men and wazirs. Every Sultān is not a Sultān if he does not administer justice. The idea of Kayomurth in so enumerating qualifications of the Sultān was that his officers, should, at least, be so united for purposes of benefit as stated above. The officer should not talk about the * Sultān and his absolute authority in the world. Nāṣiruddin ended his conversation and then made a movement of return to his pavilion. Mu'izzuddin said to him, " Do not hide nor keep it a secret from me about what you heard from my grand-father and seasoned men when you find me sometime needing are advice and wakefulness from sleep of negligence. I hope, you will guide me, through your paternal kindness, with beneficial admonitions conducive to welfare of the creed and the kingdom". Nāṣiruddin replied to him, " Oh my son! I alone sat in the majlis of my father. The question arose of my inheritance during my life. I am pleased with it. Know that I traversed this distance to come to you. You invited me to meet you that I should give some advice to you. I did not leave you without hearing me. It was bitterness and I concealed it under sweetness. It may be at the time of departure from me. He then stood at his pavilion. The historian said that when Nāṣiruddin and Mu'izzuddin met together in the majlis of farewell, he said, " Nizāmuddin and Qiwāmuddin sought bitterness in what I said to you in their presence. For example, when he ordered them in their presence to sit down in the row of Mu'izzuddin and said that the meeting ended in departure; why did tears not flow down my eyes. That was not certainly for meeting. Your father, I did

* Original Text, p. 744.

not see anything, ordered hearts for separation. He wept, I wept". He then said, "Oh son! For the last two years, I hear about disparagement of your reputation and your negligence. I was not surprised with that about your life in your state. The strongest surprise is as to how you are left, by detesting, and not killed. Oh my son! The world is delightful verdure. The greatest delight of it is saltanat. Upon it, is the death of the father of the son and son of the father. Oh my son! The head is not without love of valuable government. First, you were not worthy of it. Oh my son! as a Sultān, I console with you. You are alive. There is mourning in my kingdom and I am alive. Oh my son! my brother died. His father established him in the state. He recognized his claim and appointed his son in his place. He willed for him the state after him. For nothing, I made his blood lawful. I tried for your blood. Oh son! I submit to your violence for murdering muluk of your grand-father and his mamālik. They were to him the strength of Sultān. They extended the kingdom, they doubled his authority and made your kingdom. Oh my son! Balban had four to mourn. One of them died during his life. After that, the death of another man was in his hand. I was engrossed in my own anxiety while you are in a state of your negligence. At the coming out of the Malek from the* house of Balban, he raised you in the meantime and turned out a person who committed a sin. There did not remain anyone in the house of Balban. There was none with a load (pregnant) in his harem. Oh my son! I heard Balban saying that there was no meaning in multiplying number of women. I heard him who was an experienced man to have said that the kingship is laden with a number of males and females. Males do not survive after his father. He does not leave them behind. But women who are married to him, raise the wind of saltanat in his head. He does not emanate it except by cutting it. Many came to that which had no good. He continues because he becomes an heir. If he is some one else, none claims him and I care for that. Oh my son! If Balban had not left muluk and mamālik who planted the tree of saltanat with firmness behind him, its arteries would not have shaken with every blow of wind. How would you have spent years in a position that you occupy, the authority that you possess and the kingdom that you rule? Oh my son! Ponder over your languid eye and your yellow colour, examine your vigour with preservation of your health and insufficient means about which I fear to make mention to you. If you obtained the kingdom with what your grand-father Balban obtained, you would have recognized its value and applauded his men. I wish you know the honour of saltanat and feel in your self more honourable than it and fear murder perhaps you fear he who works with you. I advise you to be good to Nizāmuddin and Kiwāmuddin for they are your two pillars and their hands are

* Original Text, p. 745.

in pairs. Nominate one of them as Wazir and elevate his rank over others and the second for Embassy; the third to the post of Diwān-ul-'Ard, the fourth for Chancery and consult them in matters of state policy. Permit every one of them to perform duty in their respective departments with absolute power. Do not be negligent in state-affairs and his merits. Abandon excess and deficiency. Do not make this possible except with your consciousness. You will not be in your consciousness unless you give up the cup, you are enjoined prayers and fasting. Do not listen to those who make its abandonment with expiation for sin through offerings. They are chiefly vicious learned men. Do not allow them a way to you. I enjoin upon you to sit with virtuous learned men. I heard Balban to have said who heard from learned men on oath of God that he who deliberately abandoned prayers, was an unbeliever, and one who did not fast, died young. I consign your faith, your world and ends of your deeds to the care of God." He then stood up, embraced his son and kissed his eyes and cheeks. While kissing, he secretly said to him to kill Nizamuddin otherwise he would kill you. He wept during this interval and recited a verse*

> Permit me to weep like a cloud in spring
> For a stone weeps on the day of departure of rain.

Every one of them rode their horses with sufficient load of grief upon them. They all turned reins of their horses to the direction of their region. The historian narrated that Mu'izzuddin remained on the pledge of his father for certain days. He was moving and halting. The cup and the damsels had retired from him. They were moving around him and keeping a watch over him. Tunes were in grief. Musical instruments were in sadness. Handsome youths and virgins like stars of Pleiades were on the shining horizons in the cavalcade. In between them, he was fulfilling the promise he had given to his father. God guarded him therein. He walked the path with his muluk. Divine grace befriended him on his path. He was with a horseman from a horseman. He was the moon in guise of a human being upon a horse. He was a flaming live coal desiring to create mischief on right and left. He was surrounded by fascinating lads with ringlets, tresses, girdles tight to appear emaciated and what his eyes could not conceal. Around him were black-eyed damsels, slim, luxurious, smiling and Jasemine-tender. Their hands were embellished. But he refrained himself from them. They were forbidden to come near him by the naqibs and the sergeants. He got down from the horse near him, kissed the ground in front of him and recited a couplet :

> If you wish to place your feet on our eyes
> We place our eyes on path for you to tread.

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* Original Text, p. 746.

Mu'izzuddin held back reins from his side and let loose his eyes in desire of hi and stared at him.

> You created pretty persons for us, a trial (fascination)
> You say to us, "Oh my servants! fear me.

The youth bent towards him mistakenly in a wonderful manner and in coquet He eulogised him and spoke in such graceful language as if every hair address him. They then said, "We mourn for him who separated you from that which you were worthy and given you headache by renouncing the world whi contained him and played with his religion for your world and you retired frc it. Collect courage for your delight you repented. There is no repentan except from him :

> Oh silvery cypress, you go to a desert
> It is a breach of faith that you go alone.

> When you came near me in my majlis
> Your face was dripping with water of cheerfulness
> You looked once at me with an eye
> Which formerly used to look at me.

Mu'izzuddin was delighted at his speech. He was ravished by his handsomene He was about to walk out of intense desire to embrace him. But he controlle himself till he reached house. He gave up repentance. He ordered a maj for drink and assemblage of pretty girls. The youth who was the cause renunciation of his repentance came in the garb of a cup-bearer. Muḥamm bin Ṣāleh al-'Alawi composed

> Afterwards there began for him what satisfied his desires
> Lightning which cast off sloth for help.

> He begins like base attendants and without him *
> It was difficult for his nobles to forbid
> Near to see, where is solicitation? He did not prattle
> Glance at him; he turned out the jailer
> Fire engulfed him
> Water was not indulgent with eyelids.

I say, repentance did not result in breach of promise. The cup returned Mu'izzuddin. The historian did not attribute this meaning to it. It is substar from his book. A wit informed us about these verses. It is related fr Ibrāhim bin Mudbir. He said, "Muḥammed bin Ṣāleh bin 'Abdullāh bin M

* Original Text, p. 747.

bin 'Abdullāh bin Ḥasan bin Ḥusain, bin 'Ali bin Abi Tālib, may God be pleased with all of them came to see me. After the Khalifa was pleased with him, he raised him in esteem". I stood up in his majlis and sat in front of him. I said, "Oh my master! I was ordered to come to you. I questioned him about the cause of his coming to me". He said, "I inform you about it. During the days of my coming to the Amir-ul-Muminin, I came out with men along with the hājjis who rode. They gave me a lift. In the meanwhile, I was on grey horse. My men collected spoils. A woman lifted up a brocade curtain from the howdah and displayed her sun-like face. She said, "Oh young man! Where do you go with such speed? I have need of you". I said, "I hear your conversation". She said, "I ask you, by God, you are he". I said, "yes". She said, "Know, my father was so and so. Without fear from you, his place is near the Amir-ul-Muminin. He is noted in the state. I am a woman going out from my seclusion to do my compulsory duty. You have palliated my exposure for you saw me in screen. No one had the power to bring me out from my howdah. I urge you with sweetness that I have three thousand dinārs in my hands. As far as possible, do not reveal to any one * about me in a screen. I give that to you. If they are in your hands for I provoke desire with you in concealment". When he heard speech, I could not control weeping. I raised its publicity and proclaimed it with a loud voice. My men gathered around me. I said, "Go back to the people. I did not call you but for them. By God, only fetters of a camel remained with him. I called him to fight. All of them went back. It was a great sum of money. I was screened. They represented to me that day their legal wealth. It was immense. I refused it. They showed me more. I again refused. They concealed me in their shelter. When the Amir-ul-Muminin gained ascendancy over me and put me in prison, he instructed the guards to be very stern and strict towards me. Some time passed, when one day, the jailer came to me and said, "Women are at the door saying that they are from your family and that they had given you money and they intend to come to you". I said, "I have no family in 'Irāq. I then said that perhaps they are from Ḥijāz. They have arrived for disclosure of my condition. I said to the jailer to allow them entry. They came. She was there with a maid-servant who carried something. She prostrated before my feet to kiss and she wept. She then said, "Oh my master! honour me by taking what I have brought or I have no strength to carry that from you". I then ate that which was with the maid-servant. It was a fine, clean cloth and five hundred dinārs and most delicious eatables. She then said, "Oh my lord! This happened to you in this week since you came. By God! you did not assist me in joy even though my soul is to depart". She went away. She kindled fire in my heart. That first glance of her oppressed me. I speak of the

* Original Text, p. 748.

lightning of teeth, lightning of teeth of Ḥijāz. I then said, " Afterwards, ther began for him what satisfied his desires "; the above lines. Never enter into covenant with me with double of charity and kindness. God has released me Amir-ul-Muminin made me his favourite. I was transferred from the prison o Amir-ul-Muminin to prison of carnal desires. She had talked to me about he father. I forbade her. She had come to you to assist me. I said, " Oh Amir it was medicine for self. I refused her with my art. God willing, to reach you pleasure. She then rode to the father of the maid-servant. My intention wa great. She asked me about my intention. I said, " I came to you inquirin from you about such and such ". He said, " Is she your mother? " I said " Not for me, nay, he is nobler than me in dignity and a great position, Muḥammed bin Ṣāleh al-'Alwi. He said, " He had attributed to her talk with hin which feared me that it was wicked ". I said that there arose some doubt in you. He said, " No, Praise be to God. Those statements should not be talked about ". I did not leave him till he replied to me. I now come to all my wealth Muḥammed bin Ṣāleh came. He was waiting for me. I said to him, " Oh my master! Your object is achieved through your good luck. It is for you to fix time for marriage. " He said, " I glorify your art, your obligations are many on me. I carried the maid-servant to him. Thanks to God for their efforts May God show mercy to them and to me. He is the Most Compassionate and the Most Merciful.

The historian says that Mu'izzuddin reverted to his former state. He preserved it till he came to Delhi. After some time, he gave up acting according to his father's advice. He ordered Nizāmuddin to march to Multān and look after it. He learnt about his intention. He made excuses to accept it. He thought that it was the time to execute his design that day by instructing favourites of Mu'izzuddin to plan for ridding him off. He permitted them in his wakeful state to intoxicate him and to put poison into drink. He died in a day. The historian stated that Nizāmuddin belonged to the category of Shamsi and Balbani Muluk. He was full of prudence, statesmanship and efficiency. If he lacked firmness in him which is necessary for a sultān in a state, there was none to compare with him in his time. His majlis was replete with men of accomplishment. They were full of wisdom, excellence, prudence, medicine, art, poetry, music etc. He applauded every one of them. He possessed sincerity and sagacity. He was well-informed with worth of men and he had knowledge of their condition. He was afraid of the illiterate men base persons and worthless people. He was versed in etiquette of malek and sultān. Perfection belongs to God, the Holy. Qiwāmuddin had a noble relation also with Shamsi and Balbani Muluk. He was in the department of

Original Text, p. 749.

chancery (inshā) and state matters. If they did not exist in the Mu'izzi era, there would have been disturbance in less than a week. That was witnessed after Nizāmuddin. He administered the state with elevated ambition. People were obedient to him and they did not abhor him. Every malek and amir was full of personal courage. When Mu'izzuddin died in negligence and indifference, they strove to find a way. They talked about state matters. They sought partnership for management of state affairs. There was difference of opinion and conflict of desires. Ultimately, they decided to send for Mu'izzuddin, head* of the Jāndaris, Jalāluddin Firoz Khalji from Sāmāna. They allotted to him the headship of "Diwan-ul-'Ard" and assigned to him the region of Baran and titled him Shayasti Khān. Diwān-ul-Barbek (commisserial) was entrusted to Malek Aitamar Kachhan. Diwan-ul-Vikālat was assigned to Aitmar Surkha. They were muluks of mamāliks of Balban. They divided equally the mansabs of the Diwān of saltanat among the amirs. Inspite of this, they differed in ambitions. There was no stability in orders and actions. Within a short time, Mu'izzuddin fell ill. He lost vigour and suffered from paralysis. He got bed-ridden. His disease worsened. He became useless for work like a cast away stone. All the three loved him. They enjoyed equality in power and position. None of them came to a struggle for power. They were despaired of health of Mui'zzuddin. They were afraid that the kingdom would pass away from the house of Balban as well as from the Turks. The Turks of Balbani and Shamsi-mamālik assembled together. Their chiefs were Aitamar Kachhan and Aitamar Surkha. They removed his son from the harem to seat him on throne of his father. The historian narrates that his account follows. He came to Mu'izzuddin from among the group near his bed to talk to his father. His father was from among the amirs. He was thrown from the palace in the flowing river Jamna. It was so written in the book. His regime was reversion of comfortable life to all. The wicked did not rely upon any one. During his regime, one of the muluk who perished was Nizām. He died in the year 688 (1289).

Sultān Shamsuddin Kaikāus

A child Shamsuddin Kaikāus son of Mu'izzuddin Kaikobād son of Nāṣiruddin Maḥmud Bukra Khān son of Ghiyāthuddin Ulugh Khān Balban sat on the throne of kingdom. All assembled around their sultān. The three—Jalāluddin, Aitamar Kachhan and Aitamar Surkha, continued in Diwan-ul-'Arḍ, al-Barbak and Vikālah. They then ordered for the cupola of saltanat. They pitched it outside Kilokhari on the Nāṣiria platform. They came out with Kaikāus to it.† Other persons sat around with difference in rank and status. Jalāluddin got down at Bhāpur. The Khalji was a man of strength and of good family. All the Turks were afraid of him because he did not belong to their race. They

* Original Text, p. 750.

† Original Text, p. 751.

were engaged in their respective posts. Al-Barbak and the Vakil sought for arbitrary power in the kingdom. They all came to decision for murder of a group of muluk who were strangers and not of the race. He was the permanent chief of infantry with the name of Jalāluddin Shāyasti Khān. He attended the Diwān regularly as usual with them. He lost charge of infantry. He took caution and ordered men of his race and members of his family to assemble and sat around him in their respective places. This place was beyond the river. His halt was publicized from the presence of the Diwān. The non-Turk group of muluks and amirs secretly came to some agreement among themselves. When paused by the presence, Barbak said to the Vakil, " He had taken caution and so he did not come. When deceived, he came to Shamsuddin to kill him immediately ". Barbak rode to him with a small number of men for defence. When Jalāluddin was informed about his arrival to him, he ordered his companions to make arrangement for the tents with all preparation. He ordered his son Husāmuddin and his nephew 'Alāuddin to be away from Barbak when they saw him. He would be coming in all haste to approach Shamsuddin to attack him along with sons of Malek-ul-Umrā Fakhruddin Kotwāl. In the meantime, Barbak came and got down from his horse for entry. Jalāluddin came out, met Bārbak, made him got down from the horse, cut off his head and fixed it on a spear in front of the palace. The party howled and killed those who were with him. Jalāluddin rode out with his armour and waited in expectation of what was to happen. The Turks received intelligence of the death of Bārbak. They got perturbed and occupied themselves for discussing about assembling around their Sultān to guard him. Some one from amongst them came with Shamsuddin and sons of Malek-ul-Umarā and went with them to Jalaluddin. Others followed him to guard his back. The Vakil learnt about it. He rode out in the wake making his horse run fast after him to take him from him. One of them aimed an arrow at him and fell down dead. His followers paused with those who were with him. When Jalāluddin got hold of Shamsuddin, he met to think of him. Those who were in concert with him joined him. Residents of Delhi from the army and the civilians became strong to help their Sultān and came out from twelve gates to fight with Jalāluddin. It was a * great multitude. Malek-ul-Umrā, for fear of death of his sons who were hostages with Jalāluddin, made amends for the matter and turned citizens back to Delhi. After two days, Jalāluddin ordered that any one who came across Mu'izzuddin after his being thrown into the river and knew that he was alive after being kicked to death should inform him as stated above. Jalāluddin then crossed the river with Kaikāus and alighted at the Nāṣiriya platform. Kuṣli Khān Jhajju son of Ghiyāthuddin Balban had fortified himself at Kilokhari. Jalā-

* Original Text, p. 752.

ıddin Khalji sent some one to him saying that what made him inimical towards ırbak was that he was from him and therefore it happened. This Kaikāus is he Sultān as he was. Choose one of the two—Vikālat or region you like. He eplied, " I do not want Vikālat but the region, he thought, of Manekpur should e assigned to him. He wrote to him about it. He went to it after an hour 'ith a party of Turks. He vacated Kilokhari. Jalāluddin sent message to ،alek-ul-Umarā apologizing him and asking him to choose either Vikālat or ːgion. His reply was that he would come to him. He returned to Delhi with n idea of region he liked and for his sons who were hostages. Jalāluddin then ntered Kilokhari. The historian did not mention anything about Kaikāus. Ie was last of the sultāns of Hind from among the mamāliks connected with ıe Sultān Mu'izzuddin Muḥammed Sām al-Ghori. They were only the Turk ıamāliks after him. After him, the saltanat lasted for two years upto 688 1289). Reign of saltanat lasted for one hundred and nineteen years except ıonths. God alone is Permanent.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Khaljis

Sultān Jalāluddīn Firoz Khalji

According to the saying, the world, from the outset, is a state. God the Holy says that there is a warning to one who gets puffed up from the cradle to the chamber of inheritance with power and possession. It gets disturbed and it grows. " Verily, the earth belongs to God. He gives it in inheritance to whomsoever He wishes." One who proved it true says that the world would not suffer a decline. A gnostic compares it with a vicious woman. One da,y* it is found in the house of a perfumer and one day it is in the house of a veterinary doctor. The way of God was vacant before. You will find a change in the way of God. In the meanwhile, Jalaluddin Firoz Khaliji was the chief of Jandaris under the Turks. He was contented with the region of Sāmāna. He had with them power, influence, rank and dignity. He was in charge of Diwān-ul-'Arḍ, Shāyasti Khān. Besides, Sāmāna, he was assigned Baran by the Sultān. Divine will seized his hand and with that he became the most notable chief (sultan). It was decreed that he would be elevated to kingship. Circumstances demanded that. Abi Nawās says in this respect

A desire has a cause
It begins from it and shoots into branches.

Bārbak tried to come in the way but he suffered a fall therein, as well as in regard to the vakil, the child and his father. Concealed evil reversed into good in his case and the evil was good. Trouble exchanged with favour and fear with obligation. There was no peril in the mind. He crossed the river and a large crowd gathered around him. At an auspicious hour he was at Kilokhari and sat on the throne of saltanat in the year 688 (1289). In a day, the residents of Delhi consisting of the Ghori Turks lagged behind him including those who were under their shadow of their training for the last eighty years. A large number of them had, under compulsion to take an oath of allegiance. He did not reside for the present in Delhi. He personally remained at the capital Kilokhari. He ordered those who were with him to prosper it. He built a stone fort with lofty turrets and made it during his days, like the capital Delhi. Residents of Delhi used to come and go. They entered the Diwān and felt surprised when they found the Khalji on the throne of the Turks. When they found him a man of good character, they turned from jealousy to acknowledgement of worth and ability. They took an oath of allegiance and gathered

* Original Text, p. 753.

round him with loyalty. In the meanwhile, he rode out, one day, with all chief men, nobles, horse-men and elephants from Kilokhari to Delhi and alighted at the well-known gate of Dawlat-Khāna and said genuflexions out of thanks to God, the Holy. He then sat on the throne which was in front of him. He addressed those who were sitting with him. He stood up in front of them and said, "you saw me in genuflexion. How should I be not humble before God and thank Him. Yesterday, I was placing my forehead near this throne * while today you saw me sitting upon it. He then got down from it to go to the horse to ride. He came to the renowned palace called Kushak-i-La'l (Ruby Palace). He dismounted from the horse and stood in front of the palace with decorum which was decorated for him. Son of his sister Malek Bārbak Shihābuddin Aḥmad Chab Ashwal said to him, "Oh Sultān! Why did you walk from the horse when the house and the kingdom belonged to you?" He replied. 'Oh Aḥmad! My grand-father and father did not build the house so that it can be mine. It was built by Sultān Balban during his Niyābat (Vice-gerency). It belongs to his heirs and they had ascendancy over it." Aḥmad said to him, 'There is no claimant to inheritance in regard to kingdom. He who became strong, embezzled, that is, he who gained ascendancy, plundered." He replied to him, "This is the way of one who became a ruler but there is the abode of the sky upon him. He who inherits from his father, obtainment of inheritance makes him rise in bubbles. I find before my very eyes that every one is censured on fall except one who had mannered attitude for Balban. He remained in this palace. I have entered into it. "Verily to God we belong and to Him we shall return." He then entered the palace and turned towards the platform. He remained silent for an hour and wept secretly. He then heeded those who were present and expounded the event and made apologies. He then said, 'This is the throne of saltanat and you are its members. Those from you who are its slaves, take an oath of fealty to it and bless it. The era had not qualified one like Balban. He ruled for forty years in the kingdom and died. He left heirs behind him and muluk and mamālik like you in his kingdom. Saltanat passed away from his house, not from a long period. Can I hope for it myself and my heirs after when there is before my eyes the action of time, and from it this majlis in which we are. Within less than one-third of the years Balban forgave all those chiefs whose existence, near his death he demanded to be alive. I find only a small number of them. Condolence is better than congratulation for me. Adopt for your-self that which should make you concordant with time." They said, "This is the path for those who are others to you." They then held his hand and seated him on the throne of saltanat of Delhi. They took an oath of fealty for him. All other persons did the same. He decorat-

* Original Text, p. 754.

ed Malek-ul-Umrā Fakhruddin Kotwāl with a robe of honour in the majlis and designated a manṣab for him. He favoured many persons with titles. His eldest son was titled Khān-i Khānān; the middle son, Arkali Khān; another middle son Kadr Khān; his brother Yaghrash Khān and ennobled him with the charge of 'Diwān-ul-'Arḍ" He titled his brother's son as Ulugh Khān and appointed him as an 'Amir-ul-Aṣtabal' in Persian Ākhur Beg (Superintendent of Stables). He raised the rank of his second son to amirship. He was 'Alāud-din. Malek Ahmad Chab was assigned the charge of "Diwān-ul-Barbak."* Malek Khuram was appointed to "Diwān-ul-Vikālat." Khwāja Khatir was appointed to "Diwan-ul-Wizārat" At the close of day, he returned to Kilo-khari.

In 689 (1290), there was an incident of Kushli Khān Jhajju. Its account is that when he came out from Kilokhari to proceed to Karah Manikpur, most of the Turks gathered around him. A multitude of residents of the earth thronged to him. He got puffed up with their support. In course of his imaginings, Amir 'Ali Sargāndār al-Balbani, governor of Oudh came to him. For his kindness, people called him Ḥātim Khan. He rose in rebellion. He raised a canopy over his head, designated himself as Sultān Mughithuddin, and propagated Khutba in his name in placés under him. Those who instigated him to rebel proceeded with him against Delhi. Jalāluddin received intelligence of his coming for attack. He nominated his son Khān-i-Khānān to work as his deputy at the capital. He marched to Badāun. His son Arkali Khān was posted in command of the advance-guard. He was a man of great prowess and valour. The Khaljis etc. in whom he had confidence joined with him. The number swelled up to twelve thousand. The commander of the Firozi army marched to Badāun. He crossed with his special followers the river Kalāyatkar. Kushli Khān happened to be near him. They encountered each other. Arkali Khān pressed violently upon his men. Kushli Khān was in the advance-guard with limitless number of soldiers. Sword smashed them and they retreated. Kushli Khan's men dispersed and fled to a nearby ravine from the battlefield which was a rendevouz of rebels of the earth. He was captured and brought to Arkali Khān along with his companions, Amir 'Ali Ṣarjāndār, Malek Ulughji bin Malek Furghi, Malek Fājudar Salāhdār, Malek Bābhar, Malek-ul-Kark Ilghāri and Bahrām Dev Kavila etc. He fettered all of them with iron and wood and carried them on camels to Badāun. A man led him in bands of wood also for he was the ringleader of revolt. There were residents of surrounding places, renowned horsemen and they formed part of the advance-guard. The historian said, "I heard from Amir Khusraw Dehalvi, a companion of Jalāluddin in privacy, saying that the Sultān was in a public assembly and † I was standing near him. In the sight of the Sultān, Kushli Khān and his

* Original Text, p. 755.

† Original Text, p. 756.

confederates were besmeared with dust to such an extent that their faces were not recognized. He raised a side of his muzzle for protection of eyes and said in a loud voice " Alas ! Alas ! with pain of shackles. " He ordered immediately to throw them off. Iron and wood were removed. They were called do-shākha (two-branches), Dust was shaken off. Then they were taken to a special pavilion under his orders. After a bath, a royal dress was brought to them and fragrant substance according to need. The Sultān repaired to a private majlis. He summoned them there and seated them near him. He apologized to them. They repented of wine that day and talked long. At the close of majlis, he wished them to make a choice for residence. Kushli Khān chose to be at Multān. He was sent there in a litter. He wrote to the amir there to alight him in the best house and to look after him by supplying his needs to satisfy his self and delight his eyes. Amir 'Ali and his confederates chose to reside in Delhi. They were permitted to go to their respective residences with sufficient means of livelihood. Husām Khān narrated in his history that Arkali Khān went ahead of the Sultān to Kalayatkar and encamped there. Kushli Khān had encamped there from his side also. Water was not fordable for swimming or for going by planks. They, therefore, stationed firmly for certain days in opposition. When he received message from the Sultan to encamp on a distance near the river, he was seized with fear for a rout. One night, he came out of his camp with a party of amirs including Bahrām Dev Kavila and Malek-ul-Kark Ilghāri, Arkali Khān heard about it, he crossed the river along with his followers. He killed a large number of his followers including Amir Barhrām and Malek-ul-Karl. He was always in wake of them until he caught him and his companions. He sent them in that condition on camels, when they passed by the public market of the camp, people saw them in that unsightliness. There was a wonderful clamour at the vicissitude of the world. The Sultān arrived to silence the uproar. He questioned about it. He was informed about the state of affairs. He denied it and said with sadness that it was the end of story. The historian Ziauddin said that the Sultān consoled them in the majlis and said that there was no objection to their attack on him for they were from the family of Balban and there was his salt in loyalty. He valued them for his sake they were excused from both the sides. Husām Khān narrated in his history from Malek-al-Mughli.* He was a man of renown during the regime of Balban. He narrated from the Amir Mubārak Shikārbeg. He was brave and intrepid. There was a covenant among them to kill the Sultān. The Sultān got scent of it. He sent for them. They presented themselves in his diwān in the midst of other nobles. When they came near him, he said to them, " Who is that man who conveyed to me from you. Every time he resists any one who sits in my majlis. It is his anger. There is no fall. He tries to say it to you. Inspite of this, he has no power

* Original Text, p. 757.

over you today. He honoured Malek Mughli with a robe and sent him as an amir to Badāun and later on, he was appointed at Tabarhind. They departed to their respective regions. The historian Barani said that Sultān Jalāluddin had excessive clemency, sound temperament and good faith in God. He returned obligatin for evil and modesty prevented him to oppress the notables. In a holy tradition, it is said that modesty results in good. Wise men deny him any artfulness at other places and even with his enemies. As for example, somebody opposed him by raising a canopy, and he did not commit a great offence. It enjoined upon him to put to death Kushli Khān and his confederates, in regard to one who sought his murder. Aḥmad Chap was near him. He prevailed upon him in denial and talk. When he received information about it, he said to him "Oh Ahmad, you abhorred him. You did not come out inspite of knowledge of it. I am more than seventy years in age. I did not shed blood. God has made it unlawful to shed blood of a great man who fights with us for welfare of the state. When God bestowed the kingdom on me, there was almost nothing left of life. When I did not die with the sword of a member of his family, I died with the passage of its worthiness. Oh Ahmad ! Put your head into your collar and think whether any one of your ancestors was a sultān. Only yesterday, I, my elder brother Shihābuddin in this kingdom, in this Delhi were in service of the Sultan Balban. We think of his bounties upon us. He has many claims on us. He did not speak of them to us. I sat in his majlis. Members of his family came out of it to assemble around him in an hour of difficulty ; plundered* the state and accepted his government. Oh Ahmed ! you did not see but your father saw those who came in shackles of iron to me and made amends for their reputation as you see from me and I did not blame him. They were worthy of the state during the regime of Sultān Balban. They were the stars of his majlis. You and your father were in the Diwān of Balban. One of us was desirous of his attention from them in particular, Malek 'Ali Garjāndār. We observed him to salute to him. He was seeing us and preparing us food for good luck. Just when we were about to bend for our salutation, he responded by nodding his head or break of an eye-lid (wink). He called those who were like us. Every one honoured the kingdom. He had a right of attention, favour, kindness, merit of living, pleasure, hospitality, respect honour, help and regard. We constantly assembled in the majlis, visited and hobnobbed. We were in need of them while they had not of the kind with us. They had with Balban. They were sultans of the age while we were like subjects to them. They were good to us in their time so much so that we shared their goodness. Today, the time is reversed and it came to me from them with that sloth. I am ruler of the age. How am I ashamed of them. Modesty brings goodness. You see that if your subordinate commits a mistake like that from me and the kingdom, he becomes

* Original Text, p. 758.

needy of the sultan, powerful and mighty. They gather together and my children are the sultān as you desire, I call them to Multān because of the Tatārs as the Khān therein is the Sar Khān. I prevent their entry and protect the neighbours. " The historian said that those who assailed him, were collected in prison of Delhi. The disobedient elements were in a large number. Their number was more than a thousand. It was said to him about them. He ordered them as well as those who were in prison to be banished to Lakhnawati. It was due to his clemency. The muluk and the amirs assembled together in the majlis of Malek Tājuddin Kuji for rotation of cups and hilarity with pretty girls. In a state of inebriation, it reached from those who were in allegiance to Tājuddin about abundant delirium tremens in Jalāluddin when one of them got up in the majlis with a sword in hand saying " I will wound his head with this." He sent for Tājuddin and men of his assembly. When they assembled near him they blamed him and became very stern towards him. He was not so angry as he was that day. His sword was sheathed and thrown at one who spoke about killing him. One of them said in his inebriation that he would strike his dagger to another man. He said as to who was he from among them to take that sword and he advanced openly to me. I said ' I am here sitting.' When one* of them got up and said that he talked over the cup. He was weaker than a woman in menses. One of the men in the assembly was Malek Nusrat Sabāh. He was an intelligent wit and known as sar Dawātdār (one who holds the ink-pot before the Sultān). He said, " Oh Sultān ! this is an assembly of drinks. Every thing is abandoned in it. There is no warning in it. We take the sultān to be sound like you. If you order us to be killed, you will have to take others as muluk. We do not attribute any thing to you except your clemency. Do not be despaired of us. Our offence is great. " He so said. Jalāluddin began to shed tears. He forgave them and ordered them to depart to their respective regions. Malek Nusrat Sabāh had no cup in his hand. He ordered him to continue his jovial conversation. He was made one of his associates. The historian said that Jalāluddin was sar Jāndār during the regime of Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Balban. Kaithal was assigned as Jāgir to him. He then became a Nāib at Sāmāna adjacent to Kaithal. On his way to it, he alighted at a village under the jurisdiction of Sirajuddin Sāwa. He was a famous poet at Sāmāna. This village belonged to him. When his wazir wrote to him about the salary of some of the khalji soldiers as ribute from the revenue of the village which was in jurisdiction of Sirājuddin. Some khaljis came and began to trouble Sirājuddin out of harassment. He composed in praise of Jalāluddin and conveyed complaint and redress through eulogy. Jalāluddin did not heed him. Sirāj was much affected. He composed a booklet called ' Khaljinama ' and wrote a satire on him. He received intelligence of it. He was the Nāib at

* Original Text, p. 759.

Sāmāna. Sirāj was afraid of him within himself and went out of it. During his regime, he was afraid of being summoned. He was a man of dignity in the kingdom. One day, he stood at the gate of the Royal Palace in a state of submission with fetters waiting for an order of punishment. Jalāluddin learnt about him. He sent for him. When he approached his assembly, he stood before Jalāluddin. He embraced him and permitted him to sit. He ordered a robe of honour for him and made him a nadim (associate). In short, he was an embodiment of clemency. It is a matter of surprise about his wrath in case of Syed Mawla. If it were not clemency, it was not a wonder for the sultāns get* wrathful for a trifling. It was a great matter whose account follows.

Khān-i-Khānān son of Sultān Jalāluddin died this year at Kilokhari. He was Nāib of the saltanat. He raised a canopy on head of his son Arkali Khān. He appointed him as his Nāib at Kilokhari. He marched from it to Ranthanbhor. He first encamped at Jhāyan and conquered it. He demolished temples and broke idols. He killed, captured and pillaged. He then advaced to Mālwa and did to it what he did and came to Ranthanbhor. The unbeliever ruler had garrisoned himself within the fort with his men. The Sultān, while on his march to Jhāyan, had sent an amir to get ready with implements of siege. He began with sābāt (sub-terranean passages) and arrayed the cannons. When he alighted at the fort, he pondered over it and observed places of entrance, he found it to be impregnable. That very day, he turned back to Jhāyan. He assembled veterans of matters near him and said, " I am resolved upon conquest of this fort. When I thought over it, I saw it was not conquerable unless some Muslims were destroyed in raising the sābāt. What are your views on it. " He then lost such chiefs in the opening and entering It was nothing but a stone-house. I am not pleased to win ten such forts for loss of a hair of a Muslim. His soul would be lost for nothing or arrows should be darted before taking up swords. Spoils as ordained would be collected near me. I would produce orphans of martyrs, their women and the event would prove the same with them as with them. It is a call for passing life and spoiling life. No advantage will accrue therefrom. I have resolved upon saving lives of my men. There is space in the kingdom. In the morning, he returned to the capital. In 691 (1291-92), an incident of 'Abdullāh ibn bint-e-Halāw (?) al-Mughl took place in the vicinity of Barrām. Its account is: Changiz Khān al-Mughli, King of the Tatār felt approach of death after his return from 'Irāq to his kingdom. Kāan son of Changiz Khān succeeded him. During his regime, Halāw marched with preparadeness to 'Irāq. The territory of Muhammed Khwārazm Shāh passed on to him. Those who were spared in the invasion of Changiz from among the chiefs of the kingdom, joined him. In this state of security, their

* Original Text, p. 760.

rosperity grew in extension and with a change, there was a balance in progress. The king died an unbeliever. The kingdom passed on to one after the other. slām spread among them. All the people became Muslims. In early days, the orse-men of Changiz laid waste every thing of civilization in round-about* laces. 'Abdullāh belonged to their race. When Sultān Jalāluddin heard bout him, he came out and encamped on a river on whose bank the Mughal ad encamped on one of its sides. It was deep. During the period of their ncampment on the river, there were vanguards with constant expectation. n every encounter, the victory was gained by the Muslim party. A large umber of Mughals were captured in singles and amirs in command of hundred Then came an order for peace. Eminent men of both the sides began to come and o. It was decided that each army should stop on its side on water where it vas. There were skirmishes even though they saw mutual visits in between. Visits of envoys continued. The Khalji adopted the Mughal as son while the Mughal adopted the Khalji as father. Every one of them returned to his espective pavilion. Presents and feasts were exchanged. In the morning, they eparted to their respective capitals. In the Mughal army, there was an Amir Ulghu ibn bint-i-Changiz. He chanced to get guidance and joined with the Khalji from nearby place. He was one of the amirs under command of one housand soldiers. The Khalji was pleased with them. Amir Ulghu met with ncreased familiarity and joy and saluted those who were with him. It was an uspicious time. When he came to the capital, he got his daughter married with him. He took for himself and for those who were with him residential laces between Kiloknari and Ghiyāthpur and Andabhat (?). Every one of hem was assigned a jāgir from the kingdom befitting his status. Their women, hildren and servants joined with the Mughal. They built their houses adjoining ne another. The locality came to be known as Mughalpur. The Sultān ordered itizens of the kingdom to associate with them, deal wiith them and enter into mutual marital relations. Their offespring multiplied and their party gained in trength. They became citizens of the state. This is the account of some of hem and of Ulghu and most of others. They were in the kingdom for the last wo or three years. They ruled over the portion of territory assigned to them or the same period. He returned to his land with family in a state of indisposi-ion due water and climate. With the return of most of them, Mughalpur did not xtend. In this year, Jalāluddin marched to Mandur and plain among mount-ains and pillaged its neighbourhoods and returned with spoiled to the capital. n the wake of it, he went on a religious war to Jhāyan and returned. He permitted 'Alāuddin for a religious war in Bhilastān. Jalāluddin had† marched to Mandu. 'Alāuddin influenced his uncle by the booty of the eligious war. It was immense. It contained a Nandi idol carved in yellow

* Original Text, p. 761. † Original Text, p. 762.

metal and equal in weight to an animal. Jalāluddin ordered it to be placed at the entrance to the Gate of Delhi famous as Badāun Gate. He was pleased with 'Alāuddin and put the "Diwān-ul-'Ard' under his charge and added Oudh to Kara. Outwardly, 'Alāuddin appeared to be with his uncle Jalāluddin but inwardly, he was against him. After making appropriation of the spoils, he came to him. After assignment of Oudh to him without his demand or with demand of a request to assign Chanderi to him. He then gave him permission to spend revenue of Kara and Oudh in collection of soldiers to march with their strength to Chanderi and its expenses were to be borne by the Treasury. He was granted permission for expenditure and march which he was about to lake. It was his certain belief that he needed no permission for appropriation of spoils except profit to him.

In this very year or a year previous to it, the incident of Sidi Mawla and his being thrown at the feet of elephant took place. Its account is narrated by Ziāuddin Barani. Sidi Mawla came to Delhi during the reign of Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Balban. He said that he arrived from the upper (Bālā) region and he made disciples in different distant parts of Hind as well as from the capital Delhi. He was at Ajodhan. Perhaps, Balā indicates it. It is far-off from Delhi but near to Persia. It is situated on peaks of mountains. The word bālā is related to highest and nearest to height of mountains and there is an open field in the lower part of it. There lived Kutb-uz-Zamān Mawlānā Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-Shakar, a saint of blessings and miraculous powers, may his grave be sanctified. Sidi Mawla was distracted with love with the saint and paid visits to him. In some of his majlises, the Shaikh addressed him and said, "Sidi, do you intend to go to Delhi and open the gate and name and ceremony which will help you. I inform you wherein lies your welfare and I know in what lies the right course. Do as you wish. I enjoin upon you to remember my advice. Do not mix with kings and do not think that salvation lies in their visits to you. Oh darwish! open the door of their association with you. You will make your* future life filthy. Husamkhan narrated in his history that he came to Delhi during the regime of Ghiyathuddin Balban. He built a spacious building outside the gate known as Bab-i-Ajwad. The faqirs lived with him. Zia says that he did not attain to fame during the reign of Balban by visits of muluk to him and not by liberal expenditure. The kingdom enjoyed stability and good establishment of order. During the reign of Mu'izzuddin Kaikobād, the period was of indifference and negligence. This state of affairs proved a source of help to him. Muluk visited him for association with him. The elite and the plebians thronged at his gate. He widened his expenditure according to his desire. During the regime of Jalāluddin, he attained to perfection in rank and renown

* Original Text, p. 763.

and award of daily allowances to the high and low. It was mainly due to the fact that Khān-i-Khānān had put faith in him. Sidi Mawla adopted him as his son. Khān-i-Khānā was the Nāib of his father in city. It turned from him to him in reality. Hence the muluk and the amirs who belonged to Khān-i-Khānān's party followed suit as a necessity. The subordinates of Jalāli muluk also put faith in him. Kādi Jalāluddin al-Kāshāni made it necessary to attend his majlis. He was the man of most elevated rank. He was personally most virtuous and most accomplished in qualities. He was mischief from head to foot. He sheltered him and spent nights, nay, he was always during night and day with him. During the Jalāli regime, the powerful Balbani Turks were loyal to him. Their muluks had decided among themselves to remain with him by turns. Hence, they were in search for his fall. They met together constantly in the house one from among themselves to narrate what happened there. From this, they feared the future. They found the house of the afore-said mawla to be spacious for themselves for living sufficiently. Their meeting near him was said to be most extensive for excuses. They, therefore, assembled in his majlis. As indicated above, the Kadi Kāsāni was mischief-incarnation. No majlis was without him. His blessing was beneficient. They were always in tying and loosening and the time was adulterated with mischief. Inspite of this, the maula did not own anything. He did not accept a gift. Every day, one thousand maunds of flour, five hundred maunds of mutton, three hundred maunds of sugar, and one hundred maunds of vegetables were utilized in his kitchen. Ghee etc should be imagined accordingly. The muluk, amirs, nobles of the city, chiefs of the army attended his inn, gate and majlis and enjoyed* meals of his kitchen. His table consisted varieties of delicious food which was not served at the royal table. If a precious thing was demanded or by way of a gift, the seeker was instructed to go to a room or a plank and was asked to take such and such a thing from beneath it. The seeker took it as instructed. It appeared as if it had come an hour before from the mint. It was said in regard to him that he was an al-chemist (kimyāgar). The historian says that during the niyābat of Arkali Khān from his father at the capital, my father was vakil to him. His palace was at Kilokhari. It was the loftiest palace. He lived there only for some time. It was not void of mischief of the time from guards who associated with me. They spoke about the mawla as most hypocritical. I stayed for an hour in his majlis. I saw him particularly with the muluk, amirs, great men and eminent persons. He said that they were the Balbani amirs who presented themselves for mischief determined to create some thing new in the capital. Kotwāl Biranjin, Hatyā Pāyak Pahelwān famous as Vakānā in the Balbani era and led the most luxurious life, and his salary was one hundred thousand jitals were present. During Jalāli age, there was nothing for them, no

* Original Text, p. 764.

jital. Jital is a small copper coin. In ancient times, it was current in regions of Hind. When looked to Hind's prosperity, it was great in value. Sons of Turk amirs of Balban presented themselves in the majlis of the Mawla. Some of the retired amirs also attended his assembly. They had sufficient time to spend at a place which was noted for invisible expense. During the life-time of Khān-i-Khānān, the residence of the Shaikh was a place of refuge and shelter for all people in general. After him, it became a special resort for the chiefs of mischief. It was a place of faith of the Jalāli Amirs and blessing for the Turks for service of his majlis. It was brought to the notice of the Sultān as to who attended the majlis and they had decided to elect the Mawla as Sultān and marry him to the daughter of Sultān Nāsiruddin. They had divided the kingdom among themselves. Multān was assigned to Kādi Kāshāni with a title of Kādi Khān. Kotwāl Biranjabin and Hatiya Pāyak Pahelwān had undertaken to murder the Sultan at the time of his going for the Friday prayer. The Sultān summoned them all to his presence along with the mawla. He asked them about what was conveyed to him about them. They denied it. He ordered firewood to be collected for fire at Bahārpur. Flames should be raised, big stones should be thrown into its circumference which should be widened, flames should be high enough to touch the sky to test its members with it. He then rode to Bahārpur in company of leaders of the time and sat at an elevated spectacle-place. Arkali Khān was upon his horse while the muluk and the amirs were* beneath his observation on a side and the elephants were on other side. The leaders sat in the vicinity of the spectacle-place. The time was like an hour of the day of resurrection, nay, it acted slyly and passed. Fire with its musk-like blackness had blackened its blaze and it cast sparks. Jalāluddin was never so wrathful as he was that day. He sent for the Mawla and his men. He was brought with his arms pinioned behind the back. He looked at them knowingly. He turned to the Imams (leaders). He questioned them and blamed them. They sought affirmation and were stern in denial. He said, "If you are on truth, enter this fire and pass through it. He then questioned the Imāms about what they professed. They replied, Our religion does not permit it. Fire is burning in nature. The pretender does not prove it by a single tradition. The order is highest. He then said, "Banish them from Delhi and let them go this very hour to distant places. It was done. He was surprised at Kotwāl Biranjin and Hatiya Pāyak Pahelwān. He addressed them saying that they performed their duties in that manner and that they resolved to kill him as it was said. Hence the punishment for such resolution was that they should be put to death. Both of them were executed. He then addressed the Mawla and was very stern upon him in reproach and rebuke. Imām Shaikh Abu Bakr al-Jusi al-Haidari and a party of Haideria group were present. The Sultān turned to them and

* Original Text, p. 765.

said, " who does justice to me or who acts as a judge for me from amongst you? He pointed out the Mawla. He was pinioned with hands backwards." Bahri-ul-Haidari said, " I will act as a judge for you. He stood towards him and stabbed him with a knife. The Mawla fell to the ground. At the order of Arkali Khān he was brought near the elephant driver. He moved and knelt down. It was as decreed by God. Neither Haidari nor the owner of elephant was addressed. When God wished an affair to happen its means are got ready. There is a written document for every death. Mawlāna Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-Shakar remarked that precaution is no defence against fate. The historian says that it was a frightful, dreadful hour. It immediately coincided with blow of a severe storm which darkened the atmosphere at the right hour. People were seized with fear and there was abundance of grief and repentance. The historian says that such a merciful Sultān did not bear to hear an attempt * for his murder. He issued an order in respect of the derwish. He did not respect the power of derwish. He departed at the persuasion of his son Arkali Khān for what the elephants did not execute. The historian says, " I describe the day of execution. Wind blew with such intensity that it darkened the atmosphere. It produced weakness in the Jalāli kingdom. Murder of the derwish was inauspicious in the opinion of great men. The Sultān did not kill him and was successful. In the wake of the event, there was a famine, food-grains became scarce. People considered scarcity of food-grains as due to it. Siwālak parbat is parbat, a mountain, saw hundred and lak, a lac. Its meaning is one hundred thousand and one lac twenty-five thousand. There is a range of unlimited mountains between Ajmer and Nāgor. It is therfore called Siwālak parbat. There was not a drop of water. Its residents migrated to Delhi. It was intense here. Innumerable persons came to it for the sake of food. They formed groups of thirty and forty or more. They talked about the families and relatives. They bade adieu to one another. They threw themselves in the river Jamna along with their children and wives and floated along with the current of water. Lot of charitable deeds were done by the Jalalis during famine. The muluk also distributed in alms. Were it not for this, there would have been innumerable deaths. This year of dearth was followed by a year of plenty. There was abundance of rain. The historian Ḍiā Barani says that Sidi Mawla, inspite of his lavish expenditure, was economical in respect of his dress; he contented himself with a cotton sheet of cloth and trousers. His food consisted of a rice-cake and a small quantity of seasoned vegetables. He was a man excessive austerity and efforts in prayers. He had neither a wife, nor a servant and nor a maid-servant. He neither owned a piece of land nor he had movable property. He was contented with any means of livelihood. He did not accept any gifts and presents. He gave to every one who begged of him or he supplied him

Original Text, p. 766.

what he wanted from the room, the ground or the vault. His need was fu filled. He did not hover about any thing of desire. His Ajwad Khānkah w situated outside the Delhi Gate. It was spacious enough to contain a kitche Sufis, derwishes, needy persons of land and sea dwelt in it. He performed h compulsory duties of namāz at the appointed time though not in accordance w habits of accomplished persons with fulfilment of conditions for congregatio He presented himself in the masjid for Friday prayer. He gave informati about future events and invisible objects. He had renounced the world. was in his state of ecstasy and statement. He was perfect in it. If he act according to the admonition of his spiritual guide and abstained from it, would have been better for him. Perfection is alone with God, the Holy. feel, it was evil which affected such a celibate, of self-control who contente himself with coarse clothes and small quantity of food to curb passiona desires. He was pleased with the manṣab of a Sultān, passion for marriage a regarded respectable blood as lawful. How can one succeed when he adopt desires as gods. There is no power and no might except of that of God. Hap is one who was not admonished by others. I say, " The manner in which D Barani had described the incident of deceased Mawla points out that t incident happened before Jalāluddin led an expedition against Ranthanbhor the year 689 (1290)". Ḥusāmuddin narrated in his history that the eve happened in 691 (1291-92). Similarly was the case with the death of Khān Khanān and the expedition to Ranthanbhor. Ḍiā fixed the event with t year. The narr tion did not perforate to this warning. He presented t occurrence. There were persons in the saltanat. There was difference in givi information through narration or through hearsay.

An account of 'Alāuddin's relation with his uncle Jalāluddin and circumstances the latter's death in the year 695 (1295).

Ḍiā said that 'Alāuddin 'Ali son of Nasiruddin grew up in a room training of his uncle Sultān Jalāuddin Khalji. His daughter was in wedlo with him. Her mother was Maleka Jahān. She ruled over his uncle and listened to her words. 'Alāuddin was always in trouble with women due passionate jealousy with the daughter of his uncle. He was in great afflicti with her mother. He did not find a way out of her fear to the harassment his wife. He did not bring it to the knowledge of his uncle out of his awe a fear of disgrace to send for him to a region to soothe him. After Kushli Khān, was the Amir of Kara Manikpur. He then talked to some of his speci favourites to be away from the kingdom of his uncle. When he marched Bhilsān, he received a report of untold wealth of Devgir. He had no knowled of places of assembling for search of it. There was no way to it except w*

* Original Text, p. 767.

men who joined him willingly but there was no knowledge of that. For that purpose, his plan was to carry the spoils of Bhilsān to his uncle. The Sultān appointed him governor of Oudh in addition to that of Kara Manikpur. During this period of favour of his uncle, he requested his uncle for assignment of* Chanderi to him. He requested him to carry that to his treasury and permit him in a year to recruit soldiers from the revenue of Kara and Oudh. When Jalāluddin stopped him due to trouble with his daughter and her mother, he talked to him about Chanderi. Danger shot up. For the sake of that affliction he intended to conquer territory and to be away from them. It was for this that he had sought permission. He returned to Karah and started to collect soldiers. After Kushli Khān, those who were with him from amongst the Balbani and Shamsi Turks gathered around 'Alāuddin. 'Alāuddin was planning the ruin of his uncle. For that purpose, the cause of addition became strong. He assembled the Turks etc and spent upon them the revenue of one or two years and started from Karah with three or four thousand horsemen with most perfect equipment towards Devgir. Only the guide knew his intention, It was propagated among the soldiers that he intended a march on Chanderi. The historian said, " My uncle 'Alāul Mulk was appointed in his place. He was qualified with that." 'Alāuddin treaded the path to Elichpur and thence to the famous valley of Lājura. 'Alāul Mulk was informed that he was here. Then there was no information about him. He used to write to Jalāluddin giving him accurate and inaccurate information. He was, therefore, indifferent towards him. When 'Alāuddin halted at the valley, it so chanced for Rāmdev that he had equipped his son with number and preparation to a distant limit against his enemy and the residents of Devgir to the day of arrival of 'Alāuddin. They then heard about Islām. He had no information about the direction of his soldiers. Neither the Sultān nor the Khān nor those who were sheltered with him had ever crossed their land. Devgir was replete with gold, silver, pearls and jewels and many precious articles and of pleasing varieties including curious implements. Rāmdev heard about the encampment of 'Alāuddin at the foot of the valley. He sent those soldiers who were with him under command of veteran general to prevent his ascent to the valley. 'Alauddin had might and majesty in his army. He climbed up the valley and put them to rout and descended on Devgir. Rāmdev garrisoned himself within the fort. On the first day of his descent, he got thirty rings of elephants or more and many thousands of horses. They were all in the stables of Rāmdev. Its details are given in the conquest of the Deccan. Its account is given in the first daftar. Its substance is that Rāmdev, ruler of the fort met 'Alāuddin, surrendered himself to him and gave him what he had and which is beyond calculation. The historian says that epoch after epoch passed and in every event, the expenditure goes †

* Original Text, p. 768. † Original Text, p. 769.

beyond imagination. Inspite of that, it exists in the stores of Sultāns of Delhi. Husām Khān said that 'Alāuddin came out from it to Kara with forty thousand bulls whose cavities were filled with gold, silver and jewels etc. Jalāluddin received information through letters of 'Alāul Mulk and what he heard form the grandees of the state. When he ceased to receive information from him, his kindness compelled him to be apprised of him. He marched towards Gwalior and encamped on a side of his frontiers. News flowed to him from his return from Devgir and his victory till he came to Kara. He was delighted with him on a belief that he carried to him as he had carried the spoils of Bhilsān. He arranged an untimely majlis on receipt of his news. Every intelligent man gathered around him for drink. He held an assembly for consultation. Those who attended the meeting were Malek Ahmad Chap and Malek Fakhruddin Kuji. 'Alāuddin said, " In regard to obtainment about which you have heard, I seek your counsel during the interval whether we should wait for it or move out for its reception or return from it to Delhi. " Ahmad Chap replied " Collection of treasures, elephants and horses in themselves and in hands is mischief and calamity. Those who were with Kushli Khān had assembled around 'Alāuddin. They had raised a canopy over his head. One day, 'Alāuddin made it public that he had nothing with him for his solicitude which would not make him loyal. Today, he had in his hand what is not in the treasures of Delhi. After a day, it would not be. That will not dispose him from loyalty It was said that he would settle with it at Kara and spend it on recruitment and preparation. It was proper to receive him to Chanderi and encamp on his way for he is now with a treasure without soldiers and the Sultān in the army without a treasure. There was no way to him except Chanderi. The might and majesty of the Sultan will prompt him to be graced with surrender and contentment with which the sultān is qualified. He would not abandon gold, silver and elephants obtained as spoils which are in his hands. This is what I see of him. " The Sultan said, " 'Alāuddin has no claim on me except that of my goodness. Which is that thing which prompts him to appropriate? I do not understand * him. They belong to my men and my treasure. " He then turned to Fakhruddin Kuji and Kamāluddin Abul Ma'āli and Nasiruddin Kohrāmi and said to them, " you have heard what Ahmad had seen in the problem. What is your opinion in this matter? " They, as they saw him, were influenced by the reply of Ahmad Chap. He was right. " They all agreed on flattery in judgment sought when he is pleased thereby. They said, " Ahmad had rightly judged. There are seditious rumours which should not be acted upon. With decrees of faith, on his arrival at the receipt of news of the Sultān's encampment, on his way, he would suspect that he would not seize him. He and his companions agreed, what they did not see, on the existence of weath in their hands. They would

* Original Text, p. 770.

enter into a safe place without knowing its entrances and exits. They should be surrounded by men of different directions. They would try to get back as far as possible or they would assmble for plunder and disperse. The difficulty would be solved for 'Alāuddin. If it happened like this and he received information of it, he would terminate his journey to Devgir in search of them. If monsoon sets in and Ramdān comes, it would be a season of melons at Delhi. It is proper not to travel but to come back when such fruits are there. The month of fast passed. There was a correct report of 'Alāuddin's return from Devgir with wealth and elephants. The Sultān stopped in order to associate with them for sake of safety from all directions. He comes to kara. His correspondence continues explaining what is in his mind. He informed about his desires. The Sultān hastens to him and seizes him with wrath. Aḥmad said " A great knife should reach Fakhruddin. There is a proverb that the counsellor should be trustworthy. He had flattered in time. He bore it. I replied him for his action. When 'Alāuddin came with triumphant heroes to Kara, he saw it was monsoon and therefore there was leisure. He crossed the river Sarāv and gained ascendancy over Lakhnawati with strength of wealth, men, and elephants. Signs of good luck came out to him or to you. The Sultān said to him, " Oh Aḥmad ! you have always a bad opinion about 'Alāuddin. He was nurtured in my room. He became adolescent under my training. How is it possible for him to oppose me and deny my claims upon him. My opinion in this respect is for good. " Fakhruddin was not in accord with this view. Aḥmad replied, " The Sultān had resolved upon return. He had killed me with his hands. " He then stood up and went out of majlis. Drums were beaten with permission to march. Aḥmad was perturbed and he struck his one hand in another and recited.

> When life becomes dark for man
> He does what is of no use to him.*

In the wake of drums, the Sultān rode for return to Delhi. After his halt at Kilokheri, within a few days, there were continual reports about 'Alauddin's arrival at Kara in safety with spoils. Then arrived a letter to the Sultān informing him as to what happened to him during the period stating that he was engaged in that campaign for nearly a year. He had gone to a region unknown to the Sultān without permission. Till that day, he had not received any letter from the Sultān nor any petition. During this period of his absence he did not know what report he received about him from his enemies. Further, his temperament must have changed against him and misconstrued attitude towards him. He and his companions were full of fear till arrival of a letter of the Sultan's pleasure. In the meanwhile, he marched with them and came to gate

* Original Text, p. 771.

of the palace. The historian says that 'Alāuddin did send letters so hir Whenever he received a letter with pacification against a certain thing, he ma(excuses with another thing for confirmation of the Sultān from him. He was preparation for a march to Lakhnawati. He sent Zafar Khān to Oudh to colle planks or boats to cross the river Sarāv. It so happened that 'Alauddin wi his companions received news that day that Jalāluddin was proceeding to Ka to cross the river to Lakhnawati with what he had in hand and those who we loyal to him. He understood them to be Jalāli Muluk. He does not hear an thing therein and he feels inconvenienced with one who addresses him a rebukes him. They have abandoned him and submitted themselves to the w of God. In short Jalāluddin wrote to him in his own hand in form of a covena and guaranteed him with patronizing kindness and nothing can be more th this. He sent it through two reliable persons who possessed honour, ran judgment, character, training and experience. When both of them m 'Alāuddin, he found them the men of confidence of Jalāluddin, extremely distar Both of both deduced what he had in mind about movement and that he mig produce something new. He had a brother whose name was Ilyās Beg, Amir stables of the Sultān whose daughter was in wedlock with him. He was alwa with the Sultān. He wrote letters to his brother informing him about t Sultān and what new things happened with his companions in regard to hi It was at the suggestion of his brother that he intended to go to him by sendi a letter. He, therefore, always said that his brother created fear of Sult among the people bout the cause of his departure to Devgir and return an that he did not find him coming out of fear. He wants to kill himself wi poison or drown himself in water. Jalāluddin was moved by compassion for h pain and anxiety for life by immersion. Those persons who were sent with letter of pledge saw that he had no patience to conceal a secret from Jalāludd and they had no power over innovation of correspondence. On suppositio they were not able to undertake a risk for giving advice to him. They had r trust in him for acceptance of advice nor for veracity of his going out. In t meanwhile, Almās Beg said that 'Alāuddin's brother received a letter fro 'Alauddin wherein he had stated that "he had marched to Devgir witho permission from the Sultān. Being overcome with fear, I secreted poison c side of my turban to reach my hand. When I was alone, I took it into m hand but there was a honey-comb near it. Otherwise I had resolved upon re with poison and come out with whatever property I had in the shape of treasure elephants and rare, precious commodities and proceeded from this kingdom some one else's. The historian said, that 'Alāuddin and his confederates ha decided to bring Jalāluddin gradually out to themselves alone with suc fraudulent devices. They had knowledge of his negligence and stupidity alon

* Original Text, p. 772.

with compassion or perhaps, he would lose with his out-going what he had brought with him from Devgir. When he met them alone, they would have power over him and they would be safe from their side. Almās Beg took the letter and handed it over to him. When he got acquainted with its contents, he began to say "God is Holy". It is said "When their death approached, there was no delay." Their trick began to work. Almās Beg ordered to ride to him that very hour post-haste before he comes to know what is written in one of orders and to inform him to go alone to him. That happened. It was raining in cats and dogs. It was so muddy that the feet could not be steadied. The historian said that Almās Beg rode in his shirt and reached his brother in seven days. He met him in the city of Karah, informed him about his arrival and cheered him. 'Alauddin ordered the drums of joy to be beaten and said, "My brother has encouraged me. He has come to me in guarantee of safety. The friends of 'Alāuddin assembled together to march to Lakhnawati. They said to him, "Greed has seized them to assemble with 'Alauddin. He will take you out in such rain which has made surface of the earth a sea for darting stones from cannons. When they have terminated to you, you know what would be* after this. The historian said that Jalāluddin firmly determined upon journey to Karah after the march of Almās Beg. His companions met together to prevent him from going. He who approached him for advice was rejected in accordance with: " A friend firmly called you from wickedness". He who came to him to blame, was departed : " Verily, the friend is determined to save him from a censurer". He then set out from Kilokheri alone with special companions and one thousand horsemen to Damhāyati(?). Thence he went by water to Kara. He ordered Malek Aḥmad Chap to move with the army by land to Kara. 'Alāuddin received intelligence of his march. He crossed the river Ganges from Kara with what he owned and with elephants, horses and men and planted a pavilion between Kara and Manikpur and halted there. Inspite of heavy rain, Jalāluddin came out wonderfully safely, through the river Ganges which had assumed the appearance of a sea. During the course of his passage to Kara, Rāy Tilak instigated by 'Alāuddin proclaimed to his soldiers to be equipped with armours and he ordered his brother Almās Beg to oppose him in his shirt and beguile one thousand horse-men who had accompanied him by inviting them to Kara and join him for succour with a few men he had. He met him in his shirt and said to him, "Rāy Jalābak! beware and prepare for flight. He had carried what he had on elephants. I had come with a small number of soldiers. You would find him in his house. I find you with weapons and horses. He had travelled on his face. He would seize treasures and elephants from you and from him. He ordered only his shirt. He had only ten soldiers at Kara. He marched with Almās Beg. Almās Beg waited for a

* Original Text, 773.

moment. He was moving with him. I saw him in shirt with veteran swo: men but he had prevented them. He requested them to depart to Kara. did it and remained with a small number of men. He requested them to aside their arms. In short, he dived the river to him. There was none v him. When he neared the shore, the boat in which he was and the boat wl followed him he waded through water on seeing the shore. His arms sh forth. Inspite of it, he did not examine his mind. The Vakil Malek Khu said to Almās Beg, "your brother is in what we see him. You plur your patron though there are swordsmen with him, this state of affairs taken place. We do not demand it." He replied, "what he is in, he inter to petition him." Jalāluddin said, "In this Ramḍān, I treaded such a l distance and rode the peril of this river while 'Alāuddin did not receive inspite of his being near the shore in a boat. That was proper for him." replied, "He paused at his house for the sake of his lofty rank to condescen it. This assemblage in front of you is for you. He conveys salutation v surrender. He obtains honour inspite of weakness. Anyhow, all of us are s of his brother and nurtured by him and his aides. Think good of them. Holy Book is in front of him. He reads its contents with a sincere heart repentant. His companions understood with certainty his destruction at t hands and they destroyed themselves with him. They were loyal to him v submission. They occupied themselves in reading the chapter of Yāsin as recited just when one is on point of death. The boat came to the shore. was the early part of afternoon. Jalāluddin got down from it with a few r 'Alāuddin came to see him with all the muluk. He fell at his feet. He ra him up to his chest and kissed his eyes and cheeks. He held his beard v grace and slapped his cheek with his fingers as one does to a young son. slaps with fingers out of rebuke. He said to him, "Oh 'Ali! I always car you on my shoulders when you were a minor and still I feel the smell of v urine. I brought you up in a chamber of my kindness till you grew up to age. How should you be afraid of me. I looked after you for long. I never kill you. You are my hand and forearm. Did I need this inconveni from you in Ramḍān?" He then held his hand and went to the boat. of them waited at the water. 'Alāuddin withdrew his hand from his ha At his instruction, an idolater gave a blow of sword and he fell dead. He away getting into a boat. He cried out "Oh 'Ali! oh ill-luck! What did do?" A wretch, called Ikhtiāruddin Hud saw him in water and drew towards him. He descended and slaughtered him and cut his head. He reciting the Kalima, article of faith of the Muslims. He carried the hea 'Alāuddin with flowing blood. Ḍiā said, "I heard from a reliable person saw Jalāluddin that he repeatedly recited the Kalima when his head was t

* Original Text, p. 774.

severed from body. He recited it at the time of slaughter." I say, "It was worthy of a religiously fighting, virtuous Sultān. He was close to eighty in Ramdān. Split had set among members of his family on account of which* they lost him. He was speaking when blood was dripping while the tongue was in his mouth. The martyrs live in graves. 'Alāuddin did injustice to his uncle, his patron and ruminated upon God for blood of one who was like a father to him. Covetousness in kingdom is not lasting for him. Allāh makes happy and miserable one whom He wishes. If it is a surprise to you what happened and "Good he sees and evil he sees" should be the motto. I was surprised at this that his head was rotated on a spear in the public roads of Oudh, Manikpur and Kara."

> No calamity is a wonder in our age
> Safety in it is most wonderful.

Ḍiā takes admonitions from the incident with proofs. He widened his topics over which he had control. He says, "In that vacant interval, he came with a Jalāli canopy. His head between his two eyes was dripping blood on the spear. His grandees raised a cover from his head. There was no life. They restrained themselves. There was no loyalty. It prevented them. They thought that his blood was flowing uselessly. After him, they enjoyed the world. By no means, God is slow but not negligent. Within a short time, his brother Almās Ulugh Khān was gradually brought to loss of life.* It was not at the instruction of his sister's husband Nuṣrat Khān. It was not at instigation of revolt of his sister's husband Zafar Khān. It was not at the pleasure of my uncle 'Alāul Mulk, Kotwāl. It was not due to Malek Badruddin Aṣghari Sardawābdār and not Malek Fakhruddin Junādād Beg. They were the sharers of applause. It was not due to their trust. It was not due to a blow of sword. It was not due to slight leprosy which scattered flesh of his body. It was not due to cutting of his head at the hands of Hud. He went mad quickly. It led to his death with a shriek. He used to shout, "Alas! Jalāluddin! He has an open sword in hand. He cuts my head. It is not a round head. Upon them was the circle of evil. Something will be said in the account of 'Alāuddin. I say about Ikhtiāruddin

> Did I not know you a Jew
> Ikhtiaruddin Hud?
> The sword tried your head
> It was prostration to God.

'Alauddin swallowed grief from the harim of his uncle Malek Jahān. He suffered from his wife, the daughter of his uncle, which added to his grief. He had † a beloved whose name was Māhak. He always kept her concealed. He

* Original Text, p. 775. † Original Text, p. 776.

constantly pursued her. Due to glory of his uncle and sharp longue of his aunt, he suffered with patience. It so happened that she entered upon them when they were in privacy. He ran away from her to a side. She was bedecked with jewels and ornaments. He would not lift his feet for her until she retired. He stumbled down with her. She saw her on the bed. She caught her by hairs and beat her on head. 'Alāuddin returned in a painful state for her and separated them. He got infuriated and gave her a blow. He beat her by the sheath of his sword. She was slightly wounded. She was released by his beloved. This was the cause of mischief. He, therefore, went out to a strange country from the kingdom of his uncle. During his anxiety, he received intelligence about Devgir. It was from him what was. Jalāluddin marched to him in pouring rain and in Ramḍān. He achieved martyrdom on 17th. He had become weak in the year 695 (1295). Ḍia said that Malek Aḥmad Chap received news of his martyrdom before he arrived with the army to Kara. He returned, as soon as he received the news, to Delhi.

Sultān Ruknuddin Ibrāhim son of Jalāluddin Firoz Shah

As Arkalikhān son of Jalāluddin was an absolute Sultān in his capital of Multān from the life-time of his father, he had a brother who had attained to adolescence at Kilokheri. Women were as they were. They had no power to issue order. Their existence was a source of mischief. They haltered their husbands and kept them under their command. Under such circumstances, they planted shaded trees of trouble. Here the allusion is to such women as Maleka Jahān. On receipt of news of Jalāluddin's death, she took unawares who were not congenial to her. She made haste in a day to seize kingdom for her son the next day. She marched with what she possessed from Kilokheri to Delhi and took the oath of allegiance for Ruknuddin Ibrāhim son of Jalāluddin Firoz Shāh. She acted as Vakil for his minority in years. She administered state affairs in the absence of Jalālī muluk. Within a short time, Malek Aḥmad Chap arrived with what he had and took an oath of allegiance willy nilly. Arkali Khān heard about her evil and so he cut off information from her. In * the meantime, there arose difference between her and Ruknuddin in sharing the government. The matter ended in severance. She repented her efforts for his enthronement. She wrote and repeatedly summoned her son Arkali Khān saying, "I am defective in reason. Do you expect steadiness from me? I had received news of martyrdom of your father unawares. No, I had become mad so much so that I did what did not please you. I have made a mistake, oh my son. Pardon me. You make amends soon for the kingdom of your father. Who will succeed when neither I nor you claim it? Be on your guard that it may not lead you to repentance. Arbitrary power will not benefit a repentent being

* Original Text, p. 777.

like me. Your father's muluk are ungrateful to him. Those that are, are not accomplished in view of your brother. Hence come soon." He replied without apology. He ended by saying that as ungrateful muluk had joined with 'Alāuddin who would come to help me to fight with him. The rest would have to encounter. What advantage would be there in my being near you.

Men of truth are of opinion that fruits should not be eaten
Of a tree which spreads its shade in the garden of another.

If the sky practises tyranny, what will it take from us
If it stretches hand of tyranny, what will it take from us.
When we have gambled with life before death
Day on which death comes, what will it take from us.

Taqiuddin 'Abdur Rahmān al-Wāsti says

Verily, calamities when continual
Good patience is the remedy
Then prayers for repelling harm
God does what He wishes.

After the martyrdom of Jalāluddin, 'Alāuddin returned to Karah and occupied himself with recruitment of the army. He paused for Arkali Khān's being at Multān. He was personally strong himself. His might had spread to mofussil places. At the ascension of Ruknuddin on the throne of Delhi, the Jalālis assembled around him. When he learnt what happened between Maleka Jahān and her son, he was greatly enthused and his hope widened in scope in the kingdom. He convened an assembly and said to those who were present, " Arkali Khān was sufficient for our anxiety. Ruknuddin is a novice. He does not manage his affairs. Rain will not come in our way of march. Recruit who-* soever came and buoy him up with hope. Do not reject—broken or whole. Widen covetousnous." He then set out for Delhi in heavy rain. He had catapult to place in front of the thresh-hold. Encamp wherever you like. When the spectacle presented itself whole, he scattered among them tankas of approximate weight. They rushed to catch them and hastened to pick them up. The news spread and people thronged to him from all places. He scattered tanka coins according to their value. Similarly, swordsmen assembled on announcement. They arrived from all sides and swelled his frontiers. The number reached in Badāun to fifty or sixty-thousand horsemen and footmen. At Baran, the residents assembled at 'Idgāh around the Wazir Nuṣrat Khān. He recorded names and gave money. He did not question about the recruit's merit or ability or caution in a thing and there were no conditions. People

* Original Text, p. 778.

heard him saying in a loud voice, "We are kings of Delhi. In the first y. one hundred tanka coins would be exchanged for gold coins for those who h gathered around us in Devgir campaign for bestowal of life and drippin heart's blood. That is dearer to us than to possess hand of the enemy dispersion of illiterates with what we had hardened him for his recruitme The historian said that Alāuddin ordered Zafar Khan from Baran to be on way to Delhi at Kaul and [illegible] with great speed to traverse to Baran. marched with those who foll[illegible] him as soldiers. Ruknuddin received cor nuous reports about 'Alāuddin's march from Kaul and from Baran. Zafar Kh got ready for resistance with a party of muluk of his father consisting of Ma Tājuddin Kuji, Malek Abāji Ākhur Beg, Malek Amir 'Ali Diwāna, Malek Uthn Amir-i-Ākhur, Malek Amir Kalān, Malek Amir Surkha and Malek Harim When they found leisure, they marched to Baran and deserted to 'Alāudc On the day of their arrival, they were given rewards according to their sta in the state. Amins were paid fifty gold coins while others twenty. Ev soldier was paid three hundred with kāls of gold. On their desertion 'Alāuddin, the Jalāli house weakened. Rewards emboldened residents of De to go out with him. 'Alāuddin had abundance of fodder on the day he marcl ed and encamped for some days. But the Canopus rose and water beca scarce. In the meanwhile, he crossed with all his soldiers from the cross place Kāth and encamped in the maidān of Jud. Ruknuddin marched fr Delhi with men who had remained with him and alighted for opposition. midnight, there was an uproar from the left wing. Its cause was that commander of the left wing rode with soldiers under his command as wel subordinates to the side of 'Alāuddin and joined him. Ruknuddin was desp. ed of Amir of the right wing as well as of the vanguard. He rode in time the gate of Badāun. It was opened for him. He entered it and took as mu money as he could from the treasury and as many horses as he needed. In morning of the night, he rode to his mother and wife. He issued forth fr the Ghazni gate to proceed to Multān. He was followed by Maleka Jahān a Jalāli Malek Qutbuddin 'Alawi, his sons, Malek Ahmad Chap, Alghwās daugh of Changiz and Malek Bughrā Gilāni. The historian said that since 'Alāud came out from Karah and encamped outside Delhi, there were rows of wea moving in front of him and the catapults with him. The Jalāli muluk a amirs who received him were ordered to be given gold coins in cups placed catapults and they were thrown to them by way of offering once and thrice accordance with his status in the state. When he saw him at his manzil, weighed for him in a big pair of scales. When one of the chiefs of the arı met him, he was given in a balance. He thus pacified people. He consol rancourous minds due to his atrocity at his patron. He continued it till th

* Original Text, p. 779.

forgot Jalāluddin. Only four persons who proceeded to Multān with Maleka Jahān, left behind. On his encampment outside Siri, residents of Delhi decided to recite Khutba in his name before allegiance for the sake of gold. Imāms and sadrs went to Siri to congratulate him. The historian said that Malek Tājuddin Kuji and those who were his subordinates at Baran said by seeing citizens deserting Ruknuddin and becoming lo[illegible] to the murderer of his father. They did no justice therein. A Jalāli malek c[illegible] out from his son on the day of his departure from the palace to attempt his life at Kara. He heard the* news. He saw the effect of it. He advanced to play with his head and heads of his companions. We did not do. He said the same thing on 'Alāuddin's gift. His murder became easy for the Jalāli and the general public. They expressed desire to serve in the saltanat. It became clear by this event to the general public that it was gold which destroyed Jalāluddin while 'Alāuddin got infuriated with his uncle because of gold. All went over to his side because of gold. The kingdom departed from its heir.

Gold spilled the blood of all while gold is at its place
There is none who seeks blood by gold.

Ruknuddin Ibrāhim ruled for nearly five months. It was during this period that 'Alāuddin treaded the path from Kara to where he encamped on the river Jamna at a distance of three farsakhs from Delhi. On the second day, Ruknuddin set out to Multān. He rode in with state cavalcade to Siri and encamped outside it. I say, gold was offered through catapults to recruited soldiers and novices from among the high and the low. It was constantly done till ascension on throne at Delhi and also loyalty of hearts. He was fond of those who worshipped God literarily. A day before, he got his uncle murdered even though he was his patron. He tore open the pockets. During these months, gold was distributed beyond imagination to those who were present. It was bestowed upon even on men of lowest rank in numbers. It was a wonder which distracted mind for the number spent. There is nothing to be said about its amount. Gold that came was not less. How can one imagine of its being spent in balance or scales or through catapults. For such a thing Mu'arri says

This is what bewilders fancy
It made a proficient learned man a heretic.

The historian said that the general public got enriched and the vagabonds prospered on his arrival at Delhi. Every intelligent man devoted himself to his literary activities with sufficient means at his disposal. Persons of power and might extended hands of liberality. 'Alauddin engrossed himself in the world

* Original Text, p. 780.

and raised those whom he wished in his elevated hands. I say, he broug untold wealth from Devgir. It was carried on one thousand animals reported by Ḥusām Khān in his Ṭabaqāt. Ḍiāuddin said that 'Alāuddin d tributed gold and made public rejoicings in the year of his ascension. ripped open the curtains of intoxication and guaranteed every door at t house of a vintner. I had not seen time like this. I was assisted with obligatic in my old age. I did not see any one greater than myself. Times alw produced wonders. On his first ascension, he prepared Ulugh Khān and Za Khān to march to Multān. After a siege of a month or two, the Kotwāl, tl is, the Police Officer inclined towards 'Alauddin. Residents and the amirs the same. Arkali Khān was despaired of the kingdom and members of family. He became a faithful believer of Quṭb-uz-Zamān, my Shaikh, Barl ul-Islām Bahāuddin Zakariyā and Shaikh-ul-Islām Ruknuddin Multāni, n their graves be sanctified. The city remained safe because of them. Th who sought refuge with them deserted to 'Alauddin with amnesty. The ar marched back. This was due to the assemblage on the way with Nusrat Kh He blinded his brothers, Ulaghkhn, Aḥmad and killed children of Arkali Kh He imprisoned him and his brother in the fort of Hānsi. It was his close of l Such was the case of Ulughkhu. He returned with the ḥarim and Ahmad a all the treasure to Delhi.

Sultān 'Alauddin 'Ali son of Naṣruddin brother of Jalāl Khalji

'Alāuddin 'Ali son of Naṣr brother of Jalāluddin Firoj Khalji ascended throne at Delhi on 19th Zilhajj, 695 (1295). This date is recorded by Ḥu Khān in his Tabaqāt-i-Bahādurshāhi. The historian Ziā was acquainted w the year and month clearly but he did not speak of the date 19th. He mentioned about his coming out from Kara to his ascension of the throne Delhi but it was not in the year. The event took place during Ramḍān a there remained three months for completion of the year. It is an error of scribe and not of the historian as I guess. None was left out of oath allegiance. It was a day worth witnessing. He raised ranks of his compani in state and titles. His brother Almās Beg was titled Ulugh Khān. Hazbarud Yusuf son of 'Alauddin's sister was designated as Zafar Khān. Malek Nuṣ Jalesari, husband of 'Alauddin's sister was titled Nuṣrat Khān. He was Wazi him. Amir-ul-Majlis Sanjar was titled Alap Khān. Similarly, ahāds (orderlie were raised to the rank of tens; tens to hundreds; hundreds to Imārat (amirsh and imārat to malekship. Wizārat was transferred from Nuṣrat Khān Khwāja Khatir, Malek-ul-Umarā Fakhruddin Kotwāl had died during the reg of Jalāluddin. He was an efficient man. When 'Alāuddin sat on the throne

* Original Text, p. 781.

† Original Text, p. 782.

delegated his charge to Nuṣrat Khān. Kotwāl means the governor of the fort. It is an important office. Kādi Ṣadr-i-Jahān Ṣadruddin 'Ārif father of Dāwar-ul-Mulk became Malek-ul-Kadāt (Chief Kādi). Umdat-ul-Mulk was assigned Diwān-ul-Inshā (Chancery). His father was ennobled as Malek Ḥamid-ul-Mulk as a sitter in his assembly. Malek Fakhruddin Kuji was made Dād Beg that is, Amir-ul-'Adl (Minister of Justice). Zafar Khān was appointed as Diwān-ul-'Ard (Master of Ceremonies). Malek Abāji was appointed as Ākhur Beg (Superintendent of Stables) while Malek Haranmār as Nāib Barbak (Deputy in charge of commissariat). Uncle of the historian 'Alāul Mulk was appointed as governor of Kara and Oudh which were under charge of 'Alāuddin. Malek Junā (old) became Nāib-ul-Wakil. Muaidd-ul-Mulk, father of the historian was appointed as Nāib of Baran. Similarly, he was in charge of property and religious endowments. In his early part of reign, he created a department of virtue where prayers were recited on his behalf which changed vices into virtues.

In 696 (1296), the incident of Arkali Khān, Ruknuddin, Ulghu and Aḥmad Chap took place. It was a calamity to him at Multān. In this year, 'Alāul Mulk came from Kara with what was left behind in his charge of treasures, elephants, stores, muluk and amirs. In this year, Nuṣrat Khān reverted to Wizārat. 'Alāul Mulk was appointed to the charge of Malek-ul-Umarā Kotwāl. He was very fat and could walk with difficulty. Hence he lacked vigour to work. 'Alauddin assigned to him his former charge. In the early part, he did not meet him. He was in anxiety about the Jalāli muluk and amirs. Gold made him an ambassador between him and they till they turned loyal and dutiful. After the incident of Multān, the kingdom was cleared of them. 'Alāul Mulk, the Kotwāl extended his hands to their property and wealth. Nuṣrat Khān obtained all their wealth by possible stratagem. In the year of his Wizārat, he collected all fines and penalties and recurred to Tanka.*

In this year, there was a war between the Mughals who had crossed the river of Sind in large numbers and Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān on the frontiers of Jāran Manjhur. On receipt of news of Mughal crossing, both of them marched from Delhi. After a severe struggle, it was a victory for them. With news of victory, they became with Mughal heads to Delhi. It was a great victory because of their large numbers. Drums of congratulation were beaten. With the incident of Multān, the Jalāli house terminated. 'Alāuddin became an absolute ruler with establishment of his power. With this victory, multitudes of people thronged and steadied their feet. The matter became serious. He feared violence and dispute. The cities were decorated. Disputes received their full share inspite of control of the censor in public. 'Alāuddin, therefore, ordered to punish those who were ungrateful to his uncle and who had joined him for

* Original Text, p. 783.

the sake of dinārs and dirhams. The malek and the amir were penalized. rewarded those who took no part in the incident and who were reliable supplied him with information. They were summoned, examined and rewa He continued gifts and presents. Thus they were out of difficulty in respe property, wealth and women and regions. Many of them were impris blinded and killed. Only Quṭbuddin 'Alwi, Malek Naṣiruddin in charg elephants and Malek Amir Jamāluddin Qadr Khān were spared. Those had preserved the salt of Jalāluddin in bases, migrated at the time of including Maleka Jahān to Multān. The rest dispersed including Ilyās as required. 'Alāuddin did nothing to him. Even after the incident, he di take a particle of his gold. 'Alāuddin learnt about them. He showed fa to them for years. (Know that my historian is Mirkhwānd of Ḥabib-us-S The narrators of reports always differ according to their hearing. They on what they have heard relying upon the understanding of news. The obsc look to what is said and not to who said. Most of them narrated at night picked up news then. Hence what took place between scholars of places publicised in daftars. It was not accurate narration from first to las refer it to Muḥammed bin Jarir al-Ṭabari, Aḥmad bin Thābit al-khatib Baghdādi, Ḥāfiz ibn-un-Najjār, Ḥafiz al-Maṣ'udi, Ḥāfiz ibn-i-Kathib, Ḥā Zahabi, Ḥāfiz ibn-ul-Jawzi al-Mukadasi, Shamsuddin ibn-i-Khallikān, Aḥmad bin Ḥajar al-'Askalāni, Ḥāfiz al-Suyuti, Ḥāfiz ibn-i-'Asākir, Abi Baihaqi, Abū Fath etc. There is no region without a historian, no kin without its historian. It is only the historian, of the region or the kin who gives information of what he saw or heard from the city. As far as regions are concerned, his information depends upon hearsay. Narrators calamity of history. The account of this Ālāuddin Sultān of Hind is desc by a historian in his history called 'Tarikh-i-Firozshāh-i—he is Ḍiāuddin B with deviation of nature, evil temperament, scantiness of faith, roug of character, incongruousness in morals as I narrated in the life-account He has mentioned without good qualities and asks you to say prayers o behalf. As I said that Barani has recorded some years of events of his lif some incidents are described in short fearing repetition as there was no for it).

Ḍiā Barani said that Ulugh Khān came to Naharwāla in the yea (1297). Its ruler was Rāy Kawan (Karan). He gained ascendancy over He repeated the principles of Islām as was done in the regime of Sultān Mal Subuktagin. He was foreign to them. Maḥmud demolished Somnath i year 416 (1122) and carried its relics to Ghazni. After his death, un returned to Naharwāla as its residents took an idol and buried it on a

Original Text, p. 784.

There was publicity of return of Somnāth. They took it out from its burial place. It was exhibited and fixed at a place where it was. Malek Ulugh Khān is along with all the spoils to Delhi. They made it the threshold at its gate. This victory took place on Wednesday, 20th Jamādi I, 698 (1299). What Ḍ.ā has described on the date of victory after the conquest of Naharwāla to 'Alauddin's march to Ranthanbhor should be 698 (1299). He has stated it 697. Another man said that he conquered most of the places of Hind such as Delhi, Ajmer, Naharwāla, Asāwal and other hundred places. There did not* remain any fort and strong hold of unbeliever in Hind except Ranthanbhor. It was held, during the regime of 'Alāuddin by Lahmar (Laxman) dev Rāy. He fled to it relying upon its impregnability. Every powerful ruler rallied to him.

In the year 696 (1296), the Mughals of al-Tatari came to the environs of Delhi. Ulugh Khān marched against them. He did not spare them from killing except those who accepted Islām. There were three thousand Muslim Mughals. He turned to them. They were safely conducted to Delhi. 'Alāuddin found them worthy of service. He assembled them in his diwān and selected most of them as amirs. One of them was Muḥammed Shāh. Others were Kisrā, Tamar Beg, Shādi Beg and Katlagh Beg. He despatched them in company of his brother Ulugh Khān to Naharwāla. On his return from it, his soldiers demanded one-fifth of spoils at Jālor. They were those persons who were sought after. They killed his envoy Malek 'Izzuddin, the brother of Nuṣrat Khān and attacked him. They thought that he was dead and moved with what they had to Ranthanbhor after killing the son of Sultān's sister. They plundered him to the extent they could. They were given shelter by Hamar Dev Rāy. 'Alāuddin then did to the members of their families and their children by way of retaliation for the son of his brother. Ulugh Khān prepared himself for march to Ranthanbhor in the year 699 (1300). They say that it was won on 3rd Zilka'ad, 700 (1300). It is said by one other than Ḍiā that 'Alāuddin had collected for this campaign, which was not done before, seventy thousand horse who were always ready at his gate, eleven hundred elephants who never separated themselves from backs of elephants as well as untold wealth. He acquired reputation after continuous victories. He acquired rare commodities and wealth with desires. Stupid fellows met together and exchanged forbidden things. Distraction gained ascendancy over them. He neglected state affairs. Satan overpowered him. He aspired to be a prophet or he wanted to be like Alexander the Great in the kingdom. He did not accept advice of any one. He was nearly forty-three years of age. He then turned from his character by giving up what was to be given up. He moulded his character to obligation........from sins and went

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* Original Text, p. 785.

beyond limit in punishment. He would not become submissive. He clai super-natural powers. It was due to his lack of worthiness for control. Ul Khan then marched to Ranthanbhor as stated above. He returned to Del after victory. He recommended his plan. It was annual. He engagec recitation of the Holy Qurān and resolved upon revival of religion. He m efforts to acquire virtues. He asked Mawlānā Mughithuddin as to what was religious order in connection with the wealth brought from Devgir. He rep that it belonged to the Public Treasury and that he had a share to a cer extent. He then removed all oppressive measures and made administratio justice and practice of obligation essential for the state. He personally condu state matters with efficiency. He made efforts for progress and prosperity. enjoined upon his officers for the same. He examined accounts. He ado progressive policy. Thus there was no curtain between him and his subj. They loved him and said prayers on his behalf. In the year 702 (1303) equipped a large army for march to Chitor. He then marched in person t When he encamped at the foot of mountain, its ruler realized his helplessnes himself. He did not inform any one of the chiefs who were his friends. waited for an opportunity. He descended with one who was in accord with view to go to the pavilion of the Sultān. He surrendered himself to him acknowledged his authority in the mountain over all those who were there. Sultān rode in time and considered the mountain as his own and its resic had knowledge of it. They came in the way of the mountain and fought fie as far as possible. The ultimate victory was of the Sultān. The sun was i meridian and he did with the sword with doors locked. Thirty thou residents of the mountain or more were killed. It was a victory on Monday Muharram, 703 (1304). At sun-rise, the Sultān was there and every one with ruler of the mountain who did not depart from him. They surrou the mountain well. The government of the mountain was entrusted to his Khiḍr Khān and Chitor was named as Khiḍrābād after his name. He scended from the mountain to his pavilion at the bottom. He received a re of Talāri Mughals' arrival to the environs of Delhi. Their number cons of twenty thousand horse. He entrusted government of the mountai some of his men and marched to Delhi. Zafar Khān was in charge of mountain. They did not find a way to a sort of life they wanted to It was difficult for another man to undertake his charge. They coveted to the Kingdom. The Sultān wrote to Malek Fakhruddin son of Ghāzi. He on the frontiers of Telangana. He was transferred to be in place of Zafar K It was done. He built forts and penetrated deeply into the entrance directions of the Mughals. Most of them were killed while most of them

* Original Text, p. 786.

made captives. Their killed were more than twenty thousand. The captives* were brought to the Sultān. The Sultān threw them at the feet of elephants. It was a great affair and serious. They learnt a lesson from him. They went away far off from him. Residents and travellers became safe. There was no report of their inroad. It became a forgotten affair. The Sultān turned from this matter to that of imārat of Ranthanbhor, Chitor, Karha, Chanderi and 'Alāpur. Ulugh Khān was transferred as an Amir of Gujarāt while Tājul-Mulk was appointed an Amir of Siwastān, Zafar Khan had conquered it in the year 698 (1299). 'Ain-ul-Mulk was equipped for the conquest of Mandu. When 'Alāuddin marched from Chitor to Delhi, there remained some agents for its defence. He sent his wife for surrender to the Sultān, He had heard that she was the most beautiful woman and that there was none like her. Further it was said to him about her that she was the most excellent woman, A woman with this quality is spoken of in Hind as Padmini. The existence of such a woman is rare. When the envoy informed him as to what the Sultān wanted him to send. He promised him to surrender her. In short, he agreed to that. It is said that the Sultān before he marched was asked by his wife for his release which was promised. When he marched, he was to follow him in his stirrup, he asked him to wait at the foot as he would send some one to summon her. Her surrender would please the Sultān. She would come with some trustworthy servant. The Sultān agreed to that. He started march to Delhi. The unbeliever said to the servant that he sent for her but she was unable to come alone and therefore all the women of the harem would come to the mountain to join with me. When they present themselves, I will surrender her to you. He replied to them thus. He sent for his men at the mountain to inform them about the state of affairs. He sent word that five hundred men with arms should sit in five hundred palkis. Each pālki was carried by four men. They did so and came to the camp. They sought women. But the camp was surprised when the palkis were put down from shoulders, twenty-five hundred men with swords descended into the camp. The ruler rode his horse in the midst of those persons who came out from the palkis. Only a few persons of 'Alāuddin were left behind. Many of them had fled away. When the Sultān received intellig-† ence of it, the affair of the mountain was arranged by the daughter of the ruler's sister who was married to the Sultān. He established his own control over the mountain and kept it under his subjugation. The Wazir of the ruler, in course of time obtained the rank of proximity to the Sultān. He killed her in an hour of leisure. The unbeliever returned to his mountain and administered state affairs as before. This state of affairs continued till the Sultān of Gujarāt Bahādur son of Muzaffar descended upon the mountain and conquered it in 941

* Original Text, p. 787.

† Original Text, p. 788.

(1534). From that time, Sultān 'Alāuddin killed an unbelieving ruler. 'Ain Mulk descended upon the fort of Mandu. A battle was fought between him : its ruler Mahlak Dev who had forty thousand horse and one hundred thou: foot. He died while in flight. 'Ain-ul-Mulk conquered the fort on Thursd 2nd Jamādi I, 705 (1305-6). Kāfur made preparations for march to Devgi 708 (1308). Another man says in 706 (1306). Ḍiā does not mention the obedience of Rāmdev's sons after him. Another historian says that they revol 'Alāuddin despatched an army in fury against those who allied themselves w them and killed them in the above year. 'Alāuddin went out on a hun expedition and turned from it to Siwāna. Its ruler was Sāntal Dev. He assa him and killed him after a short siege. He also killed his ally. He had an a of nearly one thousand or more. He conquered the fort and governed it. T victory was gained on Wednesday, 13th Muḥarram, 708 (1308). Another hi rian says that the ruler of Jālor fort was Kānhar Dev who was obedient to Sultān and in his service. It is said that calamity is an agent of speech. In meanwhile, he was present along with others in the Diwān. One day, some heard him saying that an unbeliever alone opposes my army. He was seized stupid jealousy. He said " submission to the Sultān is better than war with I Hand of the Sultān is not longer than another hand. The Sultān, if called for opposition, I will come to him." He came to the mountain of Jālor fortified the fort as far as possible. The Sultān equipped an army against under Aḥdi Jawāriah—one of the concubines. Her name was Kul Behisht. fort was stormed. Her son came forward to fight for the fort. It so happ that she died. The Sultān received news of it. He ordered Malek Kamālu famous as Bakrak to command that army. It so happened that on the da of his arrival, Malek Shāhin, son of the concubine Kul Behisht entered the mountain. Kānhar Dev encountered him. He caught hold of his hand a killed its ruler. It was a victory for Kamāluddin in 708 (1308)] In (1297), the territory of Rāy Karan, ruler of Naharwāla, capital of Gujarāt invaded. 'Alāuddin prepared Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān for invasio Gujarat. When they were near Naharwāla, its ruler, Rāy Karan came ou encounter them. A fierce battle took place between them which resulted in flight of Rāy to Devgir. Members of his family were captured. He left be his horses, elephants and stores. The capital was plundered. Horse pillaged his territory and left nothing. The historian said that there was an in it. It was kept by a Brahmin after being mutilated by Maḥamud. It Lamnat. They named it Somnāth. They worshipped it out of mis-guida from ancient times. They carried it to Delhi. It was placed at the entranc the gate. Nuṣrat then marched to Kanbhayat and seized from its merchants residents case and commodities by violence and left nothing with them. K

* Original Text, p. 789.

al-Alfi a unuch was with some merchant. He was extremely handsome. He was famous as Kāfur Hazār Dinari. He was taken from his owner by force inspite of his dis-dain in the name of 'Alāuddin. Alāuddin loved him and kept him as a slave and raised to the status of his Nāib. His account follows. He returned from Khanbhayat. He and Ulugh Khān treaded the path to Delhi with the spoils of Gujarat and the family of Rāy Karan including his wife: It so happened that both of them demanded one-fifth from the booty of the army and they were serious with insult and blow and insisted with exaggeration to take it out. The army had a party of neo-Muslim Mughal amirs. Ḥusām Khān says that the demand was made on the environs of Nāgor. The chief of the Mughals was Muḥammed Shāh. He had a command of three thousand. The trouble became serious. His companions assembled with arms. They assailed the tent of Ulugh Khān. He came out from an opening of the external screen of the tent and fled to the pavilion of Nuṣrat Khān. He was not aware of this affair of the Mughals. 'Izzuddin, Amir-ul-Ḥājib, brother of Nuṣrat Khān was asleep in the tent near the bed of Ulugh Khān. They killed him thinking him to be Ulugh Khān. They came out and extended their hands to his belongings. The friends of* Nuṣrat Khān met together for this matter and they forbade them to approach him. The Mughals seized as much as they could and dispersed on the frontiers of the unbelievers. It is stated in the history of Ḥusām Khān that they all went to Ranthanbhor with the booty. Their object was to take one-fifth portion of booty of Nuṣrat Khān. When the Mughals, entered upon him, he was sitting on an elevated seat. One of them cast him down by an arrow. He bent down towards the earth so his arrow missed him. With his separation from the seat, they became sure of his death. They then came out and stretched their hands to his belongings as much as they could and went out of the camp. The army was much affected by their demand. They stood up to prevent the Mughals from this. Ulugh Khān came to him and forbade him to make demand of one-fifth portion. He proclaimed among the soldiers about it. The mischief subsided. They marched to Delhi safely. 'Alāuddin learnt about this matter of the Mughals. He ordered for imprisonment of their wives and children. Ḍiā says that much in his history. There was no punishment at Delhi to women and children for the offence of men. Nuṣrat Khān originated this injustice as he originated complaints of others. He harassed women for the murder of his brother, exposed their privates, surrendered them to the sect of sewage-cleaners and slaughtered their children in their presence. Grief overwhelmed every one that day for he did not do good to them but evil. There was no love between them for a pretty long time. In this year, the Tatārs dominated over Siwastān. The name of their amir was Ṣaldi. Zafar Khān marched against him. He

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* Original Text, p. 790.

encamped at the fort and opened it violently with the sword. There was neil cannon nor rifle. Inspite of hordes of the Mughals, they were not powerfu darts. He assaulted them, captured them and sent them in chains to I including Ṣaldi and his brother. The historian said that 'Alāuddin was deligh at this victory and the safety of Zafar Khān. He thanked him for his Rust like heroic deeds. He was afraid of his involvement into peril. He was nc for his stubbornness and was worried for his death. In like manner, Ulugh K had lost his brother for that. He enjoyed immense fame because of them. Tl was compassion between him and they as well as service, loyalty and execu of order even at peril of death. He was anxious for them either with poiso with charge of distant frontiers. I say that the world is like this : I wish life while he wishes my murder, then where is his desire in what I desire of l Their affairs were sufficient. He vanished anxiety for them and they were frie and loyal to outward appearance; from first to last. They were near him wl ever he desired them to be. They understood that he would not assail the as an enemy. It was not said of them that he was afraid of him. For purpose he returned to them with a desire for repentance. He shed tears their sake. In this condition, he did not fail to do what was necessary. * was worthy not to be afraid of him? In this year, he summoned firmness t out of moderation of illiterate persons. In our time, there are no men to r amends for the faithful. Their actions would be in accord with words. Ḍiāu said that when 'Alāuddin perfected his self and owned mines and treasures, were not for any ruler of Delhi till his time. There was no year free from news of birth. His victories continued and the number of his soldiers increa There were seventy thousand horses in the stables. Similarly was the case elephants and animals. His kingdom had extended. No teacher of reli gave him a lesson for reciting the Qurān. Only swordsmen till today sat in assembly. It was in the nature of ignorance, hardness, pride and arrogance was for this reason that he did not follow talks of privacy either in hints c explicity. Sometimes, he addressed his assemblies and said "I sought my self with two matters of freedom. How to act with them. I did not ach what I sought but disturbance therein. When Ulugh Khān, Zafar Khān, Nu Khān and Alp Khān were with him, he said one day, "God, the Holy helpec prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him with four Khalifas, God be pleased with them. They achieved what was achieved in his time. A him, they met for preservation of his creed and victory of his religion till faith became stable and the Muslims assembled upon him. I am in a sin position. I sought my own self with the religion I originated and faith I crea You four are for me like the four companions, helping me with the sword

* Original Text, p. 791.

follow me in life. After me, my name will last because of you as the name of the Prophet may peace and benediction of God be on him and that of the companions lasts. This is one of the matters you see. Another matter is that which myself sought. It is following in the footsteps of Alexander to conquer the world. I have as you see horses, elephants, men, treasures, arms, power and strength and that I should mention in the khutba and the sikka as the Second Alexander. It occurred to my mind. I had conquered this region and* I want to nominate in it a Nāib from efficient men. I will conquer another region, control it and appoint therein a Nāib. I will go beyond that region and similarly conquer the fourth prosperous one and return to Delhi." The historian said that whenever he met men of the assembly, he displayed pride of saltanat, sharpness of temperament, fury of intoxication and absurdity of ideas. They defended him with politeness and means of approximation till the majlis was over and there did not remain anything except this. It was similar to him in meaning:

Your speech, oh! this empty toast
void of meaning but it rattles.

Ḍiā said that his talks spread of their own accord. People laughed at them and made mockery of them. They abstained from them. He saw ends of things before their beginning. He had amassed wealth and gathered strength. He said, "My uncle 'Alāul Mulk the Kotwal had resigned but he used to visit him with his heavy fat body on the first of each month. He heard from him what was noised abroad. He waited till night. When he entered upon him, he found him in a majlis of cup and near him were the four aforesaid persons. After swallowing drink, one, two, three cups, he hinted at his favourite matters. He said to him, "Permit us to enjoy majlis of association of Joviality. We four alone are present in it. I will answer your question." He did so. 'Alāul Mulk first begged his pardon. He then said, "speech in religion and faith is for the prophets with revelation to them. It is not for the sultāns. Religion has taken shape with wisdom and judgment from the time of Ādam, may peace be on him to the time of our Prophet Muḥammed, may peace and benediction of God be on him. God chooses for prophethood whom He likes and descends revelation upon him. It happens every time for a person whom He wishes for the sake of reforms. He who follows the prophet is called upon for war and his help. The Prophethood terminated with Muḥammed may peace and benediction of God be on him. The Khalifas enliven his rules and regulations and his religion after him. On his death, news from the skies is stopped. His character is imitated and people act in accordance with their teachings. After them, the learned men follow their character. They record it and preserve the

* Original Text, p. 792.

faith with what is recorded in the Book and the Sunna and with that wh comes from them. They carry out what is extracted from the consensu opinion of the Imāms by spilling blood. After the Khalifas, that turned fr them to kings till our day. He who administered Justice, would get rewa He who made effort and made mistake therein, his rank would not rise fr what was in times of pious Khalifas. Those who could, made efforts. The is no way to prophethood and there is no way similarly to religion other t that of Muḥammed, may peace and benediction of God be on him. Pun ment in religion is made easy upon his followers. How can any one origin religion. There is no disturbance emerged between the general people and public. It is only the propagation of the formula. "There is no God but (and Muḥammed is the Messenger of Allāh." Your mission is to repulse att of Changiz Khān the Mughal for he spills blood of the Muslims. There i torrent of it on surface of the earth. There is no value to the mission of Mughal for invitation to religion. No Muslim is heard to accept the faitl the Mughal. I am a servant of the Saltanat. I do not speak except w I know to be good. My life depends upon the existence of Saltanat. I disturbance takes place in the kingdom in respect of religion, I would be first to be killed at their hands with my wife and family. I am moderat reply with goodness and politeness. I know what is harmful and what is b ficial. I did not act a hypocrite in search of pleasure of my patron. S persons were afraid of sharpness of the Sultān's temperament. This is what I to be a reply in the query put to me." 'Alāuddin applauded his speech and wonderstruck at its truth. Such was the case with four famous men. 1 found a way from his speech to a petition with acceptance though he did like it. They praised him. 'Alāuddin realized the truth. He said to l You have distinguished me with your harangue. I know it is out of y sincerity, truth, resolution and wisdom. You are true as far as possible pondered over what you explained and found it as you said. By truth, true to follow it. I seek forgiveness of God for what is from me. May God ward you with good. Another problem remains. I want you to answer it. said, "we hear it with loyalty. I inform you about it." He said, "God collected causes for its master. He has fixed your dominion. You inten imitate Sikander. Thanks are due to his ambition. He did not rule over D as he knew by spending dirhams. To whom did it go in niyābat ? It goe one who gives from his treasury and maintains an army. Who resolve enter kingdom of another man and opened its gate ? It was not easy. direct knower knows it. On this supposition is conquest of the one-fourth of habitation. It is a short period of absence in movement and steadiness f return to the capital of Delhi Where is it from your determination to its s

* Original Text, 793.

† Original Text, p. 794.

to return. He ruled over those regions and he traversed over those sides. In such wide rotation how do you imagine its residents to be safe from revolts. The age of Sikander was different from this age. In spite of this, it was easy for him as he wished. His Nāib was in the capital of Rum. With a multitude of residents, extensive neighbourhood, his minister was the philosopher Aristotle. There were continual reports propagated through different tongues that he returned to Madāin after a lapse of two, three or four years. There was no disorder from the day he left his Capital even to the extent weight of a particle or hair of the head. Most citizens of Hind are unbelievers. Most of the rest are vicious while the Muslims are illiterate and the wise among them are indifferent, nearer to injustice, more distant from loyalty. They had neither wealth for them from a mighty sultān nor a sharp sword. He missed when I did not come out from him and his posture changed." 'Alāuddin gave ear to his speech. He then said to him. " On this, I am contented with Hind. I will derive benefits from these horses, elephants, treasures and preparations. I have no name and ceremony in the conquest of regions which is the life of the world. 'Alāul Mulk replied him as mentioned. Lofty ambition accomplishes one's desire. One of his ambitious desires was accomplished by his conquests in Hind over which he had established his authority such as Ranthanbhor, Chitor, Chanderi, Mālwa, Dhār, Ujjain and the eastern portion as far as the river Sarāv; similarly Siwālik Parbat to Jālor and Multān to Damrila: from Bālam to Lāhore, Div and Bālpur. With regard to the second desire, it has been observed to be most important and to be undertaken first. He had anxiety about the entrances of the Mughals to Hind and to prevent them through them. He blockaded the roads by building forts and erection of fortresses and strengthened them by cannons and guns and constant transfer of soldiers and retinue under command of renowned amirs. He constructed rest-houses one after the other on the frontiers and frightful paths and worthy armies were always on duty there. The frontiers were thus defended by preparation of buildings and population of entrances. One of muluks of the saltanat* was appointed as Amir at Sāmāna; similarly at Multān. The localities were made secure against inroads of the Mughals. They were prevented from entry into frontiers by might. Reports of security spread to neighbouring parts of Hind. The Caravans started coming and it widened the gate of revenue. Immense good accrued from every direction. When it became easy for the saltanat to establish order in the region of Hind, the frontiers became safe against inroads of the Mughals. He remained at Delhi to equip an army to different regions for establishment of control and order. He then said that the head of Government was vigilant of state matters. There was no indifference

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* Original Text, p. 795.

to major and minor state affairs. Signs of intoxication existed among tl He abandoned it in a proper manner. Similarly, he gave up hunting for all time which was not without engagement with birds and wild animals w brought about inadvertence and indifference to person and important s affairs. Economic measures were taken in the palace. He went for gam siri. It was a limited maidān for hunting. It was expanded for throwing game length-wise and breadth-wise from four directions. He delayed the out of desire for preservation and collection of thought. I wrote a boo statecraft out of his kindness towards me. It deals with etiquette of the s I represented therein for my own safety. He was safety for you. The pointed man stands excused. 'Alāuddin took counsel from what was sai him. He was honoured with a gold-embroidered robe with images of lion o Another person was not allowed to wear such a robe. He was given a neck on girdle of gold weighing half a maund and two horses with saddle and en lishment as well as ten thousand tankas, coin of his time. It was mor weight of two cavities. Gifts from the four Khāns came to him to his h They were befitting their renown in the saltanat. They were delighted the pleasure they had from him. Afterwards the earth pressed upon them all its spaciousness due to serious events and might of ignorance. 'Alau sought his opinion in execution of his two schemes. He started with con of the strong-hold of Ranthanbhor. Its account follows.

At the close of the year, that is, 697 (1297) the inroad of Katlagh Kh son of Dawā al-Mughali, the chief of heathen Tatārs at Transoxiana took p Its short account is: His father Dawā flourished during the regime of Hulal in his wake, his influence became firm in Samarkand. His authority exte over Transoxiana and its adjacent places. During the reign of 'Alāuddin, had received reports about excess and deficiency (strength and weakness regard to his uncle both in the state and his worth. He thought of conques Hind. He prepared his son Katlagh Khān with an army numbering tw taman (one taman = 10,000 men) to Delhi. He advised him to blind t Hindis who were not frightened for the sake of benefit. It was a prospe country. It should become his. He executed his will and marched continuo from manzil to manzil till he crossed Sindhu. Report of invasion sprea Delhi. Within a short period, he encamped at it. Residents living on environs fled through fear for harm not from the causer of harm. That was to his imagining the kingdom to be only a portion. When he landed on river Jamna at a distance of farsakhs from the city. It was 'Alāuddin's j diction. He was troubled because of his hordes. He advised 'Alāul Mulk, Kotwāl for defence of the house of Hind and the house of saltanat including

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* Original Text, p. 796.

belongings of the ḥarem, the treasure and the stores. He left Delhi for Siri. 'Alāul Mulk followed him to it. On his return to Delhi, he requested for a private interview and said that in an event like this, do not be despaired of victory. It is for those who are always the emblems of saltanat in matters of experience. They should, first of all, be with the advance-guard. They should be strengthened with amirs, then succour of muluks to amirs. Then the last remedy is branding. If victory is gained, there should be general thanks-giving. He excused himself greatly. It was proper for the amirs to proceed to Siri. They surrounded and took to the paths and the army encamped there for some days to steady themselves or discontinue march for examination. His men joined him, restrained them from movement and prevented them from taking hay by force. It was higher than they. They disobeyed his order for long march and halted afterwards. Correspondence continued to him. His tongue gave information of what was in his mind. There was wisdom in his action otherwise: The sword showed greater truth than pen. 'Alāuddin ordered his muluk to be present, and said "'Alāul Mulk the Wazir and son of Wazir. He is my sincere servant. From the early days of my imārat till to-day, he always guides me with his judgment, but I had to relieve him from the post of the Wazir because of his heavy fat body. He advised me as usual in this event and I will hear his reply in your presence." He then turned to him and said "'Alāul Mulk, as stated in this maxim, they do not put on a level" You stole a camel and walk in the manner of a hunch-backed person; in like manner, they do not mix up saltanat of Delhi with blockade of roads for the sake of war. Do not say that the enemy formed designs from a distance of one thousand farsakhs (leagues. 3 miles = farsakh) and encamped beneath the minar of Delhi. It is not graceful on my part to traverse a distance of farsakhs to meet him. I am* like a duck sitting on its egg calling who makes excuses to me. Nay, tomorrow I will march from Siri to Kili encamping in the maidān. The will of God will operate. Defence with judgment is not to be imagined. It would take time. The enemy is eye to eye and so wisdom from us is on one side and we are on the other side. There would be no advantage from the sword and the mace. I will not be in tune to cut heads. If you make the city and the palace safe against them; I would salute him and surrender keys to him. Afterwards, he would build the gates." 'Alāul Mulk kissed his hand and bade him adieu and returned to Delhi. He defended the city at every gate except the Badāun gate. People engaged themselves in distribution of alms and saying prayers to ward off the calamity as descended.

Tidings of victory and martyrdom of Hazbaruddin Zafar Khān, maymercy of the Obliging Lord be on him.

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* Original Text, p. 797.

'Alāuddin marched in his armour to the maidān of Kili and encan there. In like manner, Katlagh Khwājah stirred up movement for war marched towards him and encamped opposite to him. They both assemble the maidān and the armies encountered. Equals fought and the time serious. Hazbaruddin Zafar Khān was in command of the right wing. assault was fierce. His attack was furious. He splendidly penetrated de into the ranks of enemy. The breeze of victory blew. Feet of the Mu slipped and they turned back in retreat. All of them followed in rout. Z Khān would not turn from them. He had killed a multitude of them to a tance of eighteen farsakhs. His army was cut off from him. He remained a centre in the circle of the Mughals alone. Almās Beg Ulugh Khān wa command of the left wing. Before a fall, there was an interval between tl They breathed or felt environs. He restrained his reins from him but did no him. The Mughal lay in ambush under the standard of Ṭarghi in the neighb hood of Buruhi on the road. He saw rout of the Mughals by the forces of Z Khān and none else. He was not in wake. He got slightly agitated fo victory inspite of not cutting the distance. He came out from the amb followed him and perceived him and reviewed his position to himself with routed Mughals. He assembled them to fight with him. He had a small nu of soldiers but his compeers were renowned for intrepidity and constanc flogging, and bent of elevating the formula of God. Management of war with them and their tongues recited "God is sufficient for you and he, who you followed me from the faithful." They in steps and on tongue recited ' any do turn his back to them on such a day—unless it be in a stratagem of or to retreat to a troop (of his own)—he draws on himself the wrath of G They uttered the phrase of evidence and felicity being in joy for the good of beneficence of God coming to them. Ḍiā said that Zafar Khān remained there was none with him. His horse stumbled, the saddle got separated an knelt on his knees, his quiver got scattered before him, darts spread around and he was like a centre of circle in their midst. No arrow was placed for The Mughals praised him. They demanded his surrender for his personal sa with one tongue. Katlagh Khwāja sent some one to him telling him fo security and requesting him to be with his father Dawā and that he would double than what he had in his country. But he lent no ear to him. attributed despair for his fall. He achieved martyrdom, the other of his panions. It was not far-fetched that he was the first of them to enter paradise as was the case with their leader in following with him to entry the door. May God elevate their ranks and accept their deeds. The Mug did not pause in their flight from the maidān of Kili until they covered tl

* Original Text, p. 798.

farsakhs from it. They encamped that day and searched for their companions and found a large number of them missing. It was a great affair with them from Zafar Khān alone. They got despaired of Hind. They unanimously decided to seek safety by covering distance at long halts. Sultān 'Alāuddin was elated outwardly with the victory. His fame spread far and wide and his might got noised abroad. His heart was all delight at the affliction of Zafar Khān at the hand of another person. He had desired it. He was seeking counsel of his self to poison him. It was a means of comfort from him. He returned from Kili to Delhi. The Mughals were not emboldened from this age to descend upon Delhi when Qatlagh Khwāja was absolved from calamity of Zafar Khān's sword. He was involved in dread which divested their hearts so much so that a horseman brought water for his horse who would not drink it out of fear on mention of Zafar Khān's name.

In 699 (1300), 'Alāuddin resolved upon the conquest of Ranthanbhor. It is a lofty mountain and on its peak, there is an invincible fort where Hanbar Dev son of the daughter of Rāy of Delhi lived. He was an unbeliever of great might and renown in his frontiers. In an occurrence on the environs of Nāgor, when Nuṣrat Khān and Ulugh Khān returned from Gujarāt, the Mughals who* had taken part in the campaign of Gujarāt, had deserted Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān. They were sheltered by the Rāy. He had extended his territory with their help. A historian other than Ḍiāuddin Barani narrated that 'Alāuddin corresponded with him for their surrender or their expulsion from his boundary but he did not respond to him. Therefore or when it occurred to his mind for conquest of regions from Hind, he equipped his brother Almās Beg Ulugh Khān, governor of Biāna, to march to Ranthanbhor. He wrote to the Āmil of Kara Nuṣrat Khān to join him with his army along with the amirs and retinue of those sides. He and Nuṣrat Khān assembled at the foot of the afore-said mountain. It is stated in the history of Ḥusām Khān that Ulugh Khān made preparations and encamped outside Biāna and Hanbar Dev Rāy received intelligence of that. He assembled his companions and told them about it. They said, "We disengage him from the fort by laying waste his territory. He would return for its defence and give up his designs against the fort." Ulugh Khān had fifteen thousand troopers. Chiefs of the various localities joined with him including Muhammed Shāh Mughal with three thousand horsemen of his companions. He formed the vanguard. Both the armies faced each other at Biāna. It was a fierce battle. Many Muslims achieved martyrdom. Ulugh Khān paused and wrote to 'Alāuddin. He was helped by Nuṣrat Khān as well as those who were on those sides. All of them stepped forward to Ranthanbhor. They descended upon the fort and besieged it. Hanbar Dev had garrisoned

* Original Text, p. 799.

himself within it with his reliable men. The army of Islām gained ascendancy over Jhāyan. They brought pressure upon the fort. One day, Nuṣrat Khan arranged peril at the camp. He then stood face to face with the cannons on the turret wherein was Hanbar Dev. Muḥammed Shāh was on his side. When Nuṣrat Khān saw, he recognized him. He said to Hanbar Dev, " Where is such and such a rider? I am from you if you or I get it." He said, " This is my necklace and pointed it out with his fingers. It was of gold studded with octagonal gems." He threw it through the cannon. He slanted from his saddle, touched the ground. Men of the turret raised a clamour in applause and joy with the fall of horseman. Hanbar Dev removed necklace from his neck and gave it to him.

Martyrdom of Nuṣrat Khān Jalesari :—

His special companions gathered around Nuṣrat Khān and carried him to* his tent alive. A surgeon treated him who made it conditional for him not to move with difficulty till he regained strength. For forty days, the wounded should be attended upon by some one. A day passed. On the next day, Ulugh Khan paid a sick visit to him. When he went near his bed, he could not breathe out of respect for him. He strained himself to move. Mouth of the wound opened up through pressure of strength. He died then and then. Similarly, Ḥusām Khān informs us about his death. But Ḍiā Barani narrates that one day, he rode to the fort. He was near it. In the meantime, he struggled to raise the sub'erranean passage when he was accurrately hit by a stone from a cannon. He died after two or three days. 'Alāuddin received news of his death. He marched from Delhi to Ranthanbhor. Ḥusān Khān says that he mourned his death. He went to his wife and told her that she had no patience to mourn death of his brother Nuṣrat Khān. Immediately, he recited fatiha for him and then set out for Ranthanbhor to seek revenge for him. When he reached Talbhat on the way he halted there for some days moving in neighbour hoods and penetrated deeply in those places in search of game famous as 'Shikar-i-Kumraghah.' One day, he perceived a game in the evening in vicinity of a village Bādah. He spent his night in the village. At sun-rise, he ordered horsemen and retinue to plant a circle for prevention of game. It is like this. Animals are shied from a place of doubt for some days. They assemble at a place from all directions in a measure of one or two farsakhs. It is increased or lessened to the extent of animals. A circle then is formed out of screens etc at a place, preventing animals thus from coming out of place. The circle is defended by men in order that nothing should pass from it. The hunter enters the circle on horse-back. Similarly, those persons who are with him enter it with various kinds of arms for killing the game. In case, the game is a lion, it

* Original Text, p. 800

cessary that those who are with him, should be afforded protection and
ince. He then orders to make animals run within the circle with no passage
me out. When made to run from beyond the circle, he assembles them in
of him or his right and his left. He hunts what he likes and entices it to
it of his desire. He then sits on an elevated place which he has chosen for
day to overlook the place of hunt adjacent to the circle. He orders similar
he similar within the circle. They get a share of sport and play while he
ooks them from the elevated place. He rejoices at their movements in
h of game till the turn comes to bring down and it is caused to bring down.
game assembles alive and they are killed in a large number. The game
igs to one who hunted it. During his days, 'Alāuddin made animals run.*
circle is kept intact. He ordered on the morning of the day wherever he
t the night to arrange a circle. He occupied himself by remaining present
. He sat on one side and close to him sat the special attendants. A son of
rother and his vakil Akat Khān was with a party of expert horsemen. In
arly age of Islām, people were noted for archery. They came before him
darted arrows. He was upon his seat. It was winter. He had lot of wine
s robe. When they assembled for throw of darts, it descended upon his
He removed it by hand restraining it. With its fall, two arrows straight
came to his body and wounded him slightly. From one side, the mamālik
cled him between himself and throw of darts. He was safe because of their
ber. The remaining small number of retinue assembled with their armours
nd the Sultān guarding him. Akat Khān stepped forward with his
panions to kill them. He came near him to descend upon him to cut his
.. The retinue saw them with drawn swords inspite of their massacre.
were on feet for his protection. They waited a while from him. In the
ntime, the retinue shouted for his death and displayed that by gesture.
e who lacked wisdom attributed it to their veracity. The historian stated
if he got down for action and came to what he intended, it was therein
is said "No water is left for you and there is no clear freedom in you."
n seditious persons heard about his death, they returned from him to the
on certainty of his murder.

Safety of 'Alāuddin and his preservation and repentance for lack of caution after determination. Akat Khān died.

Khān was his near relation. He was his Vakil. He was loyal to him in
t and horse. 'Alāuddin was frightful among them for his severity. He did
tread the contrary path which was not declared to him out of kindness for
n with his fear and for his death. Akat Khān had come with those who
with him to the pavilion of 'Alāuddin and sat on his throne and said in the

* Original Text, p. 801.

loudest voice addressing those who were present from among the chiefs of the army with the news of his death to him. He who saw his boldness to sit on his throne, found him sincere in what he said but he who sought the effect of it, was in doubt about it. Inspite of it, different sections of people in accordance with their habits, assembled in the Diwān. He came with elephants with a flatter of banners on the side of the expanse and publicised congratulations with saltanat.* He was about to adjust order in a perfect manner. He did not display arms in time but he did not act with precaution as required except the Amir of Ḥarim, I'timād-us. Saltanat Malek Dinār al-'Alāi al-Tawāshi. As soon as Akat Khān arrived and sat on the throne, he assembled his companions with arms and prepared himself for war in defence of the Ḥarim. In the meanwhile, he was occupied with efforts and inducement of his men when Akat Khān made a demand on him for entry into the harim under excitement of beastly nature for passionate desire of the harim. Malik Dinār sent message to him conveying that there was no entry for him into the harim until he saw his head through his murder, eaten his red flesh and white fat. When 'Alāuddin settled down to what he settled down. It was said of him at a place of incident that he did. He roamed about in the circle with pride for the incident. Sixty or seventy attendants remained with him. They shared descent with him. From among the grandees, Nāib-ul-Wikālat, Malek Ḥamiduddin son of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Aristotle of the age was with him. When Akat Khān returned from them, they saw 'Alāuddin's wound, washed its blood, dressed it for healing. It was done with his help. He had become weak due to flow of lot of blood. When blood stopped to flow and the wound was dressed, 'Alāuddin pondered over the incident. He thought of concord with many to march to his brother Ulugh Khān who was at Jhāyan. He sent Ḥamiduddin to the camp. He who saw him on the road, joined with him and moved with him and halted at a hill overlooking the pavilion. More than five hundred troopers had gathered around him. He paused at the overlooking hill and saw people of the canopy hastening towards him and female elephants hurrying to male elephants. There was hilarity in the camp which appeared similar to clamour of delegation. There was shrill note of bugle on one side, beating of drum on the other, announcement from one direction, horses neighing, elephants screaming, shooting of guns and thunder of cannons. He was marching to the hill from pavilion or there was a majlis or he was proceeding from floor of the Diwān or from wherever he was. He did not place his feet in the stirrup. He was on a hill like an arrow of bow or a stone of cannon. Out of joy he was about to fly to him. He had forgotten the heap;† he did not know the path; residence had parted him; noise had subsided; solicitude had reached such a pitch that it approached a hasty walk at an arm

* Original Text, p. 802.

† Original Text, p. 803.

ınd two arms' length so that God the Holy may take him near to him. Just vhen the canopy was raised, and all persons started for march, Akat Khān came ›ut from a gate other than the Gate of Sultanat on a horse running to Afghānpur. Alāuddin descended from the hill with that majesty to proceed to his pavilion. He entered it and sat on the throne and permitted all persons to salute him. 'he curtain was lifted up for that purpose. Akat Khān was pursued by Malek Izzuddin, Tughān Khān, and Malek Naṣ'ruddin Burkhān. They saw him at Dahand from Afghānpur and so both of them returned with his head to Alāuddin. He ordered that it should be placed on point of a spear and a proclamation made of it by perambulating it in the camp and in Delhi and it hould then be sent to his brother Ulugh Khān at Jhāyan. He was his younger brother. His title was Taghlak Khān. He ordered him to be slaughtered in the camp. He paused at Malhab along with those who were with him and in concert with him. He killed all of them by way of punishment unimaginable. Their property was confiscated, their wives and children were ruined in captivity, mprisonment and exile. He then marched from Malhab to Ranthanbhor and encamped in his pavilion at the foot. He ordered punishment for rest of disloyal persons, the companions of Akat Khān by way of warning to those who did not ee that punishment. He then pressed the siege. A multitude of uncivilized persons and vagabonds had assembled from all sides for active operation of the iege. Great intellectual giants were in employ for collection of materials for accomplishment of vicory. They filled up a large bed of a torrent, furrowed its nouths like the Egyptian measure of capacity and cast it into its depths and ditches, levelled the earth and raised it also. 'Alāuddin collected persons by payment of large sums of dirhams. He saw that elevation of cannons would ead to conquest of the fort and similarly the subterranean passages for the cannons would blast and destroy from different directions. Inmates of the fort would be brought under authority by desolation of subterranean passages and blowing them up by fire by casting infiammable materials. Men at the foot would make possible efforts to accomplish victory. In the meantime, 'Alāuddin received news this year of a revolt of his sister's son Malek 'Umru Mangu Khān n the region of Badāun and Oudh. He marched against them and seized by orce what they had taken and came to Ranthanbhor with them. He extracted* heir eyes and divested them of bounties.

Afterwards, there was an incident this year of Ḥāji Aḥad Mawālī, Malek-ul-Umrā, Fakhruddin Kotwāl. He was a mischief-monger, a malevolent person and a daring man. He was in charge of crown-lands. Government of the city was in charge of a man called, Tirmizi. It was his duty to announce proclamations. He was extremely rich. Out of his illegal money which he

* Original Text, p. 804.

acquired by oppression over citizens, he built a building from the Badāun Gate to entrance of his house. He had also a building in the Siri maidān for Diwān-ul-Wizārat. 'Alāuddin Ayāz was Ḥākim of the new fort. The afore-said Kādi saw that the city was without a Ḥākim while people assembled around him and restriction of 'Alāuddin was at a distance from him for he was at Ranthanbhor. He won over those whom he knew during the days he was Malek-ul-Umrā. He came out from the city in afternoon in the middle of Ramḍān. The sun was in the sign of Gemini. People kept themselves within doors due to extreme heat. He returned to it. He had a forged letter in his turban. People saw it. He stood at the gate of Tirmizi and called him to announce the contents of the letter as having come from the Sultān. Tirmizi went to him alone. He ordered his servants to seize him and kill him. People gathered around Tirmizi from every side. He said that he killed him under that order. He showed him the forged letter. People returned to him. They rejoiced at the murder of Tirmizi. These persons consisted of watchmen at the gates who were heretics. They closed the gates. The heretic sent some one to summon 'Alāuddin Ayāz to acquaint him with contents of the letter. Some Khārejis informed him about the state of affairs. He did not reply. He closed gates of the new fort and made efforts for its defence. The Khāreji attacked the palace known as Kushak-i-La'l in Dār-us-Saltanat. He sat on the raised platform. He released all the 'Alāi mamāliks from prison. They joined him. He controlled the treasure and distributed it among his followers. He took out arms from the armoury. He opened the stables and gave away horses to his followers. In this way, many vagabonds assembled around him. He rode out with them to 'Alawi house which had become famous with the son of the king's daughter. He was from the side of his mother, son of the daughter of the Sultān, Shamsuddin. He was taken to the palace by force and nominated as Sultān. People were called therein for oath of allegiance. He began to bestow manṣabs, and distribute territory. The city was set fire to in revolt. People got involved in his* rebellion. They were loyal to 'Alāuddin. A week passed and they were in amazement at what had taken place and would happen. God made amends for his servants through Malek Hamiduddin, Amir-i-Koh, that is, mountain. He prepared himself with his sons, relatives and followers, entered the city from the Gate of Ghazni and laid designs on Dār-us-Saltanat. The Khāreji garrisoned himself. Ḥamiduddin besieged him. It so happened that the army of Zafar Khān arrived from Amruha with the intention of Diwān-ul-'Arḍ. They made their appearance at the siege with Malek Ḥamiduddin. Hamiduddin entered the palace from the gate. He was in the market of shoe-makers. Ḥamiduddin went on foot and met the Khāreji. After brandishing the sword, Ḥamiduddin

* Original Text, p. 805.

caught him by hands, wrestled with him and sat on his chest. His Khāreji companions assembled for his release with swords. Ḥamiduddin received some wounds. Inspite of that, he did not rise from his chest till he killed him. He then entered the 'Alāi palace and killed his Khāreji companions whom he found. 'Alawi was among them. They cut his head and fixed it on a spear and perambulated it in the city. The city thus enjoyed peace and security. Ḥamiduddin wrote to 'Alāuddin about what had happened. He then pursued the Khāreji's helpers and recovered from them what they had taken from the treasury and killed all of them. This incident happened and 'Alāuddin had received intelligence of it in the beginning of it. He did not engage with it because of what he was in. When he learnt about the end of it, he sent his brother Ulugh Khān to Delhi. He came alone and alighted in the palace known as Mawradudahi. He hunted out the followers of the Khāreji and inflicted punishment upon them so much so that blood began to flow on surface of the earth. The Khāreji was in the house of Malek-ul-Umarā and so all the sons and grandsons of Malek-ul-Umarā were expelled from it and repudiated. Similarly, the remaining members of the household of Malek-ul-Umarā did not remain with him in name even during their life with safety for a long time. It is a subject-matter of a logician. The world is an accident and it is its subject. Every accident undergoes a change. The result is that the world is changeable. When it is said that the world is changeable and every changeable object is accidental. Hence it is said that the world is accidental. The historian said that 'Alāuddin gained a victory, after attempts and efforts, over Hanbar Dev Rāy and over those Mughals whom he had sheltered. He killed all of them. He bestowed the fort upon his brother Ulugh Khān with what it had and the* territory. Ḥusām Khān had given account of 'Alāuddin's encampment at the foot and its victory. The causes led to hold of it by the firm rope and turning in affairs to that which is good and lasting. It was achieved by purity of faith in pure beings soliciting bounties through medium of saints. They are watchmen at His gate and residents of the screen on his threshold. It is better to have them as trustees and retirement in mountain and desert. Salvation is with them and to them is the refuge. May God benefit us through them. It is a short account of it. Rāy Hanbar Dev had two ministers, one of them was Ranmal and the other Ratanpāl. When the siege prolonged, and there was help from members of his community, both of them said to him one day, " We are berieged white 'Alāuddin is a besieger. You are from the beginning pressed. Peace should be requested. He is from the very outset with extension of time. Permit us to descend to him. We make efforts to make peace which may be acceptable to you and him. Perhaps, those terms may be accepted. " He gave

* Original Text, p. 806.

them permission. Both got down the fort and made efforts for peace. He replied that there would be no peace except through surrender of the fort and daughter of the Rāy called Diwāri as well as well-known 'Arab horses numbering ten thousand, elephants and treasure." This is the fort. Islām has gained ascendancy over Delhi. It is a place of residence for the Muslims. They defeated Rāy Hanbar Dev and members of his family. Delhi belonged to his father. It was a well-fortified fort and peak of a mountain. As they had descended with a view to peace, they had no need for it except to take a pledge for their salvation from agony of severity which resulted in victory by force. They therefore petitioned him and said "If you wait for his surrender, what is the order to us and specially for us." He replied, "To you and to them is amnesty." They said, "A large number of Rajput swordsmen have assembled in the fort. It is possible that they have assembled to go out with us. We have nothing with the saltanat as they." He replied, "It is left to you." They said, "We intend for them a plan we have in our hand and relation to him. There should be regard for the Girāsias from them. We intend for us the grant of Gondawa, with its territory. Ponder over our request. We know from our master that he would become angry on mere mention of the name of his daughter. He would suspect us. It will not be possible, after our going out from his majlis, to return to him except with despair of life. For that purpose,* it would be the beginning of separation and coming to you with them. After their descent, there would be few persons for defence of the fort out of mercy and the Mughals." 'Alāuddin ordered to draft terms of covenant as they requested. They left the Diwān for the fort. Both of them informed him about their questions and his replies. When he heard about Diwāri, his anger became most severe. He said to Ranmal, "If any one else other than you had mentioned her, he would have extracted his tongue." He then said to him, "You know my nature. I wish you had not mentioned her name in my majlis." Ranmal was afraid of what he hastened to him in talk. He left him and met the Rajputs. He said to them "Wisdom of the Rāy is not in order. There is no way to safety. He suspected us. There is safety in hasty separation from him. This is the document of covenant for us and for you. What do you see in it?" They said, "We have entrusted us to your care. We are with you." He said, "Follow me." He got down as well as Ratanpāl and those who were with them, the Rajputs and their followers. None knew except Muḥammed Shah Mughal. He informed the Rāy and hastened to stop them. They had reached the foot. They assembled with 'Alāuddin and became his followers. After their descent, one day, the Rāy was in the turret and Muḥammed Shāh stood by his side. They overlooked the Sultān. He saw a dancing girl in his

* Original Text, p. 807.

resence. He permitted Muhammed Shāh to throw a dart. He said to him, He is at a distance for the aim. I will first aim at the dancing girl. If the row reached her, it would reach him; he aimed her and she fell to the ground. e said, "It is the dart of Muḥammed Shāh." The Rāy applauded his throw. e then permitted him to aim at 'Alāuddin. He was in his house. He did not ave it for the sake of dart knowing his steadfastness. He said to him, "Wait ll I get permission of my mother for it." He went to her, she said to him, Do not do it. He is the Sultān of Delhi. He has despotic power. He would what he wished. We are enjoined to observe good manners. We need to be ologetic. If you aim a dart, the canopy would upturn in case of its hitting ight. Perhaps he might take a lesson and think of return." He came to the rret and apprised him with what she said. He threw a dart which straight ay returned. 'Alāuddin stood up from the majlis. It forced him to delay ore. He had killed a large number of persons in the manzils of the fort. God spired him with victory. He wrote to Shaikh of the region of Delhi, master his age, administrator of internal and outward territory to whom he wished* what he wished and when he wished, Quṭb-ul-Awliyā, help of faith and world, ur lord, our blessing, our salvation, our purity, our spiritual guide Nizāmuddin wliyā may God sanctify his grave, with a request for victory and prayers. His ply was there was no prayer for victory with me. He is 'Imād Khalji, I call im in your army and request him for prayer. 'Alāuddin was surprised at the istence from whom to seek counsel who is master of his age and in his army. e questioned the master of rolls about every 'Imād in the record. He informed im about them and mentioned the name of 'Imād Khalji. He was informed out his tent and character. He then met him and requested him for duā' prayer). He humbly apologized. He informed him about the letter of the haikh to him. He asked for a delay of three days. At midnight, he dressed imself in the uniform of a warrior, rode a horse upto the foot and spurred him nd came to the house of the Rāy. He was asleep over the cot. He called him his name, and announced to him. His heart divested of mourning from im. He pacified him a little and said to him, "You have completed the period ere would be no advantage to you from preparations. Come out of the fort herwise I would stab you. His spear was held up aright." He said, "Give e time for a day." The Rāy woke up in the morning with uneasiness of ight. He assembled his nobles and said, "I inform you which is similar to emency or melancholia which I had at night with such and such a horseman. he night will come, "I will keep you present to hear him without any ediatory." At mid-night the horseman was there saying to him what he had id on the previous night. The Rāy heard him as well as those who were present

* Original Text, p. 808.

near him. The Rāy said to him, "Permit me to put a question to you." He replied, "Ask except life, fort and successor." He said, "What is your name?" He said, "He is to you after you." He said, "Permit him to come out of the fort." In the morning, he proclaimed to those who had resolved upon death with me for my family would come with his family to meet for jauhar together. Fire and no disgrace. He who is concerned with life, he should descend from the fort with his family for I have secured amnesty for those who would descend. He then called Muḥammed Shāh Mughal and said to him, "You are a Muslim. You remained constant with me in affliction and now I do not load you with what is not in your religion. Hence get down all of you with your families; farewell, farewell. He said, "I respond to you." He then remained at his house and said to his companions, "what do you see?" The Rāy had resolved upon jauhar and death. We are involved in this trial on this day. You had determined for loyalty to him; he who is not on my footsteps, should descend with his family, there is enough time. They say in an adage, "A sincere friend is one who remains with a friend even in fire". Their* women and children assembled in the house and they killed them. Muḥammed Shāh returned to the Rāy and held his hand upto his house. He then looked at women and children and reproached them out of kindness. He then said to him "'Alāuddin is bad to us but you are good. He reclaims you for us and he pushes you from us. This would happen you in a day. We see you and we secede from you for salvation. That would not be." He embraced him and said to him, "Permit, I have children. I intend to go with them to Mandalgarh." Perhaps one of them lives to keep his name. He then ordered all. Brother of the Rāy came out with five hundred men including Muḥammed Shāh who was left with his men. They then descended to the foot at night, and treaded the path wherever they found order for 'Alāuddin engaged them and Muḥammed in war till they passed. He was then disposed from encounter to encirclement. In this manner, they had order at every place till the brother of the Rāy connived at places of orders. He returned from him to the fort. Most of his followers had perished. He met Rāy Hanbar Dev. Fire was in operation and it was said in a maxim that fire was upon flag. He descended with him. It was morning when they came to the foot to join death with members of his family. Renowned chiefs were in straits in that battle-field. First of them was Hanbar Dev, then his brother Biram Dev and the prince Mabhar Mir. There was resident of the fort. He wanted to marry his daughter Diwāri. She was proverbial in point of beauty. She accepted his proposal. He sent for her for that purpose. He ascended the mountain before descent of the soldiers upon him. It so happened that she was with him in descent. He knew that, she

* Original Text, p. 809.

ıared his affliction and perished with him. Thus the three perished. The poet ›scribes exploits of their great men in sword-play, their boldness in death and ılogises them. Last of the name was Chāchā, that is, brother to him who was ith him. They too were three. The Muslims were also three—Muḥammed Shāh .ughal, Amir Kābhar Mughal and Amir Baljak Mughal. In short, they were ıne in all. They were on one side. The 'Alāi army and 'Alāuddin were in ·ms. He was on his elephant with bugle and drum on the other side. They ›pped forward for war with ancient swords and passing hearts. They strove, ıade efforts and moved to be calm when they fell all in the battle-field. When* .lāuddin stood by the killed, he found Muḥammed Shāh among them with a .st breath. Wounds had made him thick. 'Alauddin said to Ranmal or to .atanpāl who were walking in his stirrup, "he has reached me. He would be .t free with me." He replied, "I had come out at night with sons of the Rāy. was left living with them in the fort." He got infuriated by his statement. .e was riding an elephant. He drove elephant upon him and placed him beneath is weight. He perished. Ranmal asked him about Hanbar Dev who was mongst them. He pointed him out by the thumb of his foot to him and raised is face with it from the ground to the side of 'Alāuddin. He dis-approved f him for his bad manners towards him. He asked him, "what did you and our brother suffer from him? He replied, "The kingdom had nothing from im. He ate, drank and clothed himself. Nothing more than this. He was for s and in our hands." He said to him, "What importance you will have for ou from me. He deserved touch of skin for what he had given you from his ingdom. You raised skin of his face by fingers of your feet. Your patron was ot worthy of it. " He then ordered his fingers to be removed and then ordered › severe their heads and throw their bodies in a ditch. He ordered funeral ›remony for Muḥammed Shāh and his companions and got them buried. He ›marked that nothing could be expected from ungrateful persons at an oppor- ıne time and especially from swordsmen. They should have displayed steadi- ess to the Rāy out of their loyalty. Loyalty is praiseworthy even if from an ıemy. He then ordered the Rāy and his followers to be carried from the battle- eld. On next day of battle, the Sultān ascended the fort and went round it to ›t information. He bestowed it with its contents along with adjacent territory nd Jhāyan upon his brother Ulugh Khān and returned to Delhi. This victory ›ok place on 3rd Zika'ad, 700 (1300) as narrated by Husām Khān in regard to ›nquest of Ranthanbhor. Ziāuddin said that he returned to Delhi after the ictory. The residents were filled with fear due to the incident of Mawla Malek- '-Umarā on account of allegiance for 'Alawi and particularly covetous persons ·ho had enriched themselves by gold from the treasury on that day. He vented

* Original Text, p. 810.

his wrath especially on leaders of the city and its grandees. He issued orders for their expulsion from Delhi to its environs and neighbourhoods and for residence outside the city. He was free from anxiety because of their expulsion. None prevented him for so doing. For Ranthanbhor, his mind was free from anxiety because of Malek of Malek Hamiduddin son of 'Alāuddin and his brother 'Izzuddin and Malek 'Abdul Malek Multāni, having been, posted there. He returned to Delhi with reliance on base and construction on it as to be described later on.*

Death of Almās Beg Ulugh Khān bin Naṣr Khalji

Ḍiā said that Almās Beg Ulugh Khān son of Naṣr Khalji died in the year 701 (1302). 'Alāuddin attained what he attained from his uncle with him. He was one of the four who established his authority. Besides, they desired to see their blood shed in gaining victories etc. except Nuṣrat Khān. Zafar Khān witnessed martyrdom of Nuṣrat Khān. He was at ease in respect of him. Ḥusām said that Ulugh Khān took poison on his return from Ranthanbhor. Its effects continued for four or five months. He was busy during this period with collection of soldiers for the conquest of Arangal (Warangal) in the south. He fell ill. His illness became serious so he was brought to Delhi. He died on the way. He was brought dead to Delhi. He was buried in his house. Ḍiāuddin said that 'Alāuddin mourned his death with sadness, distributed alms on his behalf, mostly he recited the Holy Book for delight of his soul and said necessary voluntary prayer. An account of his relation with Alp Khān in disease of death follows.

In 702 or 703 (1303 or 1304), 'Alāuddin marched to Chitor, and conquered it and returned to Delhi. He equipped Malek-ul-Umrā Fakhruddin Junādād Beg, and Malek Fakhr son of Nuṣrat Khān's brother, 'āmil of Karah along with all the amirs of Hind for a march to Warangal. Targhi the Mughal heard about his march to Chitor and that Delhi was without an army, he marched towards it with more than twenty to thirty thousand troopers and alighted at it and blockaded the roads. He alighted at Delhi while it is said that it was Siri where 'Alāuddin came behind him from Chitor. The soldiers were in need of new arms for fresh preparation for their having been used up in the siege of Chitor. In the meantime, 'Alāuddin marched from Delhi to Siri, encamped, dug up wide ditches around the camp, made roads of timber with the help of doors of houses for placing on them. He made gates and watches and arranged for number of horses and elephants on every side of it. He strove for prevention of the Mughals from entry on roads. The Mughals made efforts similarly in pressure† and siege of Delhi. It was a serious trial for the residents. None could come

* Original Text, p. 811.

† Original Text, p. 812.

ı and go out. Their needs had to be realized from outside the city such as water, hay, fuel and other necessary things of life. The river was at a distance f farsakhs from Delhi. People derived benefits from wells, spacious ditches nd Sultāni Hawz which was called Tallāj (talāv, pond). It was at a distance, ound in shape and walled by stone on all sides with a shore under shade of big ees and a building in front. It was for this purpose, that the Mughals always ame to it for drink and general recreation during day. Their horses came and ent to Mauradudahi and a raised platform known as Subhāni Chabutra. Many time, vanguards came and dispersed and skirmishes took place between them. 'ictory was for the army of Islām. 'Alāuddin was always on the roads for strict evention with a small force of men for two reasons. Firstly with scarcity of eeds, he had to equip himself with fresh preparation. The enemy was with rge numbers with strong preparation. Secondly, he was prevented from lunging into a total war because of absence of his army in Warangal. Malek 'akhruddin Junādād Beg had encamped at Warangal and he had pressed the iege. Monsoon set in and rain poured in torrents. Period of encampment had rolonged to four months and yet there was no victory. Difficulty pressed on, upply got exhausted and there was need for amends. He returned from 'arangal to his respective charges. Targhi had encamped at Delhi. He had lockaded roads and surrounded the city. He paused at Kaul and Barni. He ıad heard about 'Alāuddin's encampment on roads in the maidān of Siri while Targhi had alighted opposite to him. Vanguards used to come and go. He lefended the river Jamna against crossing it from all imaginable places and thus here was no passage to cross. The army of Hind was not at Div Bālpur, Sāmāna and Multān and various other places to come in the way of Mughals or entry into frontiers. In short, Targhi made efforts for assault, similarly Alāuddin strove for defence with his mamāliks, muluks, retinue, and elephants. He was a mighty swordsman, of felicitous fortune, victorious in battles like a rotecting lion in a forest till Targhi marched towards Samarqand after a nonth without any reason. God the Holy is Merciful towards the faithful. At he extreme end, there is an opening. It became necessary for him to defend ıis frontiers. It was essential not to go out to the fort and that the army hould not be despatched to a long distance. He started to build up Siri and nade it the capital city. The muluks, amirs, wazirs, chamberlains, envoys,* leputies, elite and common people populated it. He built fortress of stone for it ınd took omens for its habitation. When Targhi returned, none would be able o dominate over it. Malek Fakhruddin Junādād Beg presented himself with reparations he had made. He repaired the fort of Delhi and established ıuthority over it. He ordered for defence of the forts which lay on the route of

* Original Text, p. 813.

the Mughals and those that needed repaired were repaired, old ones were rebuilt and new ones were constructed at places of needs. They were strengthened by renowned amirs, troopers, equipment, arms and stores. There was no need for anything at the time of defence against the enemy and for his attack on it. Amirs were posted at Sāmāna and Dīpālpur who were noted for stern control and who could make the Mughal weak for entry. After control of frontiers, he assembled in his majlis those whom God had endowed with wisdom and prudence. He dived deep with them in matters of defence of the frontiers and control of forts, eradication of the Mughals, propagation of safety and security and price control. After great cogitation on thoughts and veracities, they came to a decision that a soldier should be pure in character, strong in physique, brave in war, perfect in use of arms. an expert horseman with a renown in horsemanship. They then meditated over the problem of their discipline and training. They decided upon distribution of gold hoards. It should be recorded in the muster-roll under their names as to what is paid to them in the first, second and third year. In like manner, a large treasure would become empty after a lapse of five or six years. The kingdom cannot afford it. With decrease of treasure through passage of years, their strength will suffer, their ambition will be stultified and their affairs will be nullified. This will lead to disadvantage of imagination. I had directed my energy to training of a perfect horseman, with a salary of one hundred tankas, forty and thirty tankas. A man with two horses should be paid eighty and seventy tankas. On this analogy, there would be more and less. With this petty sum, how can his training be of first class. I seek your help in this matter for lifting up the veil from the face of possibility." They met together for the solution of this difficulty. They said in representation of it "Training of such a soldier does not enter into the mind. It is not possible to say as to what such a person needs for the horse, arms and other preparations and then for drink, food and clothes according to his needs. He gets these* articles at cheap price. When he obtained them cheap, he satisfied his needs with the low salary. Something is left in his hand which he feels to be more. High salary with rise in price is equal in his opinion. He contents himself with low salary with lower price. He is most pleased with it." He applauded them. He said, "Put your judgment in action for lowering prices. It should be done with sternness, wrath, punishment and coercion. If it is not achieved, discuss it." They said, "Prices cannot be stabilised by our judgment. It should be done through balances and controls, may be agriculture. First of all, it is necessary to cheapen food-grains. It depends upon controls. Secondly, clothings and thirdly, horses and the rest of animals, servants and maid-servants, fourthly, materials, utensils etc. Diāuddin said that when 'Alāuddin made efforts

* Original Text, p. 814.

ɔr defence of frontiers and strove for lowering prices, the regions were safe and ecure against treading of the Mughals. Those Mughals who entered the oundary were killed and captured. There was permanent progress. Amirs of ıe frontiers despatched heads of the killed after gaining victory over them in 'ars. 'Alāuddin threw captives in chains at the feet of elephants. He erected ırrets and platforms out of their heads. At other place, it became a matter for ride in Islām. Only one person captured a party of Mughals and led them. . Muslim horseman put one hundred Mughals to rout.

In the year 704 (1304-05), approximately, the Mughals arrived at Amruha. Ali Beg used to say that he who was born of Changiz Khān the Mughal and Sarbak Mughal was head of his army. Both of them entered the frontiers of .mruha with forty thousand horsemen. Malek Bānkā was despatched against ıem from Delhi. Both the armies encountered at its envirous. After killing hem on a large scale, 'Ali Beg and Bārbak were captured. The malek bound hem in cords and drove them along with other captives to Delhi. He sent ıorses of the killed. Their number was twenty thousand. Similar was the ase with horses of the captives. When they came to Delhi, 'Alāuddin came ut from Dār-us-Saltanat to the raised platform what was called the Chabutra ubhāni. He summoned all in his presence. He sat on the throne at the raised ɔlatform. He was shaded with royal pavilion, the troopers were arrayed in rows* n front of him with rows on right and left beneath the cupola to the entrance. There was an assemblage of muluks, 'Alāi Amirs, cavalry, infantry, elite, ommon-folk, long rows of elephants with banners and discipline. The captives tood for punishment after that. Horses of the killed were produced. It was a lay, like the day of resurrection. A jug of water was brought where in there vere twenty jitals and half tanka. He ordered first the review of horses, which vere removed to stables through rows. He then sent for the two amirs 'Ali Beg and Barbāk. They were brought to bottom of the platform and made to tand in his presence. First with first, he ordered punishment for being trampled under feet of elephants. Husām Khān said that he ordered their heads to be severed. They were twenty thousand. Last to be killed were 'Ali Beg and Bārbak. Blood flowed in the plain of lines to be flowed to the river and beyond.

In the year 705 (1305-06), the Mughals came to Kangra. It was ruled by Rāy Kabk Kabir. The Mughal army entered into limit of his kingdom. They encamped at Kangra. The Rāi assembled its citizens to fight with them. After a fierce battle, the Mughals were put to rout and killed many of them. He who escaped from the battle-field was killed in the neighbourhood and was thrown nto a pit. Stinking smell continued for a long time. They were captured in

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* Original Text, p. 815.

large numbers and driven in fetters to Delhi. 'Alāuddin ordered them to be thrown at the feet of elephants outside the Badāun gate. This was his order for punishment to them. Their filthy smell spread and spoiled the atmosphere for a long time. The historian said that a turret was erected out of their heads at Badāun gate. It existed even to our day.

In the year 706 (1306), the Mughal amirs entered with their hordes in the jurisdiction of Siwālik. They resorted to assault and pillage and to lay waste its neighbourhood. The army of Delhi marched against them. 'Alāuddin ordered the army to encamp at water on their way and prevent them from it. The Mughals returned with the spoils and the soldiers made efforts to reach water as they were thirsty for having traversed a long distance but found no water on the way except that place. There was no place to cross. They saw* water. Their thirst became more intense by prevention and fear and loss of strength. They became helpless. They kept aside the spoils and humbly requested for water as far as possible. The amirs returned the spoils to those from whom they were seized. The Mughals were assembled in bondage with their women and children. They returned to Narāin from the river. Their men were made to assemble in its fort. Women, children and servants were sent to Delhi. An order was issued for their sale in the market of Delhi. Malek Khās Hājib marched to Narāin to kill their men. The historian narrated that a river of blood flowed for a multitude of them were killed. In the history of Husām Khān, it is stated that Rāi Gang had seen them at the river. He killed those who fought with him and enchained the captured and returned with them to Narāin, capital of his territory. He kept men in prison and sent their wives and servants to Delhi. Punishment was inflcted on them at Delhi at the gate of Dār-us-Saltanat. Blood flowed to the river outside the city. Malek Khās Hājib marched to Narāin for having been appointed to kill the captives. There was lot of lamentation. Killing was restricted to three places.

In the year 707 (1307), the Mughals made their appearance at Dahand. The Mughals were despaired of Delhi. It was current on tongues of common men among them that Hind was paradise for them. They asked them, "Is there plunder?" They replied, "No." They said that there was nothing. They resolved upon pillage on the frontiers. Every group used to come out with their subordinates to Hind. After the conquest of Ranthanbhor in 700 (1300), 'Alauddin strove to strengthen the frontiers by posting great amirs. Malek-ul-Kabir Ghāzi Khurāsāni was posted at Baluhu and Dev Bālpur. Amir Marḍi 'Ali was at Dahand. During his days, the Mughal Amir Iqbālmand came with a large number of Mughals. He was a great man in his nationality. Amir 'Ali

* Original Text, p. 816.

ıcountered him. It was a fierce struggle which resulted in the death of Iqbalıand. His grandees and chiefs of tribes were killed along with him in the ıttle-field. Those who escaped alive to neighbourhood were felled to death or ·ptured. None was a Muslim under his banner. He bound the amirs of one ıousand and one hundred and all their subordinates in chains and despatched ıem to Delhi. As usual, the order of punishment was issued for them. Amir * ıli was under the banner of Malek Ghāzi. Through good luck of his banner nd its flutter in expanse of the battle-field, Iqbālmand perished. Afterwards, ıme of Malek Ghazi spread in Hind and Khurāsān very much. During his ays, the Mughals ceased to come to his frontiers. He used to penetrate deeply ıto their frontiers and called them. This state of affairs continued to the close : the regime of Quṭbuddin. "Root of the people who oppressed was cut off. raise is for God who is Lord of both the world." The historian said that when ılāuddin became anxious for the Mughals, he defended entrances and exits ith strong men. He built forts. He stored up treasures with plenty. He ımmoned men of elevated courage to conquer territory situated in neighbourood of his frontiers. He seized the territory of one who disputed with him. He ·dered grandees of his kingdom to array the new army for new kingdom and did not neglect the old from training.

Booty of age with Concern of the Deccan

The historian said that when a large army got ready with him as well as ıe means of victory, he retained all the amirs on the frontiers and charges they ıd. He had no anxiety from the āmils and their parties in the saltanat. In ıe year 708 (1308), he despatched Malek Kāfur Hazār Dināri to *Devgir. hwāja Hāji, Nāib-ul-'Arḍ accompanied him. Rāmdev was the ruler during ıe regime of his uncle. During his regime, he had neither sent a letter nor a ·esent to him. Kāfur gained ascendancy over that region, pillaged it and ıptured Rāmdev with his family and confiscated what he owned. His spoils cluded seventeen rings of elephants. He wrote to Delhi giving information out it. The letter was read from the pulpit. Drums of joy were beaten for ctory. He returned to Delhi with Rāmdev and the booty. 'Alāuddin turned Rāmdev and surrendered his family to him as well as what belonged to him. e gave him the canopy and a title of Rāy-i-Rāyān. He pacified him by an surance of his kingdom. He permitted him to go. He helped him with one ındred thousand tankas of gold. He came to Devgir and ruled over it. He mained loyal to him through course of his life. (A historian other than Ziā ırrated that Kāfur came to Kandahar in the month of Rajab, 709 (1309) and left for a diamond mine to Barākar and conqured it on 10th Sha'bān of that year.†

Original Text, p. 817.

† Original Text, p. 818.

He then alighted at Warangal and conquered its first fort. Its circumference was twelve thousand, five hundred and forty cubits and its width one hundred cubits. He conquered with Salālam on 12th Ramdān of the year and........ peace was concluded as stated by Ḍiā. Kāfur always gained one victory after another until he dominated over Jagannāth and consigned it to fire. He returned from it on 5th Zilḥajj of the year 710 (1310) and arrived at Delhi on 4th Jamādi II of the year 711 (1311). It was a day worth witnessing. No one had undertaken such campaigns before him and there would be none after him. A good omen was drawn from his arrival with that booty for his sultān and for general Muslim public. They believed that all these victories were facilitated by the blessings of Qutb-uz-Zamān, Qiblat-ul-Aṣfiyā Mawlānā Shaikh Nizāmuddin Awliyā and Qutb-uz-Zamān, Madār-ul-Jamkin Mawlāna Shaikh Nasiruddin and similarly the two Qutbs of people of the world and faith Mawlānā Shaikh Ruknuddin and Mawlānā Shaikh 'Alāuddin, may God benefit us through them During their life time, whatever they desired from their Lord, became the sunna (rule and regulation of the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him). Every member of the house of the 'Alāiya Sultān was a disciple and spiritual follower of Mawlāna Shaikh Nizāmuddin Awliya includding the wazirs and amirs and persons of rank. His blessings were upon them all. They had become famous among people for their treading the path of men of the path (of divine love) and they were known for their adherence to shari'at. Persons possessed of divine grace showered praise upon them. When they promulgated their disposition towards religious sciences and sufi practices, men of the different sects turned to them from every valley to this city so much so that its citizens were inconvenienced and they extended their goodness. A learned man, a spiritual giude, a ṣufi, a philosopher, a literary man, a poet, a man of profession and vocation, in short, every proficient man had enlivened the assemblies, madresas, masjids, and rendevouz of spiritual guides. Music had achieved fame in all places. Dancer had become an object of joy and ecstasy and most of the people had power over it. It was an age prosperous with men of God. People received guidance from them. Many persons had become ṣufis (lovers of God) including men of rank. It was due to the blessing of Shaikh Nizāmuddin Awliyā. The anniversary of the gnostic of God, our Shaikh, Shaikh Farid Shakar Ganj, may his grave be sanctified took place on 5th Muharram of the year. A historian other than Diāuddin Barni narrated that many thousands from among eminent men of syeds, imams, mashāikh, sufis and* turban-wearers were present in the majlis of 'Urs (anniversary). A large number of the general public of these sections also attended. Such a large gathering did not chance to meet at any time afterwards, nay, even before

* Original Text, p. 819.

ɔstly. But Ḍiā had mentioned only special persons. He was surprised, inspite lack of attention of Sultān 'Alāuddin towards them and with a short notice them, at them to have met at Delhi during his regime. Such a thing did not ppen at any other time. Another historian narrated that Sultān 'Alāuddin ıs pleased with and kindly disposed towards subjects during the life-time of ɘ four pillars of his kingdom—Zafar Khān, Ulugh Khān, Nuṣrat Khān and pkhān or similar to them or of near approach to them in sincerity, jurisdiction, ıte and authority. He had ignorance of people and he refused to acknowledge ɜir rights. It was due to his giving priority to those who were not virtuous d lagging behind the wise. 'Alāuddin was engrossed in profanation of things ıde lawful by God and he enjoyed sitting with those who toyed with his faith his world. It so happened in his case that he, in time, turned to his sense, th the help of his reason, to subdue self and restricted his time, by summoning ugh Khān who was in Gujarāt and Kāfur Hazār Dināri from Devgir. With .fur, the kingdom was going out of his race, nay, from the Khalji house and members of his family as mentioned by Diauddin in calling him).

In the year 709 (1309), 'Alāuddin honoured Kāfur with a robe of honour d appointment as his Nāib and elevated his dignity with a title of Amir-ul-mrā. He despatched him to Warangal and placed all the muluks under his mmand. He ordered a red pavilion for him which in Hind is an insignia of tanat like a canopy which is not lowered except on a sultān or on a person ıo is so permitted. In an assembly, for his departure, he favoured him with admonition not to behave with the ruler of Warangal, Rāi Ludra Dev with nstraint and fright. He should be liberal with him in respect of terms of ace in regard to gold, gems, horses, elephants and excusing him from attend-ce in his majlis or travelling with him to Delhi. He should be contented with ʂ loyalty for he would enter into an unknown land with reluctance of his bjects. He should treat them with regard and kindness otherwise they would t gather around him. He should seek his counsel in respect of command and ohibition of his state affairs. Act according to their judgment particularly of wāja Ḥāji, head of Diwān-ul-'Arḍ due to his efficiency. He advised him for* ndness and mildness with infantry and cavalry. It is your duty to give them vice and it is their duty to be loyal with you. He admonished him to say d do what is good for the ear and the eye. By these means, he would make mself secure against their insurrection. When he had gone out of his territory, admonished him in respect of amir, and men of charge to observe the limit middle path in mildness and severity. Deficiency in mildness is attributed daring and leniency while excess in severity results in rancour and discord. ː advised him with concern of the camp and looking after the conditions,

* Original Text, p. 820.

knowledge and vigilance and preventing commanders from constant visits. He admonished him to be liberal in respect of one-fifth portion of spoils without gold and silver. He should keep more than one-fifth portion of booty in the hands of muluks and amirs of the cavalry and slaves etc. and pay them loans in case of need after taking a receipt of money. He whose horse died or fell in the war or was stolen from him, should be given another in exchange from the stable without recording it in the daftar of Khwāja Ḥāji, perhaps he may demand its price later on which would necessitate expenses for him to own which belonged to another. All these admonitions are a part and not a whole for one who ponders over them and who commands an army. The historian said that Kāfur marched to his town of Kābari and waited for his followers. He then journeyed forth with them, camping and marching to Chanderi. The amirs and the muluks joined him here. Diwan-ul-'Arḍ sat there. Kāfur asked to be shown who were appointed with him. When he was free from it, he marched to Devgir. Rāmdev, the ruler of Devgir received him along with his attendants. He used to visit him during the period of his stay. He used to carry necessary articles of the market to his soldiers. He ordered his subordinates in his jurisdiction to move with the army, guard it and carry every needful article to him till the army left his frontiers. Those who lagged behind were taken to the army. He personally followed him to several manzils. He returned with gratefulness. Kāfar entered the territory of Telangana and stretched his hands in pillage and assassination: Residents who were on his way, removed themselves to Warangal and garrisoned themselves. It had a stone fort wherein lived its ruler. It had an earthen fort where the subjects assembled in an hour of need. Kāfur encamped at the earthen fort. It had a big circumference spacious in the middle and the stone fort in it was like a centre. There was similarly space for army of the king, cavalry, elephants and stores. Kāfur made an effort to take it* while its residents strove to prevent him for a certain period. There was a victory and the stone fort was pressed with its residents. Its ruler sent an envoy for conclusion of peace. He accepted it on terms of removal of his hereditary treasures of gold and jewels that day. Every year this much amount was to be sent to Delhi, along with one hundred elephants, seven thousand horses and a document of acceptance. He came to Kāfur after settlement of terms of peace and went to Delhi in the early part of the year 710 (1310). He sent ahead a letter of victory to 'Alāuddin. He read it on the pulpit. The drums of rejoicing were beaten. On his arrival, 'Alāuddin sat on the Nāsiri platform in the expanse of Badāun. All the people assembled there for rejoicings. Nāib Kāfur made his appearance and represented to him in public what he had brought from Wārangal. The historian Ḍiāuddin said that it was the practice of 'Alāuddin

* Original Text, p. 821.

that when he despatched an army from Delhi to a side from the place of Talbhat was the first manzil for one who went from it to the last manzil, a post-horse was posted from manzil to manzil. Pedestrian-messengers were posted between two manzils on every half a farsakh to carry news to the post-horse. It was a speedy service for various directions. Men in charge of villages and towns which lay on the way looked after the post and the news. In a day or two, letters constantly reached 'Alāuddin informing him about the army. There was never cessation of news to him. He further said that he did not receive news for forty days when Kāfur had marched to Wārangal. The cause of it was that it was not due to fear on the way of Telangana. Kāfur was engaged in its siege. Some conjoined arrangement on the frontiers of Telangana had disappeared from certain places due to sedition. Hence news had ceased. 'Alāuddin was amazed and did not know what had happened. His anxiety had become serious. He sent Malek Karā Beg and Mughithuddin, Qāḍi of Biāna to Quṭb of the age, help of era, Mawlānā Shaikh Nizāmuddin Awliya, may his grave be sanctified. He said, "Convey my service to His Holiness and tell him from me that I was very much concerned with stoppage of news of the army. I am disspirited about the army of Islām without your blessings. If he revealed to you by his internal* light, the news would be delightful. Request him for good news from you. He advised them that it was an important affair. Hear him after the request. Give him information without more or less as it is." They represented his request to him. His reply was, "This is a victory as far as possible. I expect many more conquests after this victory." Both returned to him with what they had heard from him. 'Alāuddin drew a good omen from the speech of His Holiness. He became assured of the conquest of Warangal. He opened a winding of his turban and took one part of it from its extreme side, knotted it by way of omen with his words and said, "I had taken an omen with his speech upon my belief in him that it would happen, for he does not say what is not to happen. If God had bestowed conquest of Warangal, I hope for other conquests as well. It was a message and good news of the chief man of the day." Some time after that, (afternoon) there arrived a letter of victory. It was preceding night of Friday. When people said their Friday prayers, a man mounted the pulpit and read the letter. News of conquest got circulated. Drums were beaten. 'Alāuddin's faith in master of the age augmented and with that to his history. He did not attend his majlis. He did not speak on any day without being influenced by internal light. In absence of divine grace, he always mentioned the name of His Holiness the Shaikh with what he knew. His ignorance stirred him up and he did not listen to him. At the close of his regime, he lost his faith completely in him. He did not meet him.

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* Original Text, p. 822.

In the year 710 (1310-11) Malek Nāib Kāfur marched from Delhi to Dahur Samand, and Ma'bar accompanied by Nāib-ul-'Arḍ Khwāja Ḥāji. Dahur Samand was ruled by Rāi Bir. Ḥusām Khān said that its ruler fled to Sarandip. It was won. Ḍiāuddin said that he controlled his treasures and elephants, thirty-six in number. He reported to Delhi about its conquest. He marched to Ma'bar which was also won within two days. He demolished its temple. It was of gold and its images were of gold studded with jewels. He collected its gold and jewels for the 'Alāi treasury. He dominated over their treasures and elephants and reported about its conquest. In the early part of the year 711 (1311), he returned to Delhi with elephants six hundred and twelve. The weight of gold was six thousand and ninety maunds. Several boxes were filled with jewels. There were twenty thousand horses. Kāfur represented them to 'Alāuddin when he was in his palace. At this time, the muluks and the amirs received one,* two and half a maund. From the time Delhi was conquered till his day, none has mentioned entry of gold, jewels, animals—elephants and horses—as spoils. This was the booty from Dahur Samand. It is stated in the first daftar of Ḥusām Khān's history in the account of 'Alāuddin that Kāfur broke at Dahur Samand the famous idol of Rām Ling Mahādevki and demolished the famous temple of Jagannāth in the region of Sirā.

In the year 711 (1311-12), Diāuddin said that Rāi Ludra Dev, ruler of Warangal and Malek Telang petitioned Sultān 'Alāuddin informing him about all the guarantees he had given them. Kāfur promised to send the petition and its acceptance as required and to surrender the reply of the Sultān. Diāuddin said that new Muslims were faced with a problem in Delhi at the close of his regime. Some of the new-Mughal Muslims whose rations were discontinued for the last one or two years complained to him about that. They related their hardships and mentioned to 'Alāuddin that people were hard pressed for their livelihood and that their properties were confiscated as fines, intoxicated drinks were prohibited to them and they were made to pay taxes beyond their power. Some one said that his partners in race attacked them. None stopped him. I killed him in the maidān of Shergâh. He had only one cloth. He had let loose a hawk. His glance was at him. In like manner, other persons looked at the hawk. During this opportunity, he carried away two to three horses in one flock. He does not surrender them. They constantly assembled around him with such complaints. 'Alāuddinl earnt about this state of affairs. His energies were directed to reforms, personal and state. In code of punishment, there are no restrictions with shariat nor exceptions for relatives. He ordered all neo-Muslims to be assembled. They consisted of those whose rations were discontinued and those who were in service. The tribunal of

* Original Text, p. 823.

' sat for a day perhaps one of them may pass away. The historian hat twenty or thirty thousand of them gathered together. Many of them d with their tongue except a small group of them. They had no edge of any thing except that they were there to be killed all at once ieir houses would be looted and that their families would be dispersed.* e wake of it, there appeared in Delhi a sect of Ibāhiya (one who makes ful thing lawful). 'Alāuddin ordered to pursue them. He was very stern st them. When they gathered in prison, he inflicted severe punishment them. He placed a saw on bifurcation of roads. When one of them out from the joint, he was caught. Diāuddin said that three sections of ns helped 'Alāuddin in administration of the kingdom and in its conquests. y, those who conducted state affairs and its policy—Ulugh Khān, Zafar , Nuṣrat Khān, 'Alāul Mulk, Fakhruddin Junādād Beg, Aṣghari sar Dawāt-nd Tājul Mulk Kāfuri. It was with their support that he attained to Salta-overpowered his uncle, nay, they attacked him to murder. They were conti-friends in their time and proficient in battle-field. They would descend a fort for victory and conquer it at the first assault. They derived benefit the state only for a short period. Secondly, Malek Hamiduddin, Vakil, ' Izzuddin Dabir son of al-'Alā' Dabir, Malek 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni, Dabir gh Khān, Malek Sharaf Kābani, Nāib-ul-Wazir, Khwāja Hāji, Naib-ul-'Arḍ. were renowned in victory, ascendancy and they were noted for stability e kingdom. Thirdly, Malek Nāib Kāfur Hazār Dināri had control of all state s. They were referred to this applauded beloved amir and to his wisdom. gnorance was the cause of his advancement. Bahāuddin Dabir was like that as titled 'Umdat-ul-Mulk. It was due to management of such persons that smissed such as Hamiduddin and 'Izzuddin and put to death Sharaf Kābni. kingdom lost its stability and the state organization was disturbed. In this n can be reckoned Malek Kirān, amir-i-Shikār, and Malek Kirā Beg. They etired from meddlesomeness. Diāuddin said that it was a wonder of the hat prices of commodities brought to markets were low. Corn in a year of ne was not sold at a higher price than in a year of plenty. That continued g the course of his life. There was help in victory. His army never red a defeat. He uprooted the Mughals by general massacre. There was a iplicity of horses with paucity of fodder. There was general loyalty and ity in the kingdom. Dealers were honest in markets etc. Many buildings constructed. Seventy thousand professional men used to assemble for the in for ever. They gathered in construction of his houses and those of the† s. They were found to be present in shops etc. The ninth wonder at the of his reign was the meeting of hearts of most of the scholars of Islām on

* Original Text, p. 824. † Original Text, p. 825.

rectitude, steadiness, integrity, justice, piety and truth. There was submission and loyalty from unbelievers. Tenthly, assemblage of imāms, eminent men and teachers of every art without wish for anything from him and who did not go to him. Ḍiāuddin said that the most wonderful thing is that the Imāms and teachers of all arts were in a large number in the capital while he was not inclined to their assemblies; he did not know about excellence of any one of them, nor did he see any one of them. Existence of such persons in the capital was a glory of the state. If one of them had lived in another kingdom, he would have been like an amulet for its ruler. 'Alāuddin did not acknowledge their rights nor he rendered thanks for them. A man like me died to be benefited by their existence otherwise I would have killed myself in their service thinking to be alive with them for ever. It is rare to see such persons and know them in any age. I live in an age which had slanted from moderation. There is incompatibility in life. Now I see none from them. I had known the bounties which are lost. Verily to God we belong and to Him return. Asharaful Mulk 'Alāi suffered misfortune. Sultān had no worth of merit. He gave preference to mean persons. He dismissed good persons and appointed evil persons to conduct state affairs. He pledged Saltanat for his son Khiḍr Khān. He gave him a canopy. He dictated to him a letter of covenant and letters to his muluks. He acted according to requirements of his youth and sat in the company of men of play and pleasure. During his regime, his marriage and that of his brothers took place in Delhi. It was full of abomination and mischief. He did not know that in time. 'Alāuddin was in love with Kāfur which led him to be under his subordination and under his say. It so happened that enmity existed between him and Alp Khān brother of his beloved. It was ruination of the 'Alāi kingdom. In the meantime, 'Alāuddin got involved in the disease of dropsy. Every day, it was on the increase. Kāfur and Alp Khān were in animosity. Kāfur was Nāib of Devgir while Alp Khān was Nāib for Gujarāt. 'Alāuddin's temperament under-went a change due to the disease.* His nature became extremely peevish due to loss of vigour. He summoned both of them to himself. Khiḍr Khān was engrossed in sport and play during his illness and the wife was busy with feasts immersed in ease and comfort. 'Alāuddin was in what he was while he in his pleasures. When Kāfur presented himself and found him in displeasure against Khiḍr Khān and the ḥarim, he made efforts for murder of Alp Khān noting change in his mind, and he spoke without reason which how could one hear. He then strove for captivity of Khiḍr Khān and sent him to the fort of Gwalior. Mother of Khiḍr Khān is sheltered in the red palace. He alone remained in the majlis. This is how the 'Alāi house got demolished. The news of Alp Khan's murder came from Gujarāt. It was

* Original Text, p. 826.

done by his followers. Malek Kamāluddin Gurg was sent from Delhi against disloyal persons who had raised a revolt. The insurgents assembled and killed him. 'Alāuddin failed to make amends for it by sending an army because he was engaged in his illness. The historian Ḍiāuddin said that there were wise men who would have facilitated matters for 'Alāuddin by going against the rebels but it was a surprise that none dared to take any step. Those who would have mended matters were those who looked to his deeds and actions. These were state matters. There would be concord when one cared for it. He does not speak by the tongue who orders before the event takes place. None had evil in mind except showed it. He did not seek anything which he did not get it. He did not prepare an army which did not win. He was on one side while men of the kingdom on one side. With all this, he executed his order against them as desired and did not take anything from one who opposed. I say, he petitioned 'Alāuddin for departure from the world contrary to his pride and to rob him of his gifts. It was not at any time completion with security. His hastening to death was clear. I stated what ambassador of pen narrated about Kaikhusraw, Sultān of Persia. He had authority over seven regions. It occurred to him to renounce the world when he had knowledge of it. A certain person who came to him told him about the resolution of the Sultān. He told him " I want to know the cause of it. Regions are under your authority, the world is under your command. You would have no power over it after you quit it. You may need a person like me of knowledge and thought to bring you back to your former authority." He said to him, " Oh my son! I have become old. I saw death. I have gathered many experiences. I have sermonized good* deeds. I have quaffed anger many times. I have witnessed changes of night and day. I have heard about it before my very eyes from which I am despaired of it. It cannot remain on this condition always except as you colour the goblin in his garments. My forefathers worshipped it but they were enriched any way by its worship. I also worshipped it and there was nothing but a shadow to be puffed up with it. I abandon it as death abandoned them. No, nay, I abandon it and am free from it. I tasted disgrace of the rich from it, I am sound in health and it is a miracle. Wealth gets separated from us with remorse and regret at death. He collected means of wealth and deposited them and left them and retired in seclusion for prayer and devotion and separated men. Its report was on tongues and it became a story in ages. Muḥammed bin Bashar saw that every proud man is desirous of his own self. A year had not passed when safety stood face to face with him. It is narrated by 'Ali bin Ḥusain, may God be pleased with them, that he who dis-dained the world is with God. Yaḥyā bin Zakariyā may peace of God be on them said, " He guided me in beginning to rebellion of Bani Israel in tray of gold and therein was

* Original Text, p. 827.

consolation for the independent." There was a difference between Kaikhusraw and elevation of the world 'Alāuddin for that did not die for the world and this was contraty to him. He was greedy for the world with all his might which was deceptive for him. His command and dread were in hearts of servants and subjects. He was a representative figure of incompatibility. His command was second. Play with the state was the function of the third section. Revolts became order of the day. They became serious for remedy. It defiled his character to the extent of an hair when it was beautiful. It was an allurement for Kāfur the Nāib. It was said that he poisoned him. His deeds are an evidence thereof or his pride brought about his death.

The historian said that 'Alāuddin died on the night of 6th Shawwāl, 711 (1311-12). They took out his coffin from his palace in the capital of Siri to his grave in the Jame 'Masjid, may mercy be on him. Yazid Rakkāshi says "your days are three, the day on which you were born, the day of your descent in your grave and the day of your coming out to your Lord. It is a short day for you. Two days are hidden for him. It was Safāyan bin 'Ayyina who illustrates very much by these two verses:

> The world receives mean servants*
> Old age with aversion from infusion of caulocynth
> Daughters of world are always its vicissitudes
> Therein events are like a fall to the ground.

The historian put the following verse after an account of his death:

> When speed comes on the path of a traveller
> It matters not whether he is Jamshid, Parviz or Khusraw.

The sultan was an [illegible], blood-shedder, tyrant, oppressor, inflicter of punishment and discipline, authoritarian and full of wrath. He conquered many frontiers. He was [illegible] of armies. He was the first to penetrate into the Deccan. He brought [illegible] mines and treasures. No historian of Hind has mentioned its quantity. He was ignorant but graced with wisdom. He did not [illegible] the code of punishment of religion. He was notorious for stinginess in the [illegible] and government. He never spoke a thing which was not done. He was not [illegible] with order....... During his regime, the Mughals were [illegible] and in rows, Muslims and unbelievers, more than one hundred thousand. Similarly, rebels. There are many seditious persons in Hind.

Dā Batani narrated that one day Sultān 'Alāuddin said to Mughithuddin, Kādi of Bāna, "I ask you about certain problems. Give me their replies as based on truth." The Kādi replied, "Verily, I feel approach of my death."

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* Original Text, p. 828.

'Alauddin said, "How did you know that?" He replied, "The question will be in connection with the command of religion. When I give you a reply with which you may not be pleased I will paint it with truth. You will put me to death." He replied, "I will not kill you." He then questioned him about the payer of tribute and unbelievers. He replied, "The unbelieving payers of tribute should be conditioned with loyalty and precedence. They should pay jizya in hand in person. In case they practise mean things, it is stated in ḥadith that they should be killed or they should be asked to embrace Islām. Imām Abu Ḥanifa is alone in stating that jizya should be accepted from them under such circumstances." 'Alāuddin laughed and said "I did not understand you what you say. I have heard this in respect of cultivators and farmers etc. in case they ride fast horses and wear gaudy dresses, gird themselves with Persian bows, go out for hunting and do not pay tribute and take a share from agriculture and do not pay anything, they make use of wine etc. and fight among themselves. They do not present themselves in the Diwān unless summoned They do not pay it to the collector. It was not that. I say that they came in my way of conquering other kingdoms and now that they are under control of my hand. Therefore, I have placed a balance and prompted* my subjects under orders to make use of it. I ordered use of a stone immediately without any delay. Now you tell me that in religion there is dis-dain for an unbeliever and roaming about for him." He then said, "Oh Mawlānā Mughith! You are a learned man but not experienced (practical); I am an ignorant man but experienced. It is not possible for an unbeliever to be submissive except when he is tepid. I had ordered that revenue is to be demanded from cultivators upto a particular sum so that he maintains himself without becoming contemptible." He then asked him about theft of men of learning and their dishonesty. He said, "I do not know what had come in religion in respect of this. But I read in a book that in case a man committed theft or lessened tribute or accepted brises, the ḥākim does what is advisable in respect of fine, imprisonment or dis-dain except one who does not steal out of care, his hand is not cut off." 'Alāuddin said, "I, for example, ordered severity and got back the amount. The officer, on that account, paused from punishment." He then questioned him about those who collected money with difficulty from Devgir, "is it his or is it for the Public Treasury." He replied "What is gained with strength of the soldiers of Islām, it is for the Public Treasury and what is acquired individually, it is for you." 'Alāuddin became angry and said, "It is not what you have said according to your opinion. I made myself miserable and brought it and it is for the Public Treasury." He replied, "You asked me as to what was in religion in respect of it. I replied you accordingly." He then questioned him about the share of his son and wife from the Public

* Original Text, p. 829.

Treasury." He replied, "I feel my death." He said, "That would not He said, "I reply you contrary to what had come. There is a burden to-morrow (day of judgment). If I say what has come, I will be put to de He said, "Speak the truth." He replied, "The Khalifas paid two, thre four hundred tankas to a mujāhid including members of the family. If tl not sufficient, then for you is a sum which is for your wife from you. If k to the majesty of saltanat, then for you is not more for them and th nothing of gold for the ḥarim (queen). 'Alāuddin lost his temper and sa him, "You are afraid of my sword. You say that I did not spend it fo wife. It is not that." He replied, "I am afraid of the Sultāns' sword. sufficient that it should remain in my head. You have asked me c problems I replied to you about them. If you had asked me about the king I could have spoken more than I have done." He then said, "You attı that which I have not done and that is not in religion. Now I have order horseman to present him for review otherwise fodder for the year would be celled for him. I have ordered that a seller of wine and its drinker wou imprisoned in pits which are meant for them. He who fornicates with a w his organ would be cut off and the woman would be killed. I have or seditious men with their followers to be put to death. I have taken measures for wealth : If a dirham is left, it would be as you said to me t was not legal." The Kāḍi stood up from the majlis and moved to a hearing him. He placed his forehead on the ground and said in a loud "Oh Sultān of the world! If you wish, be liberal with me or if you wis me. This is in religion. Not beyond it, not beyond it. What is not perm in similar matters of punishment to rely upon, they stop for punishm 'Alāuddin heard what was said by him, he remained silent and entere haram. Mughith returned to his house. When next day, he decided to the Diwān, he bade adieu to his family, distributed alms, took bath and to the Sultān. When he saw him, he sought protection of God from ennobled him and bestowed a robe of honour upon him. He gave hir thousand tankas in cash and said to him, "Oh Kāḍi Mughith! I did not in a book. I am hereditarily a Muslim for repulse of insurgents and punisl of seditious men. I have killed thousands of men. I acted wherein advisability. People do not pay heed to that and they do not carry ou order. Necessarily, I act with sternness without knowing whether it religion or not. I order wherein I see welfare. I do not know what wou my reply tomorrow. Oh Kāḍi Mughith! I always sing hymns of God a know. If any one cohabited with another man's wife, there is no ha my kingdom, similarly, wine, theft etc. A thief does not take wealth... Similarly, he who paused to carry out the order in view of punishment a

* Original Text, p. 830.

who let go ten and twenty, the order is not legal for him. In respect of these four sections, I do not know what has come from the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him. I do not remember chapters of the Qurān other than those of Fātiha, Ikhlās, prayers for despair and benedictions. Verily, I give orders........to cut off organ of a fornicator and return of fodder. He who does not carry out the order, he is sent to prison where he dies. They do not cease to disobey my orders. How should I not inflict punishment on them. *

The historian said that Mawlānā Shamsuddin Turk came from Egypt to him after the conquest of Ranthanbhor. He was an Imām of traditions. He had brought with him books on traditions, numbering four hundred in all. He arrived at Multān. He learnt about him that he did not say Friday prayers, nay, he did not ever say compulsory prayers also. As he had no religiosity in him, he was asked to go wherever he liked. Mawlānā Shaikh Shamsuddin Faḍlullāh son of Mawlānā Shaikh Ṣadruddin bin Barkat-ul-Anām (blessing for human beings) Shaikh-ul-Islām Bahā-ul-Hak Wad-Din Mawlānā Shaikh Zakariyā Quṭb of Multān may their graves be sanctified, were at Multān. When they heard about his determination to return, they met him and pacified his mind. He compiled a book on Traditians in the name of Sultān 'Alāuddin and sent it with him to him with a message informing him about his coming from Egypt to him. He received intelligence about learned men of the kingdom that they were content with knowledge of theology and passed over knowledge of traditions. He loved to propagate knowledge of ḥadith in his kingdom by assembling them before him. They obtained with him the honour of address by the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him. The reader of the Qurān establishes communion with his Lord so the reader of the ḥadith communes directly with the Messenger of God, may peace and benediction of God be on him. Travel from the city pressed heavily on him. He exercised patience for his distant journey with all its hardships until he arrived at Delhi and was near achievement of his object. It was heard about his indifference to Friday prayer, nay, to compulsory prayers. He turned reins of resolution backwards. It was not for us to be aright. He was content on his arrival to him with this compilation and the contents of admonitions in the pamphlet. He acted on that and so his efforts were not unsuccessful. " And God guides whom He wishes to the straight path." Diāuddin said that the book and the risāla came to Bahāuddin Dabir. He transmitted the book and with-held the risāla for he had learnt from Kāḍi Ḥamiduddin Multāni about the author that he was of unpraiseworthy character. He condemned him and asked him for his removal. Bahāuddin got apprehended of his threshold otherwise he would be involved in blame of his sultān so much so that he was about to be demoted

* Original Text, p. 831.

in rank and involved in punishment for that. 'Alāuddin felt sorry for h missed the meeting after its being in proximity and terminated suddenly return empty-handed, nay, with a feeling of chagrin by thinking of it. the followers of Muḥammed may peace and benediction of God be on him a good deeds. This is acknowledged by all who are the followers and oth They are immune from perils and what are called falls. I hope it so in ca 'Alāuddin who suddenly terminated his meeting with Shamsuddin, the I ul-ḥadith of his age. Multān is distant from Egypt. He had come in the of its most glorious sultān. He returned without meeting him. His a ended in his departure. It is stated in a laudable ḥadith that deeds accordance with intentions. In the Holy Book, it is stated that virtues out evils and the deed moves on with its much acceptance. It is said b obvious, true man, Ja'far bin Bākir, may God be pleased with them, their fathers and descendants, the meaning of which is that the Umma (follo will suffer no ruin between the Kalima, intercession (of the Prophet) mercy (of God). The knowing Amir 'Abdul Quddus al-Ghasyāni said tha achieved security from mercy' in his book " Ajib-ul-Muddakhar " in explan of " Gharib-ul-Ḥadith Wal-Athr." He narrated from Abil 'Āliya who nar from the Prophet of Haramain, a tradition. " Verily, minor sins are between two limits." My spiritual guide, the theologian Aḥmad al-Ḥafaṣ that the learned are of two kinds—obedient and disobedient. The obe ones would be in paradise through favour of God, His mercy. There are proofs for the same. The disobedients are of two kinds—persistent and persistent. The non-persistent has no right with the obedient. Go Almighty said, " If you but eschew the most heinous of the things which are forbidden to do, we shall expel out of you all the evil in you, and you to a gate of great honour! The persistant on the major sin are o kinds. One kind believes in its solution. He is surely in fire (of hell) God otherwise wills. Another kind believes in its forbiddance. He is i will. It is related in respect of two ḥadds (limits),—limit of the worl limit of the Future Life. Limit of the world consists in its punishment ir world such as theft and adultery. Limit of the Next World consists i punishment in the Next World such as undutifulness towards parents, sla usury and similar other deeds. Hence minor sins are sins and they are bet these two. They do not impose a limit in the world upon their doer and torture in the Next. The origin of it is in the word of the Almighty i chapter of Najm: " Yea, to God belongs all that is in the heavens ar earth; so that He rewards those who do evil, according to their deeds, an rewards those who do good, with what is best: Those who avoid great sin shameful deeds, only (falling into small faults—verily thy Lord is am

* Original Text, p. 832.

forgiveness. He knows you well when He brings you out of the earth, and when you are hidden in your mother's wombs. Therefore justify not yourselves. He knows best who it is that guards against evil." Al-Kāshaghari said that the latter meaning is probable. Minor sins are between two ḥadds, that is, punishment between two punishments in sin and hardship like small * troubles which are for men like fever and headache and such other pains or sadness of the heart and contraction of the chest which afflict man involuntarily and unknowingly that these troubles are expiation for minor sins which are between two ḥadds. He whose heart is replete with light of the faith, certainty, different kinds of devotions like white garments extremely white where another colour even to the slightest extent can be detected. When a faithful person comes with a minor sin, he finds it to be pure in heart for he seeks forgiveness of God the Almighty Whom he had found to be Forgiving and Merciful. If he does not seek forgiveness, expiation becomes essential for him. He feels affliction and then he turns to Him in repentance. He seeks forgiveness of God, the Almighty, turns to Him and hopes from Him what His men get from forgiveness and mercy for he is His servant with good view and hope. He is not depressed with affliction, nay, he praises God the Almighty wherever there is His punishment cut off in this ephemeral world, but which is not joined with the lasting Next World. Abu Ṣāleh said, "I put a question about the word of God, the Almighty, 'al-lamam.' I said who is the man who commits a sin. He did not repeat it. I mentioned that again to Ibn-i-'Abbās, may God be pleased with them." He said, "The Generous Ruler will help you therein." Ibn-i-'Arafah said, "Al-lamam, in the opinion of the 'Arabs is that which a man does in time for which he has not formed a habit. He further said that sinners are four. Firstly, a thing comes. He knows but it is lawful for him. He then renounces it. It is the greatest sin. Secondly, a thing comes. He knows it. It is lawful for him without abandoning it. He is persistent. It was in the will (of God). Thirdly, he is a doer when a thing comes to him without a habit of it to him. He is forgiven for that as he has avoided a major sin. Fourthly, he is disobedient. He then turns to God. It is a matter of acceptance. Some one of them said, "My mother is in a country ruled over by an unbeliever while I am in a Muslim country. God the Almighty brought me out to meet her but it is not possible for me. Some of my friends told me that cheapness prevailed in that country and that there was prosperity and no poverty. Exercise patience a while for your poverty and exile. When you † would visit your mother and notice prosperity of that country, you would not feel so much." I told him, "I am a seeker of the pleasure of God, the Almighty. I am with my desire, even if I am cut to pieces. I will not cry woe. I cannot give up His pleasure. It was sun-set time. I said night prayers and recited

* Original Text, p. 833.

† Original Text, p. 834.

litanies. I then got down from my cot; a scorpion stung me. I did not se like of it. I took a warning and said that it was atonement for my patien which I prayed. It was Friday night. I did not sleep till morning. My tc moved with praise of God, and seeking His forgiveness. They were prayer minor sins. There was a part of hypocrisy and a vain-glory in it. If one of his body was cut, there would be no patience except what God wished. tried me with sting of a scorpion. He did not cut anything of his flesh he learnt a lesson by practice of some patience and disciplined him for fa from God with prayers. There is mercy with him not tyranny and harsh This is an illustration of the word of God: " when you are afflicted w trouble, you have acquired it by your own hands. God pardons ma What he narrated is wonderful. The subject of biography was a unita He would come under general intercession and extensive mercy. His assas tions were due to defence of frontiers and security of his subjects. Confisc of property from its owners was due to suppression of causes of invasion sources of mischief. In that respect, Ḍiāuddin said that Akat Khān son brother and 'Umar Khān and Mangu Khān sons of his sister suffered be of their misdeeds. Akat Khān was his vakil while they were his muluk. made efforts in respect of the problem of Ḥamiduddin and 'Izzuddin, sc Ála Dabir and Ábdul Malek Multāni. They were in the rank of Asa position of Buzurchemehar in statesmanship and wisdom. Such events re in revolts and sedition in the world. After full investigation, statesmen experienced men told him about revolts and seditious deeds. They tol that the cause of it was four things, inadvertence of the Sultān in resp mutual matters of intercourse among the people-good and bad, existence of Men assemble for drinks in majlisis. There they cannot maintain a secret influence of wine. Its evil dominates over them and gradually brings the seditious plots. Thirdly, relationship and friendship! The muluks and amirs maintained friendly relations among them and exchanged visit. something happened to one of them with which he was not pleased d relationship or friendship or visits, a hundred persons stood up for his caus they became his hand and heart. They were about to create trouble. Four the root of insurgence and sedition was gold. Its accumulation beyond and necessity was conducive to sloth and freedom to meet for wine. It is mother of all vices and strengthens the class of visitors. Its absence fc every kind of wanton play to be engrossed in and makes way to activit profession. No judgment or opinion is held except for that over which h authority in seclusion, avoidance of intoxicants, severance of relations others and knowledge of good deeds. The Sultān formulated his decision due consideration about the fourth. He loved to give priority to it ov

* Original Text, p. 835.

third. The first thing that he innovated was that he issued an order that all villages held in proprietary rights or as ina'm (free gift) or as benevolent religious endowment were confiscated to the state as crown-land. He then imposed fines without any cause just to rob people of wealth or gold as far as possible by stern measures to such an extent that it remained in the houses of muluk and amirs, officers and eminent merchants. People had to live on Dehalvi benevolent endowments and free gifts amounting to thousands of tankas. Citizens and cultivators were in dire need to acquire and settle their accounts in gold which was the originator of insurrection and sedition. He began to come out of negligence in matters of administration. He established a spy system by which people feared him to such an extent that they severed friendship, stopped mutual visits and paused conversation. He then prohibited liquor and beer and took possible drastic measures of beating, punishing, banishing while selling of it was punished with exile. He ordered to reduce what was upon him for tribute. It was a sum pointing to its excess on its spreading, promulgating and involving with it. First of all, he ordered to carry crystal vessels, China-wares, beady utensils, gold cups from the palace to Badāun gate. They were broken there one after the other. They were openly full of liquor. The place became muddy with wine and rose up reddish brown colour from pieces of land. The muluks proclaimed its prohibition in cities. They moved on elephants in markets announcing severe punishment for sellers and drunkards. Inspite of that, the seller and the purchaser always were found to be in chains and fetters. He ordered pits to be dug with wide ventilators at Badāun gate like cisterns as prison for them. Very few persons came out of it. Those who came out of it were not able to live except by long treatment. Thus a large number of persons gave it up. He who felt a desire to drink went out of the * city to a distance of one day, more or less. They acted with sternness but it did not last long. Inspite of that, they drank it at all times by locking the door. People distilled it, and drank it alone. Prohibition of liquor stopped seditious revolts. He prohibited mutual visits, meetings and marriages among them without permission of the Sultān. None in his way or in an assembly was able to talk in secret or sit knee to knee and complain of his condition. On account of this punishment, devotion to God became popular and sinfulness was rooted out and revolts ceased. At the close of his reign, every one had become disciplined and had no weak points for punishment. He earned a name by prohibition of usury, abolition of monopoly, stoppage of falsehood by market-men, weighing less, adulteration and similar other things. If the Sultān confiscated their properties, and wealth, it was due to revolt, desire for misguidance cause of additional mischief. If he failed to do that, there would have been no control of administration and establishment of order in the kingdom.

* Original Text, p. 836.

He who had something in hand, it was kept hidden and equal to his needs of life. This is indicative of his influence. He took measures out of pure motives without involving in pain. They dared not take poison. They loved him. He led the nation to goodness. Oh God, let us live on his creed and let us die on his creed. Make us safe in his followers through your mercy Oh most Merciful among the Merciful.

Sultān Shihābuddin Son of 'Alāuddin Khalji

Ḍiāuddin Barani has narrated in his Tarikh-i-Firozshāhi that Kāfur Hazār Dināri revealed in the palace of Sultān 'Alāuddin after his death that he would not like to see any one else other than he to conduct state affairs. The 'Alāis presented themselves and took an oath of allegiance for Shihābuddin in accordance with the document of covenant which was dictated by 'Alāuddin as Kāfur himself was tempted to seize power in his own hands. He imprisoned Khidr Khān at Gwālior. Shihābuddin was not more than six and less than five years of age on the day of his accession to the throne. Kāfur personally completed every thing and nominated himself as his absolute regent. He turned away the 'Alāi muluk who used to sit and share in the formulation of state policy. He became totally independent of them and lived in the famous palace of Hazār Situn, that is, one thousand pillars and he elevated Shihābuddin there. When the muluk assembled themselves in the Hazār Situn, he overlooked them from* a room of the palace. In short, Kāfur sent in his day his favourite such as Ikhtiāruddin Sunbul to Gwalior, with a set purpose to blind Khidr Khān and his brother Shādi Khān. He caused incovenience to the mother of Khidr Khān, queen of 'Alāuddin Maleka Jahān. He deprived her of all bounties and confiscated that belonged to her in her days. He subdued all those who were connected with Khidr Khān. It was a large number of persons. He ordered Mubārak Khān son of 'Alāuddin to be locked up in a room of Hazār Situn and decided to blind him also. He was of the age of Khidr Khān. Shihābuddin used to make his appearance in the palace at the time of assembling of the muluk to supervise over them. He then retired to his mother. She was the daughter of Rāmdev, ruler of Devgir. He then remained with his confidential favourites, most of whom were eunuchs. He decided to appoint new grandees, of the state and transfer the officers. He appointed new persons who were in his mind which led to the kingdom slipping away from the 'Alāi house. He was not affected thereby. When he closed the doors, his helpers and assistants assembled around him and they talked the night out in newness and change.

Assassination of 'Alāism through grace of the Almighty for the Sake of Kāfur Hazār Dināri.

The historian said that there was a party of 'Alāi mamālik who were

* Original Text, p. 837.

constantly in the Hazār Situn from the regime of their Sultān. They presented themselves by turn. When they saw a party of Kāfuris in jovial conversation and vigilance who had ruined the house of their master at the hand of Kāfur and who had not spared any one except Mubārak Khān, they tried to improve this state of affairs and make amends for his name and practices. Shihābuddin was a minor and for that purpose, he pretended to be serious with his order. Those 'Alāi Amirs decided to kill Kāfur for his despotic power. They rallied against him, those who were dispersed, reunited and they secretly sought help from one another. They assailed him one night and killed him along with his confederates. They brought out Mubārak Khān from the room and made him secure under the regency of his brother. In the morning, he was in elevation with his brother in the palace of Hazār Situn. The 'Alāi amirs stood in readiness before him. The news spread and the publicity increased with beating of* drums. All people rejoiced at the assassination of Kāfur, and presented themselves for allegiance and congratulations. They applauded the action of 'Alāi amirs. They attributed praise to lightness and sought precedence in government. Diāuddin said that they tempted themselves as to who should have the power of trusteeship and retirement and who should be spared and who should be put to death. Their responsibility became heavy for the sake of government and they decided to share power among themselves. Hence, muluk of his father were inclined towards Mubārak Khān and dispersed willy milly to the frontiers. Murders and imprisonment took place among them. They removed his brother Shihābuddin from the majlis of saltanat to Gwālior. Kāfur enjoyed authority for thirty-five days.

Sultān Quṭbuddin Mubārak Shāh son of 'Alāuddin 'Ali Khalji

Quṭbuddin Mubārak Shāh son of 'Alāuddin 'Ali son of Naṣir Khalji ascended the throne in 711 (1311-12). He was agreeable in character. He thanked God, the Holy for his liberation from Kāfur on the day of accession. He ordered release of all prisoners in the capital and country from the regime of his father. The prisoners were seventeen thousand or more. They said many prayers on his behalf. He ordered to administer justice and obligation. He settled allowances for men of merit. This step elicited much praise for him. He favoured the 'Alāis and the retinue who assassinated Kāfur. He was liberated from his clutches because of them. He ordered that they should be paid six months' salary and city allowance from the treasury and they were confirmed in service. Were it not for them, the matters would have gone beyond limit and discipline would have been marred. They came out as they felt it their responsibility. They were noted persons. They thronged him and showed no mercy to him. He cancelled the order passed by his father for confiscation of

* Original Text, p. 838.

property which was given back to them. So was the case with bene endowments. He removed the fines and repressive measures of his father had caused hardship to people. In mutual dealings and orders, he revert religion. He did everything contrary to the behaviour of his father. S and care departed during his regime and people enjoyed peace and p During the regime of his father, the powerful persecuted the weak who ma effort except to get himself involved in a rough life. They exchanged n visits, glorified themselves with extravagance, listened to musical note thanked for the bounties the effects of which they enjoyed. Seditions lay dormant became vigilant from the day of indisposition of 'Alāuddin solution of difficulties by Kāfur. This was the cause of it. He then fa the muluk and the amirs, the infantry and the cavalry and doubled manṣabs, raised their ranks, widened their means of livelihood and issu general, an order for the retinue. Diāuddin said that wealth got circ among them and gold became cheap. It was heavy in weight. They app reliable persons for removal of needs. Needy persons responded to them those who appointed them. Imāms and literary men obtained lavishly they did not obtain at any time. They and others regained their confis villages and lands. Taxes were lightened and they were obtained Whatever was obtained by sternness through fines, chains and fetters as w captivity got scattered. In short, time improved matters with kindnes facility which were not improved with wickedness and severity. The elit the commoners enjoyed comforts as there was security during his days. men were safe and secure. His mercy and clemency got stultified. He demand of wine. There was circulation of cups and jovial companions purses. In the meantime, 'Alāi controls were lifted, desires extended demands of money. Formerly, people never begged except through pray sayer of prayer. It terminated to the problem of beardless and giant became similar to Mu'izzuddin after Ghiyāthuddin. Ghiyāth controlle administered. Mu'izz wasted and uprooted from foundation. The kir passed away from his house with its saltanat. Such was the case with 'Al strengthened and Qutb who dissolved. With him, the kingdom passed fro house. Its account comes. The historian said that the rank of Malek superintendent of 'Alāi elephants, was elevated and he was titled Zafar Malek Muḥammed Buli was titled Sher Khān. Ḍiāuddin son of Bahā Khaṭṭaṭ (calligraphist) was titled Ṣadrjahān while Malek Kirābeg was enn with several lofty charges. Similar was the case with some mamāliks nay most of them. They were made exceptional with elevated offices. Malek Nāib Khās Ḥājib had a beardless youth whom he loved. His name was Rāo Bachcha. He made him afterwards his special servant. He was

* Original Text, p. 839.

Khusraw Khān on his accession. He sat on the seat of Wizārat. He assigned to* him what was with Malek Nāib from the kingdom and the retinue. Quṭbuddin loved him. He saw the world only through his eyes. In this year, 'Ainul Mulk Multāni marched to Gujarāt as a governor. After Alpkhān its residents had renounced loyalty. At the close of the reign of 'Alāuddin, he despatched Kamāluddin Karki (Gurgi) against them. They encountered him and killed him. 'Ainul Mulk then marched to suppress rebellion. Its residents returned to loyalty.

In this year, daughter of Malek Dinār was married to Qutbuddin. He was titled Zafar Khān as stated above. He was appointed governor of Gujarāt. He proceeded to it. He was a man full of experiences. He administered Gujarat better than Alp Khān and amassed wealth more than he. The historian said that the strength which 'Alāuddin had established weakened during the regime of Quṭbuddin. The muluk from among the mamāliks of 'Alāuddin held fiefs in proprietary rights. They had control over extensive districts and great localities, hence they established order and control and there was general security in their administrative units.

In 718 (1318), Mawladi, one of the 'Alāi mamāliks was a Nāib at Delhi. He was called during 'Alāi regime, Yāol-i-Yaldā. His name was Shāhin. He was titled Wafā Malek in his days. He marched to Devgir from Delhi. The ruler was Harpāldev, son-in-law of Rāmdev. When he alighted at it, Harpāldev left it and went to a side. After Kāfur, he had shunned obedience. Some of the amirs pursued him and returned with him as a captive. Quṭbuddin ordered him to be flayed alive and crucified him on the gate of the city. It was then the season of rains. Qutbuddin waited for it and conquered the Maratha frontiers and invested Malek Yaklakhi al-'Alāi with Wizārat of Devgir. He was for two years in charge of post office during the 'Alāi era. He despatched Khusraw Khān to Ma'bar, gave him a canopy and placed all muluk under his standard. He returned to Delhi and indulged in drink. It was on the tongue of time that his beloved Khusraw was with a canopy while he looks after the muluk. He was similar to his father in point of oppression. On the way, he always indulged in wine and murdered youths. Malek Asaduddin son of Bughrash Khān, uncle of† Sultān 'Alāuddin emboldened himself to kill him. He was a sly and renowned for valour. He won over some novice youths and they decided to kill him at the time of his descending into a well known valley of Sāgun and entering into the harim and Asaduddin sitting as a Sultān. There was some time left for his death or he came to the manzil of the valley when one of them informed him about the plot. It was night. Asaduddin and his companions made their appearance

* Original Text, p. 840. † Original Text, p. 841.

and their assassination took place immediately at the door of the royal pav He wrote to Delhi for the murder of his sons, divesting his bounties, mur his women and daughters and seizing his property. Number of his slaugh minor sons was more than twenty.

He returned this year from Devgir. He sent an envoy to his br Khidr Khān to divorce his wife Diwāri Rāni. Husām Khān said that she the daughter of Rāi Karan. She was the most beautiful woman. Whe and her mother were brought to 'Alāuddin, Khiḍr Khān married her whil mother was married to 'Alāuddin. When a son was born to her th Khidr Khān, there was a separation between the two. It was a custom i Sultān's house that when a son is born to a son, his wife retires from for a long period. Khidr Khān loved her. He was afflicted due to her se tion. He had intense love for her. Poets sang about his love. Amir Kh composed a poem called " Khidr Khān Diwāri Rāni ". It is a beautiful famous in Hind.

God forbid, the house of sky to be prosperous
For it separates friends from one another.
It opens up knots of friendship
It cuts bond of life association.
Two friends who love each other
Who do not separate from each other even for a moment
Are so thrown afar that after some time
They get satisfied with name and letter.
If every joint of body is separated
Pain thereof is not so much as pain of separation.
If they kindle fire in heart
Its burning is not like burning of separation.
Every one is a purchaser face to face
Friendship is valued when distant.
One ought not to be less than a particle for from dust
It moved in bewilderment towards sun of skies
Observe water-lily which from love permanent
Goes down when sun gets hidden.*
Faithfulness ought to be learnt from fish
If separated from water for a moment, burns itself.
When burning of love-play became essential
Proximity and Distance matters not with heart-ravisher.
When lamp accepts oil with life
It burns with and without it and dies

* Original Text, p. 812.

He should utter name of love
Who is ardent to be cut in twain.
If you are a lover, drink fire
For every one pleases palate with sherbet.
If in garden hundred orchards are before
They are not like rose-cheeked of one's own.
Why does rose not pluck its skirt from nightingale
For it sits every moment on another rose.
Why does a bud not tear its garment
For it loves rose and rose garden.
When weeping washed blackness of my eyes
Necessarily, I wish antimony from her dust.
My face is on back of your wall
Your face is on other side of wall of me.
Story of anguish did not contain in heart
If blackened head of pen with blood of heart.

These lines are from his poem. He who understands fragrant plants of ideas, will find brides of virgin topics. Thank God for him. Ḥusām said that Khiḍr Khān refused to divorce her. Quṭbuddin who had no character got infuriated with him. He sent Shādi Kutla, Amir of Salāḥdārs to Jhāyan. He killed Khiḍr Khān as well ss his brother Shādi Khān. Kāfur had blinded them as well as Shihābuddin when he came out from his Niyābat and assumed full powers. Diwāri Rāni was carried from him against her will for marriage with him to make her religiously lawful or it is not said: I am a drowned person, I am afraid to be moist. Men of the religion and the world found fault with him. It was brotherhood at Gwalior. Shādi Kutla carried her mother with her and the rest harim of Khiḍr Khān and his brother with servants to Delhi. Diāuddin said that Khiḍr Khān had relation of discipleship. His hand was held and he was taken to Quṭb of the age, sun of the pure ones Mawlānā Shaikh Nizāmuddin Awliyā, may his grave be sanctified. For that purpose, Quṭbuddin attributed bad manners to the saint in word and being instigated by his devils ascribed arrogance indeed to the saint. He, therefore, objected to his being enlisted as* his disciple: "He who caused harm to a saint, he was harmed in war". Diā said that he became arrogant after his return from Devgir. He stultified his tongue inspite of his lofty dignity and coloured his hands in blood. Accomplished men got afraid of him. It was time for the sultan's decline. Zafar Khān, Nāib of Gujarāt was killed without any cause. He was devoid of shame and exhibited himself in decoration of women among men though a sultān. He gathered around him prostitutes and jesters. He disdained muluks and nobles

* Original Text, p. 843.

such as Áinul Mulk Multāni and Malek Karābeg. They were near him. He was heard to have used indecent language by sitting on the throne in Diwān-i 'Ām in dress of a woman. His nauba and soldiers had heard him using abusive language from the Hazār Situn. He prohibited men of the world to kiss the threshold of the saint and to visit him. He stayed at Ghiyāthpur but he heard what he uttered as if he was near. He used to say in his drunken state that he would pay one thousand tankas to one who would bring the Shaikh's turban to him. It so happened that the Shaikh came to the enclosure of Shaikh Ḍiāuddin Rumi. Quṭbuddin presented himself there. He came to the saint who neither turned to him not stood up out of regard for him. He had regard for Shaikhzāda Hām due to his enmity for the Shaikh Qutb. He had attained to rank of nearness with him. Apparently, he sent for Shaikh-ul-Islām Ruknuddin Multāni to Delhi out of his incompatibility with the Shaikh. After Zafar Khān, he sent Ḥusāmuddin brother of Khusraw Khān from his mother in all haste to Gujarāt. He was a malicious heretic. He succeeded to the charge of Zafar Khān.

In the year 719 (1319), the amirs of Gujarāt decided to capture its governer Ḥusāmuddin. After his arrival in Gujarāt, he became a renegade to* Islām and assembled his relatives, unbelieving rebels and mischief-mongers of the world and renounced loyalty to government. It so happened that Amirs of the army carried him in captivity to Delhi and took over administration of Gujarat till arrival of a new governur. The amire who carried him brought him to Quṭbuddin in a state of captivity. He gave a light slap on his cheek. He was set free. He was a eunuch. Out of consideration for his brother Khusraw Khān or his worth as a scavenger, those who were near him, out of his being a Nāib of his brother assembled around him. He rose to rank of nearness because of him. He rebuked those who captured him and favoured him.

In this year, Waḥiduddin Qarashi titled Sadrul Mulk was despatched to Gujarāt. He was an accomplished man in being and attributes. He was unique of the age and renowned in the world.

In this year, Malek Yaklakhmi, the Wazir marched to Devgir as a deserter. He sent some one to Devgir who captured him and brought him with rebels to Delhi. He ordered to cut off his nose and ear and paraded him. The rebels were punished.

In this year, 'Ainul Mulk Multāni was invested with Wazirship. 'Ali Mujiruddin father of Rijā was appointed as Nāib Wazir. Tājuddin son of 'Alā Dabir was nominated to accounts in the kingdom. Afterwards, he was sent with them to Devgir. Ṣadr-ul-Mulk was recalled from Gujarāt and titled Tājul Mulk. He became a wazir and his nāib. Diā said that this happened by placing

* Original Text, p. 844.

ing at its proper place. In an adage, it is said, "with the erroneous, the w is accurrate." From an expert, it is in a place of separation.

In this year, Khusraw Khān was charged with sedition for having not ried out his responsibility. Ma'bar campaign was not easy for Khusraw Khān it was for Kāfur Hazār Dināri. On his arrival, the citizens got ready to go out their wealth so he found nothing in the city except one hundred elephants more. They were in a scattered state in the streets of the city. Monsoon in. He waited for it to be over. There lived a Muslim merchant whose ne was Khwāja Taqiuddin. He had inmense wealth. He was left in the city ying on the Muslim army for his safety. His opinion proved to be false when learnt about Khusraw Khān and his severity to take out what he possessed. chose his wealth and killed him. He then resolved upon sedition. He* ays collected soldiers and his secret agents looked to murder of muluks who re against him. He made Ma'bar an abode of sedition. The muluk learnt out this. They all decided to capture him. The first among them were lek Tamar, governor of Chanderi, Malek Mal Afghān and Malek Talighah, ernor of Karra. They were with troopers and might. They sent to him a ssage saying that they had heard reports about him which might involve him hardships and so he must return to Delhi before that might happen. When he sed, they returned with him to Devgir confiscating by mere threats. They ied him as a prisoner to Delhi and explained his case. This is how Diāuddin narrated. When Qutbuddin met Khusraw in privacy, there was a doubt n them. Qutbuddin abused them and deprived them of their bounties. ey would get their needs fulfilled only through friendship of Khusraw as their inties were confiscated because of him. In the meantime, Qutbuddin issued order against Bahāuddin Dabir to turn out his wife from him. There was no y for him to cancel that order except through clinging to the skirt of Khusraw. waited for what was in his mind about insurrection. It was one of the strongest ses for him. When Khusraw resolved upon his murder, he sought permission summon his followers and relatives from Bhilwāl and Gujarāt. He then ected them as well as from vagabonds and a large number of Gujaratiraos. overflowed them with gifts, strengthened them with arms and horses. There Yusuf Ṣufi among them. When the time of his death came, he requested m to be present before him at night. Quṭbuddin ordered Ḍiāuddin Qādi ān who was his teacher in calligraphy etc. to open for him the gate of the ace when he wished. The keys were in his charge. He enters upon him with difference whom he loved. Ḍiāuddin informed his sultān with what he erstood from their gathering. He eliminated for the sake of perfidy. usraw Khān learnt about his prohibition. He said that jealousy for me led

* Original Text, p. 845.

to slander me and that he feared flirtation. He embraced him and kissed him and pleased him with what was said in between. In his coming out to Hazār Situn, the raos etc. met him, including Kolad Karah, Kumār and Yusuf Ṣufi. They were a day before this day or two days. Kuṭbuddin had gone out for hunting to the side of Sarsāwah. The party of raos had resolved upon his assassination in the hunting ground. Karah Kumar and Yusuf Ṣufi said to* them that that was not the place for his murder as they knew what he did not know. Its place was the palace and that they would guard him. The muluk would present themselves and close the door. They would blame or get angry. It would be easy for them to do what they did not do. Besides, he who did not agree with them, they would kill him and thus the matter would be free with them. Ḍiāuddin said that it was like that. When he came from the palace to go to Hazār Situn, he ordered Ḍiāuddin Qāḍi Khān to be killed. He entered the palace. Voices were raised for his murder. Quṭbuddin said to him that he had come with his news. He came out and returned, and said, "Horses are in the stable. Take them out from their ropes." When they climbed up the palace, he heard movement at the palace gate. It was for the murder of nauba of the gate. He said, "What is this? I feel mischief." He stood up from sitting-place and went in haste to gate of the Ḥaram. Khusraw followed him fearing he would miss him. He caught him by hairs of his head and pulled him towards him. Quṭbuddin returned, carried him in front of him, dashed him to the ground, knelt down upon him with roughness and severity. Khusraw then called out to his companions. He was saying "I feel my death." Jāharia from among them stabbed him with a dagger and unceasingly stabbed him. Quṭbuddin died. It was upon him as he lived. Khusraw came out from beneath him when he had almost perished. They cut his head and killed all those who were in the palace and Hazār Situn. Jāharia entered ḥarim of the sultān with his party and killed mother of Farid Khān, wife of 'Alāuddin and her sons Farid Khān and Umar Khān, sons of 'Alāuddin. The historian said that I do not endure the affliction. Soul of Sultān Jalāluddin supervised the palace, ḥarim and Hazār Situn. See the demands of world for him from the 'Alāi house. It is an adage "Do not practice evil so that evil may not visit you. Do not sink a well, you will fall into it." They who were scattered assembled in the palace and ḥarim after killing, plundering, controlling the palace, lighted torches and opened the door of the palace. It was mid-night. Khusraw sent message through the tongue of Quṭbuddin to summon 'Ainul Mulk Multāni, Tajul Mulk Waḥiduddin al-Qarashi, Fakhruddin Junā son of Malek Ghāzi, Bahāuddin Dabir and sons of Karābeg etc. When they appeared, they closed the door. They went up to the palace, spent the night like hostages

* Original Text, p. 846.

till it was day. The Sultān was killed, ministers were in prison and the house was full of followers of Khusraw.*

In the year 720 (1320), as said by Diāuddin that he asked Shaikh Bashir Diwāna who was a man of revelation as to what was the solution of the 'Alāi House from ruination. The Shaikh replied " The 'Alāi Sultanat was not based on foundation. It did not see stability of its kingdom and assistance of decrees of fate. Hence it was brought about gradually in its case and blindly for others. 'Alāuddin had murdered his uncle his patron and gained ascendancy over his throne. The throne which dominates over him as blowing wind. What 'Alāuddin did in respect of sons of others, their families and houses, others did to his sons, family and house. As he played with others, others played with him. God the Holy says " He who does evil, is rewarded with the same." Similarly, there is reward in the world. None knows except God, the Holy as to what is in the future Life. I say, with this, there is account to the Generous. When one dies, the Generous ends his right.

Khusraw Khan's accession to the throne of Quṭbuddin

It was stated above that he forced the muluk in confinement in the palace. It was a contrivance to show them Quṭbuddin in what state he was with his head shamelessly cut off. Such was the fate of man who disposed of religion and the future life for his lustful desire for Khusraw. He tyrannized over people of the world beyond limit, disparaged the muluks for meanness of elevation inspite of the fact that they were efficient and equal to Khusraw. They waited for a day to see effects of it. The incident of their confinement happened in the palace. They were in the palace and the murderer, in the morning, sat on the throne of Quṭbuddin. He summoned them for allegiance which they could not reject. After the oath ceremony, they retired to their houses. They felt no sorrow except for ill-luck of the throne over which ascended one who was always below it. After the oath of allegiance, he pursued Quṭbi muluk of mamālik. He killed them in their manzils, in the Diwān and in their houses along with those who were with them. He then titled his heretic brother Ḥusāmuddin as Khan-i-Khānān. He titled his infided father-in-law Wartad Hawl as Rāy-i-Rāyān. Son of Karah Kumār was titled as Shayasti Khān. Yusuf Ṣufi was bestowed the title of Ṣufi Khān. Bahāuddin Dabir was designated as A'zam-i-Malek. These were the Khusrawis. Others for the sake of advisability† of time were also ennobled with titles. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni was designated as 'Ālam Khān. He had no relation with him externally and internally. Tājul Mulk Qarashi remained in charge of Wizārat as he was in the Quṭbi days. In the same manner, those who were in charge of Hawāla (army) were retained.

* Original Text, p. 847.

† Original Text, p. 848.

He was not afraid of any one except Malek Ghāzi, governor of Div Bālpur. He favoured his son Fakhruddin Junā and appointed him as "Akhur Beg." Jāharia, murderer of Quṭbuddin was favoured with more of wealth, proximity and elevation. He was embellished with jewels from head to foot. He divided the Quṭbi houses among those who expressed a desire for it to Rāozāda. He permitted them to enter the Quṭbi Ḥarim except his wife and Diwāri Rāni. After five days of his ascension, Khusraw installed an idol in his house. He spread out temples in the city. Men of his sect thronged for its worship. A large number of persons who were, free in sharp tongue with him assembled around him. They stretched their hands to the belongings of Muslims including their daughters and wives. He substituted idols in place of the Holy Book in arches of masjids. Banner of viciousness was raised aloft in the abode of Islām. Abominable deeds multiplied, its citizens became arrogant, they promulgated their practices. Religion relegated as a stranger. Members of his caste became powerful. They opened treasures and made them lawful for themselves. He constantly paid regard to Fakhruddin Junā and bestowed continual gifts on him for pacification of his father, Malek Ghāzi. He was a kind man in those days who had subdued greed and covetousness for friendship and loyalty. He borne with serious pleasure the difficulties of religion and world. He led a life of contentment and purity in the face of animosity and tyranny. He strictly retained to himself that which was of religion and world. He displayed his pleasure with what was in his hand or when he socially associated himself with citizens. His heart abhorred unbelief, viciousness and rebellion. Water was not palatable for drink and its flow does not always deliver him from God. Malek Ghāzi asked his son Fakhruddin Junā not to visit him secretly. He was extremely favoured by Quṭbuddin. He exercised patience till he got an opportunity when he fled to him. Ghāzi was in constant correspondence with him. Khusraw had designated him as Nāsir Khān. Ḍiāuddin reported that Fakhruddin Junā's* patience got exhausted after two months and a half of Khusraw's accession of what he saw of the fate of the house of 'Alai and Quṭbi, of the muluk and amirs and the retinue connected with both the houses. He could neither see the incidents nor deny them. He was moved by zeal and pride to make a move. He fled to Div Bālpur with his mamāliks. He issued forth with that assemblage. He did not mind the multitude. He was like a lion who came out from the forest with his claws and teeth. Ghāzi was gladdened at his courage and safe arrival from Khusraw; it was not possible for him to move as he was in the hand of Khusraw. When he was pacified from his side, he crossed the verandah of Div Bālpur he sent for his father Bahrām, Malek-us-Sind, its ruler. He responded to him, and met him. Both of them came out of Div Bālpur for Delhi to avenge Quṭbuddin. Khusraw Khān learnt about Fakhruddin's

* Original Text, p. 849.

ure from Delhi in the evening. Enjoyment of his life and those of his erates got embittered. He was pleased with it. He despatched Shāyasti in wake of him for his search. He was head of " Diwān-ul-'Ard. " He to find him and so he returned. Before Malek Ghāzi's coming out, he espatched Muḥammed Sartabah to Sarasti with one hundred troopers. not under jurisdiction of Ghāzi. He came to it and won it. When uddin came, he encamped there. He then marched from him to Div . After return of Shayasti Khān, he despatched Khān-i-Khānān and hān, with might of soldiers and treasure, from Delhi to Dib Bālpur. For rewell, he raised a canopy over his head. Ṣufi Khān, on his march, bade to spiritual guides of the city and requested them for prayers for safe . They could do no more. " Oh Lord! help with Your help the religion uḥammed. Oh Lord! abandon, disdain of the religion of Muḥammed." din said that it was half the prayer on behalf of Malek Ghāzi without sting for it. They were concerned for victory of Muḥammed's religion. her half of it was against Khusraw and his followers. They were the ns to disparage religion and helped infidelity by their practices. When -i-Khānān reached Sarasti with what he had except Amir Muhammed ah with one hundred troopers. He did not know how to advance upon He and Ṣufi Khān were sons of the same mother. They had not taken* n any war nor they had seen a stab and a wound. They had grown up gh fear like that of the Mughals. They were afraid of their Amir. They up sides and moved to Div Bālpur. Malek Ghāzi learnt about approach. arched to the town of Dalila, crossed the river, left him behind, saw him ncamped opposite to his army. Next day, the two encountered in the n. Ghāzi gained ascendancy over the heretic Khān-i-Khānān at the ssault and he returned as an unlucky man leaving behind him his elephants, ment including canopy and treasure. The amirs were made captives and umber of the killed was large. In short, it was a victory for Malek Ghāzi. urned for friends and dis-graced miserable wretches. He was an amir of my, he rose to be a malek over amirs. He got strengthened with treasure elephants and fortune shone with him. Khusraw Khān learnt fate of eretic brother with loss. After a week, the Ghāzi collected materials for th and marched in company of a powerful ally Malek-us-Sind to Delhi. aw marched from Siri and encamped between 'Alāi Hawz and Delhi called wat. Those who were at Delhi and Siri were with him. He had treasures possession. He did with them what a losing man does when he finds the om slipping under his feet. Kumār abandoned him in his ruin without a He collected records and burnt them. He distributed wealth among h and the low. He was greedy for wealth which he had acquired illegally

Original Text, p. 850.

and so he felt despair at its distribution. 'Alāuddin's greed had amassed so much wealth. This sort of distribution caused a disappointment in him. It was hermaphrodite with no precedence and no pursuance. He feared greed on which he relied but he could not collect for his benefit nor for others. Tomorrow, he would have to give account for it so he burnt the records. He felt envious of those who had it. For the rest of days, he rode to muluk and amirs. He was friendly with them with humbleness. He was pursuading them to fight with Ghāzi with liberality and stores. They mocked at him, derived benefit from his gold and disappointed with curses. When Malek Ghāzi alighted on the environs of Delhi, in the midst of buildings of Indrapat; at night 'Ainul Mulk Multāni marched towards Ujjain. Khusraw had decided for an encounter in the morning* when he found himself broken due to his departure. He was with him at night. He travelled for a day. Malek Ghāzi had marched from between the buildings and supervised the maidān. Similarly, Khusraw stirred up his infidels and stood with them at the plain of Lehrāvat. The vanguards clashed and the vanguard of Ghāzi was the victor. He came with head of Malek Talia Nāgori to Ghāzi. He was a great malek. Shāyasti Khān emerged from the regiment to buildings of Indrapat and stretched his hands to plundering Khusrawi baggage and proceeded to a side with it. The other regiments observed till afternoon. Ghāzi attacked the centre of unbelievers with Muslims and they dispersed and scattered helter-skelter. Khusraw went to Tilbhat with his own horse because everything that was in the maidān was brought to Ghāzi. He returned victorious to his pavilion in luck of night and spent the morning similarly. When Khusraw came to Tilbhat, he did not find any one whom he had got ready for the day. He returned from Tilbhat to the mausoleum of his old patron Malek Shādi 'Alāi and concealed himself there. Rāozādah and others plundered and killed at every place they went after the defeat. Those who turned towards Gujarāt did the same. On Saturday, second day of war, Khusraw was brought to Malek Ghāzi. He passed an order for death for him. After spending the night at Indrabhat, the officers of the city came with keys to him. All the muluk, amirs and soldiers of Islām assembled around him. On the second day of victory, when Ghāzi was free from Khusraw, he rode to all the muluk and the amirs. They met him with preparation of splendour, awe and saltanat at Siri. He alighted at Dār-us-Saltanat and entered the Hazār Sutun and sat there along with all the muluk, sections of men and cogitated deeply over the incident. Some wept and some were wept over. After showing mercy to them, some said that Khusraw was from the caste of Raozada etc. They were killed. After thanks, Malek Ghāzi said, " I am a step-son of 'Alāi and Quṭbi State. I have preserved salt and loyalty for them. I call on you to seek revenge and come out of rights for this house and make possible efforts for the same. Praise be to

* Original Text, p. 851.

God Who is Holy. I with His Grace, request you to help me without caring* for death when it comes to you. You are now the pillars of this house and basis of its elevation. A remnant of this house is to be seated on the throne if he deserves it. If he is in the womb of his mother, there should be no connivance at him. If the enemy had not spared any one, you are eminent men of these two houses, it is your duty as men to take an oath of allegiance for one to whom you appoint. I am the first to take an oath of fealty to him and to be his servant." They said to him, "There is none left as heir. The Malek had trodden the path to suppress this sedition. There is a need for Sultān who is a protector and a defender. But we do not find any one from among us to possess merit to govern a country. Our life is for sacrifice. You have claims of priority and we have attachment with you. Firstly, you defended the region and frontiers against the Mughals. The region and the districts enjoyed security because of you. In regard to the appending quality, it should be said that it is more dignified than the preceding one. It is applauded in religion and world. We choose you for retaliation of the 'Alāi and Kuṭbi house. We wish you victory for Islām by purifying the house of temples and worshippers of idols. We do not see any one else for the saltanat except thee. All of us would be under your command. We shall never come out of your loyalty. We will execute your authority. If any one fails in his duty towards, we make a covenant with you that we would force him to do duty towards you. They then got up from their seats, held his hand, seated him on the throne and took an oath of fealty stage by stage. They addressed him as Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Tughluk and ordered that he should be proclaimed in the city with this designation.

Khusraw Khān's rule lasted for a few months. He was assassinated in the year, 721 (1321).

* Original Text, p. 823.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Tughluqs

A bright flash from lightning of the salb of
Khurāsāni Ghāzi, Sulṭān of Hind, Tughluq Shāh,
Helper of Shari'at with Divine support.

Every place has a discourse and every age has its state and men. As an illustration, there is evidence of the Holy Revelation: The Word of God, the Almighty is "Did not God check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief." What is stated in the Holy Book, happened in the regime of Khusraw. It is in tune with the Holy Word. How is it not! Delhi is the city of Islām. Idols prevailed over it. That gave* honour to them over the heads of Muslims. Time was in need to renovate religion. For that purpose, God arranged for jihād on his part. He suppressed michief. He who was with a small party proved a match against a big party. It was proper for one to make effort to bring about a change in usage by renovation of faith and earn the name of a ghāzi. He deserved (to become a ghāzi) among the 'Alāi Muluk by means of his efforts. He was more elevated in rank and position to occupy the throne of Sultanat to be called 'Zillullāh' (Shadow of God). Ghiyāthuddin Ghāzi Tughluq Shāh became the Sulṭān at the 'Alāi Capital of Siri in the year 721 (1321). According to Ḥusām, it was the 1st. of Sha'bān. 'Alāud-Din had drawn a good omen from Siri from the event of Ṭarghi. He adopted it as his place of residence and made it a capital. Jalāluddin made Kilu Khari his residence. Fearing mischief of the Turks, at the time of his accession, he made Delhi his capital as all the Turks dwelt in it. During his regime, Delhi became capital of Hind after its conquest and before it. Sikandar Ludi made Agra his residential quarters and transferred himself with his family to it. Hence it became a capital for him. It continued to be so after him and even to the day of the Author. Ḍiāud-Din says that he favoured the Ghiyathis, Jalāli and 'Alāi—the old houses with Amirship and government posts. He raised dignity of members of ancient families and distinguished them with manṣabs and ranks as well as of those persons who were equal to them. He bestowed amirship and other offices on persons of merit. He settled other matters in their central places and assigned offices to qualified persons. He ruled over the general public with justice, equity and kindness. He acted in accordance with tenets of shari'at in all matters. He maintained an equilibrium between two extremes of excess and deficiency.

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* Original Text, p. 853.

He remained steadfast on the middle path in all dealings of religion and world. He made reparation for the disturbed state of affairs which had taken place after the 'Alāi regime and established control over the frontiers and districts by appointment of persons who were noted for thrift, self-pride, purity and modesty. He brought down people to their respective positions. He set expenditure in proper order among different sections of people so that every one of them got what was proper for him. They were thus immune from request for it to one another. He forbade persecution of persons in collection of taxes and tributes. He ordered leniency to be shown towards farmers and cultivators. There was no jihād due to control of the frontiers and taxes and tributes were recovered in plenty due to stoppage of harassment. There was general prosperity and ease. The state enjoyed stability on account of a large army. It was large* because of transport facilities to reach places of disturbance within a short time which was again due to plenty and prosperity. A silver Kirāt (a weight of four barley-grains) was equal to a mithkāl of gold. Ḍiā has quoted the following line of Amir Khusraw, the poet of Delhi in respect of it:

> He did no work except with perfections of learning and reason
> You might say that he kept a hundred turbans beneath a cap.

One of his good points was the spread of fame in cities about immense wealth acquired through monopoly. It was multiplying more than average and sufficiency. Similarly, another thing which got circulated was corruption in state matters with casting of doubt and suspicion. In like manner, worthless persons were a source of trouble even though they had nothing to do with anything of the Diwān. He forbade their entry into the Diwān to dispel doubts and suspicions. One of the good features of his administration was strength of Shari'at with his own steadfastness in it first of all and then that of the people. He first of all preserved time to say prayers and that too with the congregation. He sat in company of learned scholars and heard them in respect of commandments and prohibitions. His another good quality was regard for the 'Alāi and Kuṭbi houses. He helped them and did not refuse grant of bounties to them. He sent for one who had arranged for the marriage of Khusraw with the wife of Kuṭbuddin just at the time when it was not legal for him and sufficiently rebuked him. He ordered him to be paraded in the city with sternness due to his disparagement of Kuṭbuddin's house. He obliged the muluk of the house and its mamālik with enlargement of largess to them, grant of glorious mansabs, elevated offices, and showed favours and treated them with respect and good manners. Similarly, he looked after the daughters of 'Alāuddin who were alive by giving them more than sufficient and arranged for their marriages with suitable persons with lavish presents. His another good characteristic was preservation of the frontiers of

* Original Text, p. 854.

Islām during his amirship. Diāuddin says that it was in respect of the Mughals always. In short, none ruled over the kingdom as he did or approached him in that respect. His another good feature was that he did not cause people to enjoy the world.

[It is written in Siyar ul-'Ārifin composed by Mawlānā Ḥāmid bin Faḍlullāh famous as Darwish Jamāli—it was composed during the regime of Sultān Humāyun, the Mughal, in Persian—that Khusraw Khān Parwān (Parmār) ascended the throne of Delhi after murder of Quṭbuddin Khalji. He distributed treasure among plebicians and patricians. He sent an amount of one, two, and three lakhs of tankas to holy men (mashāikh) and learned scholars also. Some of them made use of it, some waited to see the fate of * Khusraw while others refused to accept the gift. He sent five lakhs of tankas to Quṭbul-'Ārifin famous as Nizām ul-Awliyā. He took the amount and distributed it immediately among needy persons. He did not particularly make use of it for himself. After five months, Ghāzi Malek Tughluq Shāh became the ruler after murdering Khusraw. He established his control over the remaining treasure. On his accession, he first made inquiry about the extent of wealth and its expenditure on whom. Every one of them who had received, returned the amount. Now came the turn of turbaned persons. Those who had not utilised it, handed it over to the king's messenger but those who had spent it away, excused themselves. But Quṭb-ul-'Ārifin replied that it was from the Bait ul-Māl, (Public Treasury), needy persons had come to him; (he distributed the whole amount among them); he did not spend anything out of it for personal use. He particularly praised those who did not spend anything and those who did not accept anything. He reproached those who spent it on their needs. The Sultān did not send any person a second time to Quṭb ul-'Ārifin. It was below his dignity to meet a person like Khusraw. The Sultān kept the rest for himself and that was in accordance with religion.

In that age there was a large number of scholars who disapproved of the majlis of music (simā') and assemblage of ṣufis at the residence of Quṭb ul-'Ārifin. It was ecstasy and dancing in a state of music. They got an opportunity to make a move against him when they learnt that the Sulṭān was against it himself. They represented to him about what they disapproved of. They said to the Sultān whether it was proper for the Sulṭān to continue that innovation, when Imām-i-A'zam (Abu Ḥanifa) had said about it that it was unlawful. The Sultān should convene a majlis wherein the 'Ulamā and the Ṣufis should be present for helping the cause of shari'at. They should then be excused and the reply should come to him from the lord of authority. The Sulṭān as such had not said anything about music as I stated in history. There

* Original Text, p. 855.

was something wrong between him and Bakhtiyār the Quṭb of Delhi. He, therefore, ordered as represented to him. He, therefore, hastened for its response and convened a majlis at Tughluqābād. There was no turbaned man who was not present and who did not write a fatwā (a religious decree). The number of such persons reached to two hundred and fifty-three, every one of whom was a mufti. Simialrly, every one was present. The Sultān sent for the Qutb ul-'Ārifin. Men of perfection and others who were noted for accomplish-* ment in it presented themselves. Among them was Fakhruddin al-Zarrād, renowned among the ṣufis for state (Ḥāl) and word (Kāl) and who had attained to the stage of ijtihād (diligence, one who can decide a religious problem). The Sultān then explained as to why the meeting was called and requested the scholars to speak. Mawlānā Fakhruddin al-Zarrād turned towards the Sultān and said to him to choose these the rules of speech. For the rest, there should be consensus for saying wrong and then to explain that it was right or wrong from riwāyat (narration). The Sultān turned to the Kāḍi of the region Ruknuddin al-Walwālji and said to him to question what he liked. He turned to Sultān ul-Awliya and said to him. " What do you say in respect of simā, and what takes place in your majlis ? To what riwāyat you adhere to ? " He replied what was stated in the ḥudith (tradition). The Kāḍi said, " you are not a mujtahid. Reply me according to a riwāyat from Abi Ḥanifa." He replied. " I tell you from the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him while you demand from me the riwāyat of Abi Ḥanifa. If that is so from you, it is due to your pride of ḥukumat, you should immediately be dismissed from it. If that was your daring against Allāh and against whom who loves them and they love Him. You are devoid of faith in you, Al-Fāḍil, as-Ṣufi, al-Kāmil, Mawlānā 'Ilmuddin, grandson of al-Quṭb ur-Rabbāni Mawlānā Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya, may his grave be sanctified, was sitting behind Quṭbul-'Ārifin, agreed with him and stated that it was right. The Sultān stood up from the majlis and moved a few steps forward out of respect for him. When he extended his hand to take his hand the Shaikh turned towards Quṭb ul-Ārifin and saluted him first. He then turned towards the Sultān and saluted him and said, " what made you to give trouble to the gnostic Shaikh Sultān ul-Awliyā to make his appearance in this majlis ? He replied, " I bore upon him the trouble of the ' ulamā to convening this majlis to talk on simā ' Praise be to God for the benefit we have received from your presence also for verification of truth and falsification of falsehood." The Mawlānā said to him, " I travelled to Mekka, Madina, Egypt and Syria. I perambulated those prosperous places with deeds which are in accordance with shari'at. I saw with those blessed traces that there is unanimity on Simā' between the Ṣufi mashāikh of elevated rank and Imāms of Shari'at and Kāḍis of Islām as he made an

* Original Text, p. 856.

effort to show them in that. There is no objection for them for having with the 'ulamā and the Ḥukkām (rulers). There is no doubt about sibility of music for its people. Mawlānā Quṭb ul-'Ārifin and his compa are people of that category. Their interior and exterior are embellishe abstemiousness, fear of God and good morals. Every one of them is a state and perfection. All persons who imitate their morals and dye ther according to their way, receive their beneficent blessings. What ha settled by the Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him simā' and ecstasy is the truest truth to follow. When the Sultān heard M Shaikh 'Ilmuddin what he said in the public majlis, he repented for havin trouble to Quṭb ul-Ārifin but he had no power over it. He stood up w face towards him kissing his hands with humility, decorum and respec followed him to his house apologetic towards him. The Quṭb moved Ghiyāthpur, his residential quarter, may his grave be sanctified and may benefit us through him and the Muslims and may He make our visit blessed grave easy: Amen, Amen, Amen. May God accept it wi obligation. The narrator said about the character of the Sultān that w returned after following the Quṭb to his majlis, he reprimanded th Ruknuddin Alwalwālji and dismissed him from the post of the Qāḍi. Th of this was received by the Quṭb before he entered his office.

This is what is narrated about the good qualities of Sultān ul-Awli his grave be sanctified from Imām Shihābuddin. One day, the Quṭb pay a visit to Quṭb-i-Dehli. Mawlānā Shaikh Quṭbuddin Bakhtiyār al may his grave be sanctified. He said, " I and Mawlānā Burhānuddin were moving in his stirrup. When he returned from the blessed tor passage of the Quṭb chanced to be by Hawḍ-i-Shamsi for a visit to th of some of the saints situated at the Hawḍ (reservoir). When he w from the Fātiḥa ceremony and prayers, he saw Khwāja Ḥasan b. 'Alā' S the famous poet and his companions sitting on a side of the Ḥawḍ for He had knowledge of it beforehand. He composed the following lines:

> For the last so many years, we are associates
> Had there been impression of association, where is it?
> Our piety did not lessen wickedness from our heart
> Our wickedness is better than your piety.

The Quṭb heard what he recited. He said, " yes, there is influence of so These words of the Quṭb created an impression upon him and that ver his head revealed (something), he fell at the feet of the Quṭb with repe and became his disciple and followed him along with his companions. H

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* Original Text, p. 857.

† Original Text, p. 858

reached the age of seventy-three. He coloured himself in the colour of the Quṭb by his acceptance, organised himself in a single thread of his companions and compiled a book " Fawāid ul-Fuwād." This book has become an intimate friend of men of God, a guide to the path. It was applauded by the Quṭb. The world famous poet Amir Khusraw said, " Would that, the approbation of ' Fawāid ul Fuwād ' was connected with me. I would have given away all my books in exchange for that. Khwāja Ḥasan writes about his poetic name

Oh Ḥasan ! you repented only then.
When you had no power to commit sin.

On Music

I have written in second chapter of my book " Nathr ud-Durar " on coffee. I have also reproduced the statement of Shaikh-ul-Islām Shihāb ul-Millat wad Din 'Umar Suhrawardi about music. He says that religion permits it but under certain conditions. Conditions of the circle are four pillars (arkān) : 1. Zamān (time); 2. Makān (place); 3. Akhwān (brothers) ; 4. Quwwat ul-Imān (strength of faith). For every rukn (pillar), there are four attributes. One of them is the attributes of Time. One does not like wasting his property or mourning like the early part of night or like it and not the close of night and its like. Wasting time for prayers is not good. The condition of Place is to be alone except the party which intend for music. The condition of broṭhers is safety of hearts of one another. The condition of faith is that no one should stand or move except under a state of true ecstasy and overpowered state. We should seek forgiveness of God after departure of these conditions. Removal of one of the attributes of every rukn is sufficient as there is tune in it. Shaikh Aḥmad b. 'Atāullāh al-Sikandari says that music is based on three means: 1. He hears it with disposition. The elite and the commoners share it. 2. He hears it with ' state ' ; he ponders over action and reaction of rebuke and reproach in a clear manner. He hears it with truth ; with God and for God. The gnostic Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muśa b. 'Ajil al-Yamani may his grave be sanctified was questioned about the Ṣufi Simā'. He said that it was permissible though I am not worthy of it. I do not disapprove of it also. I had heard from one* who is better than me, Shaikh ul-'Ārif Abul Ḥasan b. Sālem may his grave be sanctified said, " How can I disaprove of it when I have heard about it from one who is better than me. Some of the gnostics entered into a majlis of simā' followed by certain thelogians who disapproved of it, among the Ṣufis. They began to go round in an ecstatic state in the house with all joy. He said, " Oh theologian ! I saw you taking rounds. " He said, " It is a difficult problem for me to enlighten you. I was disposed towards it with all joy. My joy was uncontrollable. I stood up and moved round and round as you saw. " He

* Original Text, p. 859.

said, "Oh Theologian! This is from your joy. How can you disappr one who is exultant with God, the Holy and the Almighty?" Junay his grave be sanctified said, "You hear it and then do not be benefited b He said, "You hear it and your self." He said from what was said that it was from God. It is said in "al-'Awārif," they do not hear it from worthy persons with worthy persons. They give it up when the br are missed. Hāfiz Muqaddasi says that Abū Maṣ'ab asked Mālek, may G pleased with him, about simā'. He said, "I do not know it. Men of le say it is legal and they do not disapprove of it. They do not sit away f nor they disapprove of it except a recluse, or an idiot or an ignorant dirty temper. In the 'Tātārkhāniya', conditions of its legality as stat the Ṣufi mashāikhs are mentioned. It is also stated that falsehood in e is worse than slander etc. etc. In short, there is no permission for simā' age. Junayd, may mercy of God be on him repented of it.]

Ḍiāuddin said that he titled his son Fakhruddin Juna as Ulugh Kh the day of his accession. He favoured him with the country of Hind canopy. He titled his brother as Fakhruddin. They were four: B Khān, Zabar Khān, Maḥmud Khān and Nuṣrat Khān. He bestowed th of Kashlu Khān on Bahrām, King of Sind. He assigned Multān to him in tion to Sind. There was fraternity of faith between them. He disting Tughluq Shāh son of his brother Malek Asaduddin with Deputyship of E while he appointed Malek Bahāuddin son of his sister in charge of Diw 'Arḍ. His son-in-law Malek Shādi was appointed as Wazir. He was Amirship of Dādbek (Minister of Justice). Tatar Khān the adopted so titled Tatār ul-Mulk. He was favoured with Zafarābād. Malek Burhān, of Katlugh Khān was titled as 'Ālām ul-Mulk. He was favoured wi manṣab of Kotwāl. Katlugh Khān was assigned the Wazirship of I Malek 'Ali Haidar was appointed as Nāib Vakil. Qāḍi Sama'uddin was f ed with Qaḍā (magistracy) of the city and titled as Qāḍi Kamāluddin, Jahān Malek Tājuddin Ja'afar was appointed as Deputy of Gujarat and s Khwāja Khaṭir, Malek ul-Wuzarā Auḥdi (?) and Khwāja Muhazzab be to the ancient house of wazirs. The world seated them and made them with its favour, and distinguished them with pomp, respect, regard an They were granted appropriate means of livelihood or more according to status. Robes of honour were conferred upon them. They were invited in his majlis. He was helped by them in state matters.

When he was free from assignment of offices to different perso settlement of affairs in their appropriate places, he prepared his son Khān for march to Urangal (Warangal) in the very year of his accessio

* Original Text, p. 860.

ruler Ludra Dev garrisoned himself in the fort along with a party of other rāis. His entry in his country was a signal for ruthless massacre. Ulugh Khān alighted at the city ....and ordered to sack the region. He took stern measures to capture the fort while men of the ruler prevented him to achieve his object. Rāi Ludra Dev sought for peace on the same terms as peace was concluded with Kāfur Hazār Dināri but he did not accept the terms. In the meanwhile, means of correspondence and communication were cut off. Ulugh Khān used to receive post every week. There is no doubt that fearful places were without men of watch and nauba. He was in his anxiety when news spread in the camp about death of Tughluq Shāh. This rumour was started by the poet 'Ubaid and Prince Damishki. Both of them enjoyed the special favour of proximity with Ulugh Khān. They did not satisfy themselves with this alone but they informed Malek Tamar, Malek Takin, Malek Mal Afghān and Malek Kāfur Muhtadār (seal bearer) as having heard from Ulugh Khān that he had resolved to kill the whole party and that their names were first in the list. They were 'Alāi Muluk of the first rank and of wide renown in the sultanat. They were at their respective places. They did not see their falsehood. They got themselves ready and left the camp. Their exit with their followers created perturbation in the camp so much so that one was about to fall on the other. Hence, men of the fort dared to come out. They fell upon their baggage and resorted to extensive sack. Ulugh Khān rode out with those persons who were with him leaving behind his baggage and proceeded towards Deogir. He did not know what was the cause of it. In the meanwhile, a messenger of the Saltanat arrived and reported contrary to what was rumoured. Ulugh Khān collected his mind and marched towards Deogir without a return. His army assembled around him with the exception of the above mentioned persons. They dispersed on arrival of the messenger. Their soldiers deserted them and joined Ulugh Khān. Tamar went with a small band to the frontiers of a Hindu ruler in whom he had confidence and died there. Takin, amir of Oudh delighted in fighting with the unbelievers and died. They sent him with his skin to* Deogir. Mal, Kāfur, poet 'Ubaid and Damishki were sent as captives to Deogir. It became clear to Ulugh Khān that the cause of mischief was 'Ubaid and Damiski. He sent them along with Mal to his father. He thus became triumphant over them. The Sultān assembled all members of their families in a prison. When they came to him, he received news of the death of Tamar and Takin. The Sultān came to Siri and ordered all of them to be presented in a public assembly. They were thus brought before him. He ordered all of them to be crucified. He issued an order to punish their wives and children. They perished under feet of elephants. His dread settled in hearts. He then prepared the muluk and the amirs for march to Deogir. He sent a canopy for his

* Original Text, p. 861.

son and made him an absolute Sultān so that the muluk and soldiers m look to any other except he and that they should have connection onl him. He feared disturbance following it as before. Ulugh Khān march wards Telang (Telingana). He first encamped at the city of Badr, con it and made its chief a captive. He marched to Urangal (Warangal alighted at it and conquered it by force. He captured Ludra Dev, alon those who were with him, his treasure, his elephants and what he owne indited a letter of victory to Delhi. He sent Ludra Dev with what he charge of Bedār Kadr Khār and Khwāja Ḥājji, nā'ib Diwān ul-'Arḍ to He stayed at Urangal (Wārangal), named it Sultānpur, controlled T administered it and collected its annual revinue. He then marched to nagar and collected forty chains of elephants. He returned to Urangal an them to Delhi as stated in the history of the Dekkan. The Sultān foun city in his own name and called it Tughlakābād. He resided there with bers of his family and followers and made it the capital. He received a from certain 'āmils about harassment of 'āmils of Lakhnawati and its bouring region. He sent Ulugh Khān to it. After his arrival, the S marched to Lakhnawati. When he encamped at Tirhat the Ṣāḥib (lord, governor) of Lakhnawati, Sultān Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud Bukrā Khān, Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Balban came and met him. In his wake, the chief locality and prominent residents, arrived. None was left out. Tatār ul started from his place to come to Sārangpur in pursuit of its governor Ba Shāh who had become proud. He faced him and led him to the Sult chains. He returned with all his elephants. That locality was turned booty for the soldiers. He permitted Nāṣir ud-Din to return to Lakhn He sent an 'āmil of pomp and power to Satgānw and Sonārgānw. He ret to Tughlukābād while Bahādur Shāh in chains was under his charge. commander of the army (Amir ul-Jaish) was left behind with baggage a hastened to Tughlukābād. Ulugh Khān received news of his hasty arriva ordered to construct a structure at a distance of four farsakhs from Tug bād near Afghānpur with a door on its outside to alight for the army ordered Tughlukābād to be decorated. The Sultān arrived and alighted structure. Ulugh Khān hastened with muluk to him. They* kissed the in obeisance and decorum. Tughluq Shāh sent for food. They came out majlis after eating. A lightning fell on ceiling of the majlis. The ceilin down upon him and he died a martyr along with a party with him. history of Ḥusām Khān, it is stated that elephants were at the elevated ex place overlooking the maidān. They were thousands with bells and banners standing section after section in front of the Kharja (outside plac the distance of an arrow-shot. He ordered them to come all of them to

* Original Text, p. 862.

the Kharja. They rushed forward, the earth stretched under their feet, the structure quaked, the Kharja collapsed and he died. It was also that he was against music as sanctioned by religion. Qutb-ul-'Ārifin Mawlānā Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Awliya was in favour of it. When he came to Tughlaqābād, he sent some one with a request to stop it. I say, he had resolved to wait upon him at his first arrival. He said and repeated it saying that he would ask him to stop it on his arrival at Delhi. His Holiness remarked, " Still Delhi is far off. " It was from his order as it was. It was on the last day (of the month?) of the year 724 (1323). He left behind all his children as stated above. Ḍiā-ud-Din said that the Sultān raised Islām to its honourable place. He made strenuous efforts to conquer the world to please his Lord. He returned to the neighbourhood of his palace. It was not destined for him. He was in sound health to be with members of his family. Tush for this world and alas for its seeker. It is nothing but a dream.

Sultān Fakhr ud-Din Ulugh Muḥammad Shāh son of Ghāzi Tughluq Shāh.

Muḥammad Shāh son of Tughluq Shāh Ghāzi ascended the throne of saltanat at Tughluqābād. All obeyed him. It was in the early part of the * year 725 (1324). He stayed there for forty days. He then had his accession at the old capital of Delhi. Following his predecessors-sultāns—he ordered it to be decorated. He issued forth from Tughluqābād with all the muluk. He ordered to carry gold and silver on all elephants to be kept in front and make an offering of them to the people. These precious metals were kept in charge of a party of muluk. When he entered from the Badāun gate to penetrate into the palace-gate, the muluk took gold in their hands from trays and showered it in all directions on the public from windows of howdahs. Ḍiāud-Din said that none was superior to him in this respect. Many prayers and praises were showered on him. Many persons enriched themselves. On the day of his accession, he appointed his uncle Firuz as Bārbak and Qiwām ud-Din Qutlugh Khān as Vakil. Muḥammad Alp Khān son of Qutlugh Khān was appointed as Amir of Gujarat. Ayāz Khān Shihāb ud-Din was nominated as Malek-ut-Tujjār (merchant prince) at Navsāri, in Gujarat. Ḥuṣām Khān has also narrated in a similar manner. He further said that he indulged himself in reforms of matters which complicated his time. He treaded over it by reversing established rules. He intended to make Deo-gir his capital. He began it by building caravanserais and villages at every manzil from Delhi to Deo-gir on the path. He then ordered nobles of Delhi and prominent residents to transfer themselves from it to it. He paid them price of their property, means of transport and

* Original Text, p. 863.

provisions. He marched with them to Deo-gir. He built a city called D tābād at foot of the fort. He prospered it as capital. People constructed buildings. Delhi became empty in toto.

Ḍiāud-Din said that the first revolt which took place in the saltana that of Bahrām Kashla Khān, lord of Sind and Multān. Ḥusām Khā that Muḥammad Shāh sent Ali Khaṭṭaṭi to summon Kashlu Khān from He responded to him and came out with him to Multān. A conversation place between the envoy 'Ali Khaṭṭaṭi and Luli, son-in-law of Kashlu Kh to what led to the revolt. The envoy was killed in this wrangle, where Kashlu Khān did not come. The Sultān received news of the envoy's m He therefore marched against him. He marched from Deo-gir to Delhi collected the army and set out for Multān. The two armies encount Kashlu Khān was killed in the battle-field. His followers fled away. His was brought to the Sultān. He issued an order for massacre of the peo Multān. There lived in Multān Shaikh ul-Islām Mawlānā Shaikh Ruku u He pleaded in respect of citizens. Amnesty was granted. Muḥammad returned to Delhi. Ḍia ud-Din said that he stayed for a year. Soldier with him while their women and relations were at Deo-gir. In the mea there was general ruin of land, animals and men who were forced to go. sold their animals, and burnt their property. An order came for massa people and their belongings. People were despaired of life due to severit harassment and assassination of helpers of the state. Soldiers sacke country from side of the saltanat and they killed the residents. The S went out for hunting to the region of Baran. He legally permitted soldi plunder and murder. The chiefs kept themselves close to elevated places Baran fort. There was general ruin in it also.

Ḍiā ud-Din said that secondly, there was a revolt of Fakhr in Beng the death of Bahrām Khān. He marched to Sonārganw from Delhi account will come in the history of Bengal. His army marched to Kanaw year. He resorted to plunder and massacre as far as Dalāmu. Thos escaped to desolate and deserted places were alone spared from death. Ḍ Din said that a third revolt took place in Ma'bar in the Deklan while he in the frontiers of Kanawj. The cause of it was the invasion of the fat Ibrāhim Kharāitdār (bearer of bags of letters) called Sayyid Aḥsan amirs. He killed them and established his independent power on desert the Saltanat's army to his side. The Sultān received a report of it. He r ed to Delhi. He was surrounded by Ibrāhim and members of his family marched from it to Deo-gir. At the third or fourth manzil, he received n a famine at Delhi. Its roads were blocked up by robbers. When he re

* Original Text, p. 864.

Deo-gir, he was very severe upon its 'âmils and amirs. Many persons perishe in search of them. He was then violent with Maratha cultivators. He achiev ed his object thereby. He then sent Malek Ahmad Ayaz to Delhi and favoure him with deputyship. He marched to Telang. After arrival of Aḥmad Ayā at Delhi, there shot up a revolt at Lāhore. Aḥmad Ayāz suppressed ' Simultaneous with the arrival of the Sultān at Urangal, an epidemic broke o and disease spread. Many muluk and amirs died. The Sultān also was caught in the disease. Malek Kabulan was appointed as Nā'ib. He was given th country of Telang. In a state of indisposition, he returned to Deo-gir. Shihā Sultāni was prepared to march to the city of Badr. He was titled Nuṣrat Khān He guaranteed one hundred lakhs of tankas in its monopoly. He gave Deo-g' its adjacent territory, and the whole of the Maratha region to Qutlugh Khā and left behind him there. He returned to Delhi in an indisposed conditio He had determined at Telang to permit people to return to their property .. Delhi. They moved to Delhi. Those who found it difficult to move on accoun of heavy baggage, made the Dekkan their native place.

Fourthly, as Ḥusām Khān said that the Sultān gave people money fro the treasury on their return to Delhi as was done at the first time. The caus of it was that when Delhi was evacuated, as hinted at before, the whole of Dell including door-keepers, was evacuated; or as Ḍiaud-Din narrated that whe he returned to it, he did not find a particle out of one thousand. The Mugha heard the report of migration in Khurāsān and 'Irāq; Narma Shirin, brother c Qutlugh Khwāja prepared himself for march against it. Muḥammad Shāh hear about that, he travelled and made people travel to it. After his arrival at i Narma Shirin came and encamped outside Delhi. His soldiers scattered them selves on the sides of Lahore, Badāun, Sāmāna etc. They assailed, plundere pillaged and demolished buildings. They did what Muḥammad Shāh had n courage to do. All Muslim places in Hind had practically become devoid agriculture and prosperity. Muḥammed Shāh remained in a besieged state t Narma Shirin returned after laying waste the whole region. After he crosse the river of Sind, Muḥammad Shāh came out to Kalānaur in his wake an returned. This is what he has narrated. But Ḍia ud-Din said that Muḥamma Shāh returned to Delhi. There was desolation, draught, and it did not rain i the year. There were cracks in the land, Nothing grew up except rubbish gras Horses and cattle perished except what God had wished. He opened treasure He ordered to sink wells as help to agriculture. But God grows with water the skies, water of the wells do not grow. A large number of people perishe

In 724 (1323), there was a revolt at Multān and this is the fifth. T Sultān did not maintain a balance in his movements and postures. He aspire

* Original Text, p. 865.

that which was beyond his power in regard to Persia. Its account will fol in detail at the close of this book. He lost what he did not control in I His head was not void of government. He coveted full power and authorit his kingdom. Shāhu Afghāni revolted at Multān. He became dominent it. He killed its Amir Bahzād. Muḥammad received a report about it. was thinking of world prosperity. He marched against him. He was nc from Delhi except a few stages when he received news of death of his m Makhduma-i-Jahān. His life became bitter. She was blessed, pious, virtı She distributed much money among needy persons, poor men, orphans, w and travellers. There were many prayers on her behalf as well as invocati God's mercy compared to her good deeds and charity. He returned givin his march. Just then, he heard news of Shāhu's invasion against his kins Afghāns. Ḍiā said that he wrote to Muḥammad Shāh that he had resume submission and that he would not return to do a similar deed. Muḥam Shāh returned to Delhi and made efforts for fertility of the land and spent upon it. He ordered to sink innumerable wells. Cultivators had reache extreme limit of helplessness. They could not go against his order. tongues had become wide due to despair. He inflicted severe punishmer negligence in agriculture and its operation. He then marched to Si Sāmāna, Khaitul, Kuhrām, Koh Pāyah for disobedience of their residents. stretched hands in plunder. He subdued chiefs of Koh Pāyah. They called Rānās because they suspended sword. Residents, eminent men headmen were brought under submission. He returned with them to D They had with them, members of their families, servants, cattle etc. accepted Islām. They attained to the rank of amirship. They were c Their eminent men achieved great status. Besides amir-ships, they favoured with mansabs. In like manner, he widened means of livelihoo others in accordance with their demands. Those localities enjoyed secı He then marched to the sides of Koh Pāyah. After pillage, he turned to notable men who embraced Islām as residents of Koh Pāyah had done. F became secure thereby. Sixthly, there was the event of Urangal. Malek I was in charge of it. Kitā Nāyak invaded him. It was difficult to fight him. He left it and returned to Delhi. Kitā Nāyak conquered Urangal a as all the districts of Telang. This portion went out of control of Delhi jur tion to this our day. Ḥusām Khān narrates that Bahāddin, cousin of the S invaded Dawlatabād. Mischief was suppressed by his murder. His attack earlier than that of Kitā Nāyak. It is mentioned in the history of the De in the first daftar. Ḍāud-Din said that the ' Āmil of Kanbila renounced I He was a relative of Lakanpul. This portion of territory also went out of control. Continued attacks became general in the region. It spread to

* Original Text, p. 866. † Original Text, p. 867

external territory except Deogir and Gujarat. Whenever Muḥammad Shāh heard of a revolt, he became severe upon the people and inflicted hard punishment upon them. Wherever news of his punishment spread, most people got themselves dispersed. Skies became silent, and famine became severe. Muḥammad Shāh strove for prosperity. Citizens secretly went out with his soldiers and elephants to Badāun, Katihar, and return to it. They then migrated to it. They then migrated to other places when famine conditions became very severe. He also encamped on the Ganges leaving behind Patiāli, Kanphol and Khor. He built houses for residents. He began with the soldiers. The whole shore became a place of residence. It was named Sargadāwari. It is a trade centre. Banjāras from Karra and Oudh bring food-grains to the market of Sargodauari. People are slightly happy because of corn. ' Ayn-ul-Mulk and his brother are ' āmil. They have subdued disobedient persons by sword and established authority in round-about places and spread order. The Sultān halted for a period at Sargodāwari. 'Ayn-ul-Mulk and his brother tried food-grains and cloth to be brought to it and to Delhi. The cash realised is seventy or eighty lakhs of tankas. The Sultan put faith in the worth of 'Āyn-ul Mulk for the state. Because of his efficiency in administration, he was appointed to Wizārat and Niyābat. He heard from the 'āmils of Tughluq Khān at Deogir that they were dispirited because of fall in revenue. He therefore transferred 'Ayn-ul-Mulk to Deo-gir in place of Tughluq Khān. He was appointed as Wazir of Deogir. 'Ayn-ul-Mulk learnt about it. He had administered Karra and Oudh. They had certain dealings agricultural interests etc. There were many notable men at Delhi particularly men of pen. They go out to Karra and Oudh and Zafarabād out of dread for punishment of the Sultān. Those who returned to 'Ayn-ul-Mulk with obedience to him did so because of tras-action in monopoly and agriculture etc. Many a time, the Sultān had heard about departure of men of pen.........he was not pleased with this but he connived at them. He* wrote to him to submit his account of Sargodawari. He went out in all haste from Delhi to Sargodawari. He heard about his Wizarat of Deogir. He feared it to be a trick. His fear became serious when it was written to him and called him for that purpose.

Ḍāud-Din said that his departure from Delhi to Sargodawari became a cause of revolt of the Sultān of Māyan. It was the seventh revolt. He exacted something more for himself from businessmen in lieu of monopoly of Karra district. When he came to Karra, he had no power over the ten topics of the Diwān. The mamālik brought him to the extent of his power and helped him with a number of office-men. He carried a canopy over his head and styled himself as Sultān 'Alāud-Din. Muḥammad learnt about it. While he was going

* Original Text, p. 868.

out, he heard from 'Ayn-ul-Mulk that he proceeded to Karra, caught hir killed him. Just after receipt of news, his skin came to Delhi. Inspite of Shaikhzāda Bistāmi prepared himself for march from Delhi. He was th in-law of the Sultān being related to his sister. He gave him Karra pursued the helpers of Māyan and killed them. There was a revolt of S Sultāni in the city of Badr. It was the eighth event. Shihāb was tit Nuṣrat Khān. Bidr was cut off to be joined with Karnatak (Kartank the last three years. He did not take one-fourth of revenue. He was shop-keeper. He was seized with dread of punishment. He rebelle garrisoned himself within the fort of Bidr. Qutlugh Khān, lord of I alighted on him, captured him, sent him to Delhi and controlled the fo returned to Deogir. Then there was the revolt of 'Ali Shāh in the D It was the nineth. 'Ali Shāh was the son of 'Alāi Zafar Khān's sister was an Amir of one hundred in service of Tughluq Khān, lord of Deogi sent him to Gulbarga to collect tribute. He took it old from the army. brother and his companions joined him. He killed Bahran, amir of Gu and brought the city under his control. He captured Bidr and reno submission of the Sultān. Tughlaq Khān marched against him under the order. When he entered into his boundary, he offered resistance and for an hour. He fled to Bidr. Quṭlugh Khān alighted on him and grant security. He sent him with his followers to the Sultān at Sargodāwar sent with them to Ghazni. They returned from it. He ordered them punished in the expanse of the palace.*

Then shot up the revolt of 'Ayn ul-Mulk at Karra. It was raised b greatest muluk who enjoyed elevated rank in the neighbourhood of the S They were all members of his majlis. In spite of this, they wanted to a from his punishment. Because of fraternity, they assembled at Sargod They issued forth at mid-night with his brotherhood and soldiers to Zafarābād. His brother was prepared with four hundred horse and he m towards Gadaragang from the side of Sargodawari. He seized the ele who grazed at Gadāiā. He moved on with them to his camp. Hence, a broke out at Sargodāwari. Muḥammad Shāh summoned the contingent Sāmāna, Amroha, Baran, Kaul and Aḥmadābād. After their assembla marched towards Kanawj and alighted in its building, 'Ayn ul-Mulk was man of the category of pomp and grandeur. Sultān Muḥammad had wit his exploits with his father in a war with the Mughals. He had gained v over them at twenty places. Besides 'Ayn ul-Mulk had crossed the river from beneath Bankarmu. He alighted in opposition to the Sultān with hi of pen. Army of Delhi may desert the Sultān in favour of them. The

* Original Text, p. 869.

spent the night and in the morning, some amirs opposed him and put him to flight and captured him as a prisoner. He killed his brothers in the battle-field. His followers fled to the river Ganga. Those who were left behind from the river were killed. Most of them entered the river and got drowned. Those who came out of the river, fell a captive in the hands of unbelievers. The Amir and his soldiers collected spoils of war. When he came with 'Ayn ul-Mulk to Muḥammad Shah, he said, in regard to him, " He is a man of wisdom with soundness of heart. There is nothing in his nature anything of evil. A fall alone was ordained for him. He did not care for it. Days were in accord with him as they came to him. He then summoned him, showed favour to him, raised his rank, bestowed a robe of honour on him and assigned to him elevated position as befitted him. His children, family and subordinates met between themselves.

He then marched from Bankarmu to Bharāich and visited the tomb of the auspicious martyred commander of religious war Sultān Maḥmud Subuksagin. He distributed a large sum of money in charity among those who looked after the tomb. He ordered Aḥmad Ayāz to advance and encamp on the way to Lakhnawati. He did not invite any of the rebels who sided with 'Ayn ul-Mulk to go there. He who gained a victory with him and who had fled from Delhi,* joined them to go there. The Sultān returned from Bharāich to Delhi. In like manner, Aḥmad Ayāz returned to it with what he had taken from them.

Diāud-Din said that he recollected at Sargodāwari that the Khutba in his name in the saltanat was not proper without permission of the 'Abbāsi Khalifa of the age. Ḥusām Khān writes in this respect that Tughluq Khān entertained no fear about it hence the Sultān emboldened himself about it. I say, that he questioned about it to the Khalifa of the age. He clarified it saying that he who was contemporaneous with him in the region of Hijāz or Egypt was Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh. Abil 'Abbās Aḥmad b-al-Mustakfi Billāh Abir Rabi 'Sulaimān b. Ḥākim bi Amrillāh Abi 'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abi 'Ali al-Ḥasan al-Kubbi b. 'Ali b. Abi Bakr b. al-Khalifa al-Mustarshid Billāh Abi Manṣur al-Faḍl al-'Abbāsi. One of the Egyptian Khalifas. First among them was al-Mustansir Billāh Abul O Qāsim Aḥmad. The Sultān of Egypt was now az-Ẓāhir Bibras. Al-Mustansir of Baghdād separated in the event of al-Must'sim, the last Khalifa of 'Irāq. That was in formality. He came to Egypt and proved his lineage az-Ẓāhir took him by the hand and took an oath of fealty for Khilāfat on 13th Rajab, 659 (1260). Muḥammad Shāh wrote a letter to Ḥākim. He was at Sargodāwari. When he returned to Delhi, he sent an envoy to Misr with a letter and recited the Khutba in the name of Ḥakim. He suspended the Khutba in his name till permission. That was in the year, 742 (1341). Ḍiāud-Din said that it was

* Original Text, p. 870.

744 (1343), when the envoy returned from Miṣr (Egypt) accompanied by an envoy of the Khalifa Ḥājji Sa'eed al-Sarṣari. He had with him a letter of the Khalifa for Khilāfat, a robe of honour and a flag. Muḥammad Shāh received him with all the muluk, amirs, sayyids of the state, imāms, mashāikh, sufis, kādis, ṣadrs (justices), muftis, khaṭibs, nakibs, preachers, eminent men of every art, chiefs of every trade. He had ordered for decoration of cities and manifestation of rejoicing. He alighted at a distance of a bow-shot from his horse and walked on foot to him and kissed his feet. He took the letter from him as befitted it and ordered to make offerings on khil'at and levā (flag). After that, he presented himself in the Jāme 'for the first Khuṭba. He ordered to make a mention of the Khalifa first in the Khuṭba and then his mention. He forbade the Khaṭib to speak anything which was not permitted in the Khuṭba. The Khaṭib then raised his voice with the mention of Ḥakim when trays of gold and silver were sprinkled in offering. He ordered to inscribe the* name of the Khalifa on fringes and banners. He then gave lot of gold and cloth to Sarṣari and permitted him to return. He gave him presents befitting the Khalifa and himself. It consisted of a very precious jewel. His envoy Ḥājji Rajab al-Barkai' was with him. I say, the statement of Ḍiāud-Din follows informing that the ḥājib who opened the letter was his mamluk Malek-i-Kabir Jāmdār. He spoke at length in praise. He was from among the mamālik of Muḥammad Shāh. He said that he spoke about his good qualities, justice, kindness, obligation, purity and integrity. There was no sultān of Delhi who had perfection of being and attributes. He said that there was none who could approach him in respect of servants of his master Muḥammad Shāh who is made Khalifa in the kingdom after him and who is titled "Qabul-i-Khalifati". Out of his abundant faith in al-Ḥākim al-'Abbāsi, he wrote a letter to him in his own hand-writing surrendering his own self to him. After two years, Ḥājji Rajab al-Barkai came back to him. He was accompanied by Shaikh ush-Shuyukh of Egypt from the side of the Khalifa. They had brought with them a letter, a khil'at and a flag. Muḥammad Shāh welcomed them. He displayed extreme humility in manners for the letter of the Khalifa and lost no moment for its respect. Love of the Khalifa implanted itself in his mind. His faith increased in him. There was no second when he made no mention of the Khalifa. The word Khalifa was constantly on his tongue. At this time, he dismounted from his horse from the city-gate and walked to his place in the palace with a letter of the Khalifa on his head. He had issued an order whereupon the Mughal amirs and nobles took an oath of allegiance for the letter of the Khalifa. He had always in his hand a copy of the Holy Qurān, Mushāriq and the letter. None advanced to him but took an oath of allegiance for the letter. Muḥammad Shāh received Mughal deputations for allegiance with un-

* Original Text, p. 871.

told wealth. After showing regard to Shaikh ush-Shuyukh, he permitted him to return along with his companions to the Khalifa with jewels and presents unheard of and unseen. They were from Khanbhayat of Gujarât. After Shaikh ush-Shuyukh, envoys of the Khalifa repeatedly came to Khanbhayat* and Broach with letters and other things sent. The letters mostly contained humility, decorum and service. Makhdum Zâda arrived from Baghdâd with greetings, met him and came to Siri with him. He was alighted in a palace. He made him a ḥâkim at Siri and Kanawj and designated him Makhdum Zâda. When he presented himself in his Diwân, he got down from the throne, received him by moving a few steps and seated him on the throne. He sat before him on his knees with etiquette and did so when he returned. He bore faith in him by paying him ten lakhs of tankas added to which was the revenue of Siri and Kanawj both from inside the fort and outside of it. He was granted gardens and reservoirs and springs adjacent to them. The historian of Firuz Shâhi was greatly amazed at his contradictory qualities and wonderful attributes. I did not believe it with certainty. It is so with me now also. I found his deeds in conformity with shari'at. He styled himself as Sultân Muḥammad. Besides, his name is the noblest name of the sons of Âdam. I found him avoiding titles and designations which were of Sultâns from ancient times and regarded them as shameful. I found him in humility and decorum for alive and dead 'Abbâsis. His own mamâlik were not pleased with that. Inspite of this, what I witnessed with my own eyes was that a day did not pass when blood of the muslims was not spilled in expanse of the palace. It used to flow over it. His Diwân-us-Siyâsat (Tribunal of Punishment) was situated at the palace-gate. It was a rendezuous of scholastic philosophers who had receded from Islâm. There were muftis, kâḍi, munṣif and muḥtasib (censor). He who renounced their creed, was ordered to be punished. Would to God! they had contented themselves with debate. Their enmity carried them to argumentation and made demands from men of unity. People were always in serious calamity from them on which their sultân lived. I, the historian, how can I be on certainty from his side and express amazement. I say what has been mentioned. He was one of the wonders of creation of God, the Holy. He did not restrain external opposite qualities by guess and conjecture.

Ḍiâud-Din said that after his return from Bharaich to Delhi he stayed for three or four years and devoted himself to state affairs. Firstly, he devoted himself to fertility of the land by means of agriculture in accordance with the ideas of the Sultân. He found out some new means for that. He restrained the pen and paid attention to practical method. If the land was not cultivated† in accordance with his method, the advantages would have been few. There

* Original Text, p. 872.

† Original Text, p. 873.

was more of agriculture and the fields were replete with bounties. Treasur became full. It became easy to increase employment of retinue which led possibility of conquest of the world. He created a Diwān for this method a named it Dwān-i-Amir-Karohi. He appointed men of charge and police to lo after it. As for example, in a circle of thirty in thirty kiroh (kos) that is, farsakh, there was no vacant place even to the extent of a cubit of hand fr cultivation. Barley was changed with wheat for example and wheat wi sugar-cane and sugar-cane with grapes and dates. For fertilisation of such circle, he appointed nearly one hundred Havāldars. He presented before hims who did not think of the future. His glance was limited to greed for love of world due to help for collection of dirhams in the treasury—a large quanti They wrote letters for the Diwān to cultivate three hundred thousand bighas barren land within three years. Produce of it would be sufficient for thousand horsemen and gold embroidered clothes of the sultanat as well beasts of burden such as horses, animals and cash. He fixed for cultivation every 300,000 bighas, 500,000 tankas as instalments for men of avarice in de They should be increased. They wrote letters and took from the treasury every 300,000 bighas of the barren land and one thousand horsemen, 50,0 tankas. It was cold booty for them. They spent it for their maintenan Those pieces of land were mostly barren. They were unfit for cultivation. Th spent the money and waited for punishment in change. More than seve lakhs of tankas were spent from the treasury for them. Within a limited peri the land did not yield as much as the expenditure from the treasury, not to t extent of one thousand part. If the Sultān returned from Thattha to Delhi, of them would perish in punishment. Secondly, his offerings to the Mugh from the treasury. In winter, the amirs of Altaman, Hazāra and Alḥasān, a women and slaves waited in large numbers in deputation upon him. He w generous to them by giving feasts, help, daily expenses during the period their stay approximately for one or two months. On their return, he ga them gaudy clothes, jewels, gold and silver and similar other articles. Th who heard about this, came back to him constantly every year in the form o deputation. Thirdly, he was always finding out methods for reclamation of land and increase of wealth, to collect army to conquer Persia with absurd ide Fourthly, Excessive punishment. Because of it, the region went out of contr there was disturbance in the country and many foreigners intruded themselv Whenever he heard something, there was severe punishment in that city, word in enmity or falsehood against a person was sufficient for his punishme There was a party in the city whose business was slander against people their punishment. Fifthly, he always transferred 'āmils and men of pen. heard that there was mis-appropriation and falsification of accounts at Deo-

* Original Text, p. 874

and that the income has gone down from one hundred lakhs to one hundred thousand. It was a rumour started by mischief-mongering slanderers. He looked to the tribute and taxes of the Maratha land. He appointed an accountant for sixty-seven kartanka and divided the land into four kinds. He appointed an independent 'Āmil for every kind. They were Mukhlis ul-Mulk, Sardawātdār, Malek Yusuf Bughrā and 'Aziz Khammār. Diāud-Din said that they were heads of mischief-mongets. He appointed 'Imād ul-Mulk Sartez Sultāni in the Diwan ul-Vizarat at Deogir. He appointed Dahārādahar to the Diwān ul-Uslub. When they prepared themselves to go, he ordered them to kill amirs of hundred, notable men and men of monopoly. Every one of them was to be killed on a flimsy cause. They should be expelled except the men in the Diwān of Uslub. If any one is not able to collect taxes of the Sultān, he should be transferred to the Diwān of Kirohi. Kutlugh Khān was dismissed from Deogir on an imaginary mistake. On his departure from it to Delhi, the region was disturbed and the nobles perished. The Sultān appointed Nizām ud-Din, brother of Kutlugh Khān from Broach at Deogir. He established control in the region, augmented the treasury which was amassed by his brother in the fort of Deogir called Dahārāgir. The cause of delay was the roads from Delhi to Deogir were unsafe and insecure at Mālwa. On Tughluk Khān's recall, 'Aziz Khammār was appointed as Amir of Mālwa and Dhār. He was notorious for malignity, wickedness and was of base origin. He gave him lakhs from the treasury. On his* departure, he said to him " My ears had heard about you but my eyes saw you." Rumours which spread in the region about dispersion of rebels and mischief-mongers had reached him. The cause of it was that the amirs of finance carried, on their departure, a portion of spoils with them. " I should have surrendered them to you and relied on you in repelling the mischivous elements. I assign their office to you." After his arrival at Dhār, he buckled up to his office. He killed, in one day, eighty amirs and a party of prominent retinue of Dhār. This news spread to Deogir, Gujarat and extreme limits. The amirs became cautious and resolved upon departure. What Khammār did, the rent widened for the patch-repairer. The door of desolation for the kingdom was opened, the Sultān could not close it. Khammār wrote to the Sultān to the effect that what was from him in respect of the amirs was to meet the situation. That was necessary to receive robes of honour under an edict of the Sultān. The Sultān ordered his muluk and amirs to send him letters of applause for what he had done and to favour him with robes of honour befitting his position. Ḍiāud-Din Barani said that " I am a Firuzi historian; for me is the service of Sultān Muḥammad for seventeen years and three months. During this period, I constantly received beneficence from him. I was always in distraction. I do not know what I say. Only thanks to him occur to me. Many a time, I have heard him extending

* Original Text, p. 875.

censure to him who had no character, base in origin, and lineage, temp mischievous, ungrateful, mean and niggardly. It was said that they were n worthy of training and that their plant does not produce except mischief. avoids them. I saw him seizing the hand of the son of a songstress, base origin, mean, stupid 'Aziz Khammār. He raised his rank over a large number great muluk. He favoured him with an order for Gujarat, Multān and Badāu He raised the rank of his brother. Similarly Firuz barber, Mainkala, coo Ladhā gardener and similar others. He bestowed upon them elevated offic He raised the importance of Shaikh Bābu son of Nakar Ḥāyak by assigni a place near him. He favoured Sirā Māli, meanest in Hind and Sind w Vizārat. He ennobled Muqbil, basest slave of Aḥmadyār, in appearance a character, with Deputyship of Gujarat." How would he not surprise w similar actions of the Sultān. He is equal to Kisrā and Kaiṣar in administrati of the kingdom. In practice and prudence, he is a match with Buzurjmeher Disturbance in deeds should arise with such a balance in administration a action. The world needed training for the mean to bear disgrace of waiting the gates and residence for chamberlains. He allowed his vast kingdom to out of his control by his innovations and absurd ideas. He made the wor legal in Islām. Ingratitude and ungratefulness assailed him. Whence is th boldness against religion in him? There is again a good feature in him. Wh he heard azān for prayer, he hastened from his majlis and remained standing say prayers with congregation. When he finished compulsory morning praye he began his litany till sun-rise. When he intended to enter ḥarim, he first se eunuchs to instruct ladies to veil themselves as it was not permissible for him look at them. He greatly insisted upon Kutlugh Khān for recitation of the Hc Qurān in Youth. He was obedient to his mother Makhdum-i-Jahān at whc feet he fell. Who else has this quality in him! An assemblage of such contrad tory qualities is an amazement in knowledge. I know this as a wonder of t creation of God in this world." In the meantime, the amirs fought with Muqb nāib of Gujarat for treasure and horses on the way of Dabhoi. On his arriv to the Sultān, the Amirs of Hundred fell upon him at Dabhoi and Baroc They took what was with him for the merchants. Muqbil returned to Naha wala with nothing. The amirs enriched themselves. Their number increase They dominated over Khanbhayat. They subdued it on the departure of amirs from Gujarat

In the history of Ḥusām Khān it is stated that there was an event of iss of copper coins in 734 (1332-33). Sultān Muḥammad resolved upon curren of copper coins in his kingdom in place of gold coins. It was this step which to the ruination of his kingdom, waste of his exchequer and strength of enem

* Original Text, p. 876.

of the faith. He issued an order for extensive use of this coin in all major and minor dealings. There was a large quantity of gold coins in the treasury. Wise persons realised that this measure would not continue; they, therefore, hoarded gold and made use of copper coins in their transactions. It was done by enemies of the faith who dwelt in the region and frontiers. They exchanged copper coins in accordance with their capacity and strength with gold tankas. Foreigners heard about it. They stopped their entry into Hind and severed commercial relations with it. Thus all transactions stopped. It was an* obvious loss. He removed currency of this tanka by a proclamation but the purchaser could not get anything for it within a usual period. With its discontinuanec, there was no dealing with it. They felt a need to issue another proclamation for remitting all these coins to the treasury. He paid gold coins in exchange of these copper coins. It indicated his weakness and ruin in the state.

From among the causes of ruination was also the payment of tribute and taxes in counterfeit coins. One copper coin was equivalent to three or four coins. That was a severe measure upon the cultivators from the 'āmils and other officers. A confliet arose between them and amirs of the hundred. It led to war on both the sides and consequently, the land remained uncultivated.

Another cause which contributed to ruination was that he was personally enticed by embedding women of Karāchal (between Hind and China) and enjoyment with them through marriage. When he received a perfect report about them, he evinced a desire for them. He prepared the Malek and an army of 80,000 amirs was got ready. The path was distant. It contained valleys, ravines, deep hollows and unfathomable mountain passes. He advised him to post, on the way at every valley and ravine, an Amir to guard the place and wait for his return to it. He carried the treasure sufficient for two months for the army. Imagine preparation of this army first and then difficulty of the path, then an unfixed period and look at the treasure at its even level. None returned from the army to give report of the campaign. All such fantastic designs left nothing but ruination. In the year 739 (1338), there was an event of Bengal. Its departure from Delhi led to death of Bahrām Khān. Its account will come in the life account of Shir Shah Sur in relation to Bengal.

In 743 (1342) there was an incident at Lahore on the arrival of Hulāchun Mughli to it with a large army. Its 'Āmil Malek Jafār went out to offer resistance to him. He got martyred. After his martyrdom, a great amir Khwāja Jahān came to Lahore. He gained a victory over the Mughal.

In 744 (1343), the envoy of Egypt came (to Delhi). I say, his account was given before as narrated by Ḍiāud-Din. In 746 (1345), monsoon set in

* Original Text, p. 877.

it had fallen on the river Gangā. He went up from the shore to a lofty hill and stayed there till the rise of Canopus and named that manzil as Sargodāwari. Its account was given before. In 747 (1346) he directed his energies to building of Delhi. Its account also was given before as stated by Ḥusām Khān in his history.

The historian Ḍiāud-Din Barani said that the Sultān learnt in 745 (1344) what happened to Nā'ib Muqbil from the amirs of Gujarat. His thoughts got scattered and he determined on a march to Gujarat. Ḍiā said that " Kutlugh Khān sent for me and said to me from the Sulṭān about his departure to Gujarat. It was not proper. Those who attacked him are in Gujarat. He had marched against them in person. He did not call them to himself. There was no punishment to 'Aziz Khammār. When they learnt about departure of the Sultān, they attributed that to partiality. Other amirs of the hundred had joined them. He then took out the order for establishment of order. The Sultān has ordered me to do this work. I go to them at my own expense. It is sufficient for this matter to bring them to him in chains as I did in case of 'Ali Shāh and Shihāb Sultāni. His talk ended at this. He ordered me to make its representation to the Sultān and return to him with his reply or bring to my notice the requirement of circumstances. I went and conveyed to him but he did not accept his ideas. He had ordered Shaikh Mu'izzu-Din son of Shaikh 'Alāud-Din Ajodahi to make ready to come to him. He then liked to march in person. He sent to him three lakhs of tankas to recruit one thousand horsemen in two or three days and to join him." He left behind the heir-apparent Firuz Shāh as Nā'ib of his in the capital. He was accompanied by Malik-i-Kabir Khalifati and Aḥmad Ayāz. He came out from the palace to Sultānpur, at a distance of fifteen farsakhs from the city and stayed there for the remaining days of Ramadān. In the meantime, he received a petition from Dhār from its lord 'Aziz Khammār containing what report he received from the rebellious amirs of Gujarat and Baroda. He collected an army from adjacent places and marched against them. When he stopped at the subject-matter, he did not like that from him and remarked that 'Aziz did not know artifices of war. He is not experienced. It is surprising that he is safe. In wake of arrival of the petition, he learnt from him that he came to them. When both of them met, he did not know what he did out of amazement. They attacked him, captured him by force and killed him most wickedly in retaliation of eighty.*

Ḍiāud-Din said, this news was received at the close of night in Ramaḍān at Sultānpur. He sent for me; when I stood before him, he said, Ḍiāud-Din, you see what revolts take place. I am indifferent to them. People say that these revolts arise because of punishment of the Sultān. Besides, I cannot

* Original Text, p. 789.

prevent talk of the people and occurrence of revolts consequent upon punishment. He then said to me, 'I read much history and paused at what the Sultāns received and stood upon punishment. I read the history of Kisra and concluded from it that punishment is necessary in a state. Were it not for it, people would retire from faith and there would be no praise of God on occasion of calamity. Obedient persons do not approve of wickedness and viciousness. Jamshid was asked as to what crime necessitated punishment. He replied, 'Withdrawal from religion, murder of an obedient person, fornicator, perfidious person, rebel and his accomplice and abandonment of Command of God. He then said that Jamshid spoke about places of punishment as it is stated in the holy tradition. I said, in case of withdrawal from religion, assassination of a Muslim, confirmed fornicator and the fourth one is for the sultāns. Taking action on these should be in accordance with advisability. He then said to me that it was in the age of Jamshid that punishment was for disloyalty. A mischief monger was rarely found. Hence, he was contented with punishment as stated. But in our age, there are many seceders and mischievous elements. I punish on grounds of rebellion and mischief. I fight against exodus till I exterminate people from exodus or I bring about their ruin. My Vazir is sufficient for me for his administrative control in the kingdom. Hence I shorten my hand from punishment and assassination. I find people turning away from my loyalty completely and so I am determined upon their death through punishment. I have granted to the people beyond enumeration from my treasure. In spite of this, they assail me. I have tried them many a time. I am thoroughly acquainted with their minds and temperaments. I find them only enemies and antagonists. I cannot do justice to them except through my sword. There is a religious decree for it. He said and then he marched from Sultānpur to the direction of Gujarat. He turned to Naharwāla from certain manzils. It was* on his left. He despatched Shaikh Mu'izzud-Din and men of pen in his company. He came out from Mount Ābu and Dabhoi and Baroda were near from it. Thence, he made commander of the army ready to go to the rebel amirs. There was a war between the two armies when many rebels were killed and the rest took to their heels with their families to the side of Deogir. The Sultān came to Broach and pursued the rebels from among the amirs of the hundred who were at Broach. The rest proceeded to Delhi. He ordered them to be loyal to Mukbil, Na'ib of Gujarat. Muqbil saw them at the river Narbada. They were inadvertent. He fought with them and put them to flight. Many of them were killed. He captured their families and seized their baggage as spoils. Their notables came out from the camp on horses without saddles and whips and ran to Sāler Māler. Ruler of that locality Nāndev captured them and extorted from them whatever of jewels and gems they had with them. Gujarat

* Original Text, p. 880.

became immune from their evil. The Nā'ib Malek Mukbil stayed at the river for some days. Under a royal order, he put to death the captives from among the amirs of the hundred of Broach and returned. Those who were safe, escaped to Deogir and to the Mawās residents at Gujarat. The amirs of the hundred were made the special butts of wrath and murder. This revolt had begun due to murder of eighty amirs of the hundred by 'Aziz Khammār.

The Sultān halted at Broach for obtainment of broken wealth at Broach and Khanbhayat and the whole of Gujarat for several years. That was done by severity and violence. During his stay at Broach, he got inmmensely infuriated at the people, killed most of the ruling amirs of the hundred and inflicted severe punishment on every section of residents of Broach. The Sultan then addressed a letter to Mawlānā Niẓām brother of Kutlugh Khān. He was the 'Āmil of Deogir. He indited him to send him Amirs of the Hundred from the retinue of Deogir and fifteen hundred horsemen in company of the who bears the royal order to Broach. It became publicly known before arrival of the royal edict for he sent, after inquiry, one who had fought in opposition at Deogir. He was called Zain Rindah. When the royal edict came, Nizām prepared to come, as ordered, with a following of the Amirs of the Hundred, fifteen hundred in number. When he issued forth from Deogir, the two amirs journeyed with him with the royal order to a manzil. They then talked among themselves that those who have come in our search have come only for our assassination—there is no other reason—as was the case with our companions who did not submit themselves to him. They killed the two amirs at that manzil and returned to* Deogir. They assailed the royal palace in inadvertence and imprisoned Nizām. Ḥusām Khān said, "for regard of his brother Kutlugh Khān, they killed servants of the Dīwān and men of pen whomsoever they came acsoss. They also killed Zain Rindah, son of Thanesari. They controlled the treasury at Dahara-gir. They assembled around Mukh Afghān. He was one of the Amirs of the Hundred at Deogir. He sat on the throne of saltanat. They surrendered themselves to his order. They disbursed the treasure and recruited soldiers. All those who were with Nāndev joined them. He imprisoned them near himself and thus insurrection raised its head. The Sultān learnt about that. He came to Deogir. Mukh Afghān came out into the maidān. It was a severe war. Mukh fled to Dhārāgir along with those who escaped with safety and garrisoned himself in it. A large number of his followers who were left behind got killed. That was between the amirs of Ḥasan Gangu. After flight to the city of Bidar, he went to his region along with his brother Mukh Afghān. The Sultān sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez to Gulbarga and ordered him to stay there to control that region, guard it and pursue the disloyal elements wherever they be. The

* Original Text, p. 881.

Sultān alighted in a building at Dawlatābād. He wrote a letter of victory to Delhi.

In the meantime, he looked into the affairs of Deogir when he received a report of invasion of Taghi Turki on Gujarat. He was a shoe-maker from among the mamālik of Ṣafdar-ul-Mulk Sultāni. The Sultān returned from it to Deogir to conciliate the Amirs of the Hundred and some residents of the land. He then marched to Naharwāla and entered it inadvertently and killed Malek Muzaffar nā'ib of the Shaikh Mu'izzud-Din. He captured Mu'izzud-Din and other men of the pen. He left behind an 'Āmil. He marched to Khanbhayat and sacked it. He paid attention to Muslims and Hindus who met him on his march to Broach and besieged it. The Sultan left behind Khudāwand Qiwām-ud-Din, Malek Jawahar, Shaikh Burhān Balārāmi and Zahir ul-Juyush (commander of the army) for consultation. Thence he besieged Mukh Afghān and marched to Gujarat.

Ḍiāud-Din said that the Sultān then alighted at the valley of Sāgun. I met him and petitioned to him what I had sent to him Firuz and his two sāhibs* about congratulations for victory. I was favoured with kindness and distinction of proximity with him. In the meanwhile, I journeyed to him one day. He said to me: Do you see what the rebels do to me? Revolt had not subsided when I had to move a second time. If I order killing of all the amirs of the hundred wherever they might be at Deogir and Gujarat, I would not be troubled but I would not get anything by killing some and sparing some. Now Taghi a mamluk of my mamluk has revolted at Gujarat. If I had killed him or sent him with pass-port to Sultān of Aden, a day would not pass with him without loyalty to me like others of the foreign rebels. But I had no power to tell him that the source of these revolts was excess of Sultān's punishment. If I exclude it to a time, it is possible that hearts of mutual aversion would unite for disloyalty. There is a fear from his sharp temperament and troubled mind. I said to myself, would to God, my knowledge of wisdom informs me about ruin of the kingdom. There is no sign of improvement of his heart. It is only the essence of mischief. Husām Khān said that among those who had garrisoned themselves at Deogir was Amir Ismā'il the Afghān, brother of Malek Mal. When the Sultan came to the outskirts of Broach, Taghi went out to Khanbhāyat along with those who were with him. The number of his companions consisted of three hundred horsemen. The Sultān alighted at the river Narbada flowing beneath Broach. He pursued Malek Yusuf Bughrā with one thousand horsemen and a party of amirs. A meeting of these amirs chanced to take place in the plain. It was a fierce conflict which resulted in the death of Malek Yusuf and flight of his companions to Broach. The Sultan learnt about that. He crossed

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* Original Text, p. 882.

the river, entered Broach, made efforts for preparation and proceeded to Khanbhāyat. On news of his arrival, Taghi left it and encamped at the old city of Asāwal. He then went to Naharwāla. He killed Shaikh Mu'izzud-Din and those from men of pen who were in his captivity. Ḍiāud-Din said that I write with regret about Taghi for his misery along with what I have written in my history about powerful Sultāns. It pains me also. I find him in severest grief for he has to fight with a small contingent against the Sultān. How do I say? I did not see his contingent. He fled from Taghi. I did not see with this lowness and army of the Sultān for example which is the substance of this verse:

How can a fly be killed with a sword
How a lion can slap a gnat.

The Sultān paused at Asāwal on the side of the city for the rain and to give some rest to animals. In the meantime, he received news about Ṭaghi that he* left Naharwāla to come to Asāwal and that he had encamped at the famous town of Kadi. The Sultān rode out from Asāwal to it in severe downfall of rain and came near Kadi after three or four days. On the second day of his encampment, he issued forth with arms for a war with him. Ṭaghi was with his small contingent of three hundred against a large army. He then chose one hundred self-sacrificing warriors being assisted with the malignity of mother of maliciousness (liquor). He rushed in person against the Sultān. The Sultān's elephants issued forth from the army. He had begun to retreat to Naharwala. He killed a party of his companions and nearly four hundred of the margin. His baggage was left behind. The Sultān pursued him and the son of Malek Yusuf Bughrā. It was evening. Night spread its darkness. He alighted for rest. Sleep overpowered him. Ṭaghi came to Narharwāla, took his family with him and removed them to Kāntha and thence to Thattha. The Sultān came in his wake to Naharwāla and encamped at the tank of Sahasraling. He viewed for welfare of the residents and cultivators. Flame of Ṭaghi subsided. People became safe and secure. A party of Ṭaghi's followers who were left behind took shelter with Rānā Mandal Batari. He killed them. The Sultān gave presents to their chiefs and families and carried them with him. The Sultān distinguished him with a robe of pleasure and suspended him jewel-studded sword. He thus became secure with that and presented himself in the Sultān's Diwān. In the meantime, he received news from Deogir that Ḥasan Gangu and his gang of rebels assailed 'Imād ul-Mulk and killed him in war. Qiwām ud-Din Khudāwand Zāda, Malek Jawhar, commander of the army proceeded to Dhār. Ḥasan Gangu came to Deogir, raised aloft a canopy over his head and encamped at Dahāragir with those who were with him. People assembled around the saltanat of Ḥasan Gangu. Whenever he heard about gatherings of people, against him, temper of

* Original Text, p. 883.

the malek became irremediable. He did not pay attention to make amends for disturbed state of Deogir. He paused at Naharwāla for the sake of punishment. He wrote to Delhi summoning Aḥmad Ayāz, Malek Ghazni, Amir Qabgha Mir Mihān to come with whatever number of soldiers they had for sending them to Deogir. After their arrival, he heard that Ḥasan Gangu had gained in strength and power. The affair of Deogir was delayed for control of Gujarat and destruction of Ṭaghi. He started for conquest of Karnāl (Girnār). A famous* headman of Deogir came to him. When he did not find from him that those who came to him were not put to death, they retreated to him one by one. Ḍiāud-Din said : During this dispersion, one day he called me. When I stood near his throne, he said to me, my kingdom has become diseased with diseases of opposite nature. There is no effect of medicine on it. When the physician treated it for headache, his temperature rose up in fever; when he treated it for fever, it suffers from pleurisy. In like manner, my kingdom is united on one side and dispersed on the other; there is improvement in one direction when there is rottenness on the other. There is no control over such a disease. There was no treatment for this disease with the former sultāns. I made it necessary to read histories. I found that the sultāns of the age treated state diseases in various ways. Their treatment for aversion of hearts was dismissal from saltanat and replacing him by another man. The nawwāb was invested with authority. He devoted himself to hunting, music and similar other matters. Treatment of perilous branding for the state is the meeting for the elite and the common people of opposite views. When he heard from me what I represented to him, he said, I had determined upon that if I controlled the state according to what is in my mind, I would entrust the affairs of this calamity to Firuz, Kabir and Kabir and I would go to the House of Allāh. But I am troubled by the people in these days and people are troubled by me. People are acquainted with my temperament and I am aquainted with their matters. Everywhere I treated with the beneficial medicine. My treatment now is the sword. Wherever there is lot of antagonism and disloyalty, the punishment should be severest. He said and the Sultān delayed his stay in Gujarat for nearly three years. He spent monsoon of the first year in Mandal Pātri being engaged in prosperity of Gujarat and organisation of the retinue. He spent the second monsoon in proximity of the fort of Karnāl (Girnār). He conquered Karnāl after the monsoon and subdued the seacoast from its side and brought its rulers under his submission, each of them being called the Rānā. All of them are Rānās. In like manner, chiefs of residents and cultivators were subdued. Rānā Kumbhār was the Rānā of Karnāl. He took to his heels but was captured and brought back. The unbelieving 'āmil called Mehta entered the fort and surrendered

* Original Text, p. 884.

the fort with its environs to the Sultān. He spent the third monsoon at Gondal. It is a place on the side of Tattha inhabitated by Siwmarkān (Jains, Shrāvaks and Marila (?). The Sultān fell ill here. It was fever which necessitated his stay for a few days. He fell ill before he entered it. In the meantime, he received* news of death of Malek ul-Kabir at Delhi. He was much affected thereby. He despatched Aḥmad Ayāz and the nā'ib Malek Muqbil to Delhi for its affairs. He summoned Khudāwand Zāda, Makhdum Zāda, some mashāikhs, 'Ulamā, great men, notable persons, the ḥarims of muluk, and amirs, horse and foot to Gondal from Delhi. Large sections of people thronged around him. He sent for many persons for business from Dipālpur, Multān, Ujja and Siwastān. Many of them arrived there. The Sultān recovered from his illness. He marched from Gondal to the sea coast of Sind, crossed it and encamped there. At this place, there arrived Amir Mughlì Altun Bahādur with more than 4000 horse by way of help to him from Amir Kazghan. The Sultān received them with favour and regard, particularly, Bahādur. The Sultān marched moving to the shore to the direction of Tattha to punish the section of Siwmarkān. Ṭaghi had sheltered with them. He encamped among them. When the Sultān encamped at a distance of thirty farsakhs from Tattha—it was the day of 'Āshura, (9th Muḥarram)—he was fasting. He broke his fast with a fish. His disease took a reverse. Fever augmented. He got into a boat while the army moved along with him. On 13th Muḥarram, he encamped at a distance of fourteen farsakhs from Tattha. The army was ready. Soldiers waited for an order to sack to find out Ṭaghi among the Siwmargān but destiny prevailed over plan

> The king was with this plan but he was not aware that the decrees of God
> Had drawn a line of God's will on the page of plan.

His disease became serious. People were greatly exultant for their being in a foreign land with their families and children and there was a distance of one thousand farsakhs between them and Delhi. They were in a shady land as opposed to the enemy. There were the Mughal foreigners. The Sultān was on the point of death. What a calamity! It would be the greatest in a foreign place. They were disappointed of freedom. They believed as if they lived life of death due to above affairs. In the meanwhile, the calamity became most serious because Sultān Muḥammad died on 21st Muḥarram 752 (1351) on the shore of the river of Sind (Sindhu) at a distance of fourteen farsakhs from† Tattha. In the history of Husām Khān it is stated that when the Sultān went in pursuit of Ṭaghi with the son of Malek Yusuf as stated previously, the calamity descended and sleep overpowered, Ṭaghi spent the night. He was robbed. The Sultān learnt about it. He blamed the amirs for a gathering of

* Original Text, p. 885.

† Original Text, p. 886.

many amirs and a small number of followers of Taghi as it was previously stated that its number consisted of three hundred horsemen and their fault in his straits. He was captured and killed. He was taken out from them and they did not see him and did not find him. He then said in rebuke to them. From that day, he who helped Taghi on his side. His death was due to his being killed or he came as a captive. He was taken thereby and reproached thereon. Taghi heard that. He avoided the amirs and went without showing himself in opposition to the contingent wherein was the Sultān. He alone spent the night. The Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Kadi. He marched from it to Naharwāla and ordered the son of Yusuf to pursue in his wake. He slept for the night and Taghi took what was hidden with him as booty and proceeded to Sind. The Sultān paused at Naharwāla and summoned whom he summoned from Delhi. He received a report about the deeds of Ḥasan Gangu. This matter was delayed till freedom from the affair of Taghi. He encamped at Gondal Patri and conquered Karnāl and what was adjacent to it Sayālku etc. Its lord Rānā Khengār took to heels embarking in a boat while he pursued him sea-wise who returned with him as captive. Karnāl was conquered in 750 (1349). He then marched to Thari where he received news of death of Kabul Khalifati one of the three appointees for the region of Hind. His ideas got scattered. He sent Aḥmad Ayāz and Kabul nā'ib to Delhi. He summoned the nobles with their families. At Thari there arrived who arrived. He extended its buildings. On his encampment, he caught cold due to its water. It increased and dominated over his temperament. He therefore returned to Gondal. He became indisposed, suffered and journeyed to Sind in search of Taghi. He had taken refuge with Siwmargān of the residents of Tattha. They were in a large number there. He crossed the river of Sind and encamped on its shore. Altun Bahādur arrived. Then, during the course of his thinking, his disease relapsed and he died as mentioned before. It was on 11th Muḥarram.

Ḍiāud-Din said : Muhammad Shāh was a wise, scholarly and perfect Sultān. He was generous, eloquent and elegant in speech. The hearer got engrossed in his speech. His pen was incomparable in scattering pearls and organising them. He used to quote from histories such as Sikandarnāma, Abu Muslim Nāma, Mahmudi etc. With administrative power, his memory was retentive. He did not forget what he heard once. Nothing remained invisible from his sight what he saw. He was proficient in medicine and far-sighted * treatment. In debate, his heart was wide. He was fluent in speech, illustrated his arguments by examples and he had presence of mind. If he were more practical than philosophical, he would have been of the category of Sa'ad logician and 'Ubaid the poet. He was well versed in astronomy and theology. He was

* Original Text, p. 887

an Imâm in knowledge and learning. He was disposed towards philosop Those who attended his majlis were devoid of religion. The attendants w of the creed of Hakim (Avicenna). He was a scholar of philosophy. He one of those who acted according to the creed of the Imâm. He was a scho of religion but he spilled blood. He killed a number of scholars of religion, mashâikh, and sufis. He always sent for people in his palace who were on creed of the Hakim who argued under strength of the Sultân. Those who st up for argument on pretence of their own knowledge perished under his puni ment. Those who desired out of ignorance of the Muslims such as the Qaland clerks, scribes business-men, swordsmen whose number was beyond enumerat also perished. His harshness reached such a pitch that he brought abou general massacre of scholars without debate and argument. Not a week pass nay a day when blood did not flow through expanse of his palace, reasonably unreasonably. No one could imagine of the causes of murder. People used say that an image of murder formed itself in his mind and it was immediat carried out in action. When an image of seceders from Shari'at was formed, votaries did not see it nor they knew about it. It was attributed to enmity him or disloyalty to him. He who became disloyal, was put to death under order and he transgressed the limit in this respect. None found a way sim to denial. Then how can one expect it with clarity. One could not quest legality thereof.

Ḍiā ud-Din said: We had a party of ungrateful persons in his majlis. V our knowledge of lawfulness and unlawfulness and power upon denial, he g on spilling the blood of 'Ulamā' of religion, we defend greed in his world avarice in nearness from him against word of God in punishment. We do depart love of life which is under force of circumstance vanishable and wha not imagined in the shape of denial cannot be accepted. I wonder at it as do not forbid and we do not deny perhaps it suffices us to be silent. Nay, do not talk in unanimity and we see him in pleasure of murder through separa anecdotes and above-mentioned events. Would to God! I had knowledg this partnership in what we help and what would be our end in the world depriving of vision and party. But I, after every imaginable bounty, was in to this day of mine. I had reached old age. I see myself severing itself fr everything it desires and dropping that which it does not like. Honour changed to dishonour, fortune to misfortune, wealth to poverty and knowle to denial. Adversity touched me with need, I obtained ignominy with solici tion. This is in the world. I do not know what would be in the other wor Verily to God we belong and to Him we return. The cause of writing introduction is that I was one of those who was benefited by the bounties

* Original Text, p. 888.

Sultān Muḥammad. Whatever I have is due to him. It is not from any one else at any time. After him, I do not know of it except in dream. I toiled for him. Besides, whatever I possessed of personal qualities and attributes are due to him. Without philosophy, no time was similar to it. He said that it was true. He was the king of Hind, Sind, Gujarat, Mālwa, Maratha region, Telang, Kanpala, Dahur Samand, Ma'bar, Lakhnawati, Satgānw, Sonārgānw and Tirhat. It was pious, forgiven (deceased) Tughluk Shāh, the ruler of Salṭanat in the wake of dispersion of Khusraw Khān which was collected by Sultān 'Alāud-Din in the treasures. It fell in the hand of one who wasted it. It was mostly for the muluk and people of the world. He gathered it to the treasure. He was liberal to those whom he found to be worthy from all sections of people. Base persons and common men did not leave it in their hands and preserved it in the treasury by minting and controlled it due to mean persons committing mischief. Sultān Muḥammad made addition to it in almost the same proportion. His innate quality of generosity distributed it even among places of suspicion. When Bahādur Shāh returned to Sonārgānw for his accession, he distributed immense treasure to renovate organisation of his administration. He gave eighty lakhs of tankas at one time to Malek Sanjar Badakhshāni. He gave seventy lakhs of tankas to Malek ul-Muluk 'Imād ud-Din, forty lakhs of tankas to Sayyid 'Aḍd ud-Din; he gave similarly to Nāṣir ud-Din Ṭawil, Khudāwand Zāda Ghiyāthud-Din, Khudāwand Zāda Qiwām ud-Din, Malek un-Nudmā Nāṣir Kāmi. . Malek Ghazni used to receive one hundred lakhs of tankas every year. He gave immense wealth to Qāḍi Ghazni in the shape of jewels. None from the deputa-* tions as well as the questioners was disappointed. Deputations came to him from Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Trans-oxiana, Khwārazm, Turkastān, Herāt, Miṣr and Damascus. When news of his generosity spread, Mughal Amirs of Taman, Amirs of Hazāra, eminent men, notable women waited upon him in deputation. They received more than they needed. Among them were those who stayed on and those who returned. Whenever he found a new thing out of his judgment, people applauded him, they moved on with him for conquest of territory and augmentation of wealth. There was no other object besides this. In the mean-time, he directed his energy to conquest of the whole world and devoted his thoughts to planning of it. But it could not be accomplished without wealth and wealth was not possible except from districts of Hind which were under him. He thought over measures which may yield wealth to him. He formulated rules and regulations of action. He was strict with the cultivators for its acquisition. His plan got inverted. Prosperity changed into ruination. It has been hinted at above. He was confined within his fantastic ideas. For execution of his plans, he resorted to murder. He trans-gressed the limits in case of those whom

* Original Text, p. 889.

he suspected of antagonism. The root cause of it was enmity of religion had determined for murder of Ahl-i-Sunna (Sunnis) who did not equate him in his malignity and evil towards creatures of God from the time of *ŕ* may peace be on him to the ill-omened day of their birth such as of Zain Mukhlis ul-Mulk, Yusuf Bughrā, Khalil b. Dawātdār, Muḥammad Naji fortunate Shaikh Zāda Nihāwandi, Karanfal Nabastāf and his cursed so Mujir Abu Rejā. After their account, Ḍiā ud-Din pronounced one tho curses upon them along with the son of Qāḍi of Gujarat and the threei ill-s sons of Thanesari. Those persons evinced fondness for murder of Sunnies, then took an oath of God the Holy and said by subduing his suspicion t one of these—Zain Rinda, Yusuf and Khalil—gained victory over t prophets, they would abandon association with them. How should I not respect of Sultān Muhammad. Those persons had established their aut over him, who was one of the wonders of creation. During night and da directed his energies to nothing but assassination of imāms of religion. he thought over conquest of the world and fixed a programme for collecti dirhams, he ordered for levy of taxes on the region between Doāb by a which the 'āmils had levied upon it from the year of conquest of Delhi by ud-Din to day of his order, ten and twenty.* There was no increase in empty treasury by the tanka also. The 'āmils became very strict. The vators killed them. He sent Amirs of the Hundred who killed cultiv Getting an opportunity, the cultivators killed the amirs and completely waste the land. He then ordered migration from Delhi to Deogir, accou which is given before. These were the causes which brought about the Due to the transfer, a vast majority of persons perished. Firstly, it was and separation from the house and traditions. Secondly, movement of with what was in the house. Thirdly, distance. Fourthly, taking uncongenial land with difference of water and climate. Fifthly, the place was always a hot place for unbelievers became a graveyard for the Mu Delhi became empty because of this migration to such an extent that ther no dog to bark. The Sulṭān helped them with means to effect migration arrival at Deogir, men of delicate temperament underwent many har When he issued another order for return to Delhi, eminent men returned small number due to death at Deogir. He then issued an order for collect army for copper coinage. He ordered coins to be minted in the mint. house of an unbeliever turned into a mint. It could not be distinguished coins of the mint. They took advantage of it in place of gold tanka. The taxes and tribute in copper coins. They exchanged them with costly arm excellent horses. Every one of them attained to power and pomp. It wa to their strength, that the power of the Muslims became weak. Transa

* Original Text, p. 890.

with foreign countries completely came to a standstill. Internal business went on for some time and stopped at another due to punishment. Value of the gold coin rose up. It had almost disappeared. The existing gold coins fetched one hundred tankas each. The copper tanka became untouchable for the hand. It became like a sea-shell. They felt a contempt for it. The Sultān felt a need to proclaim for collection of copper coins in the treasury and pay gold coins in exchange for them. It was referred to above. He then cherished a vain idea for conquest of 'Irāq and Khurāsān. He started giving large sums of money from the treasury to deputationists who waited upon him from those regions. Nobles of those regions arrived in the shape of deputations, guaranteed him for the same and returned with unlimited sums of money from him in coins and kinds. What reached 'Irāq did not come back to the treasury for what it had gone out. He then thought of moving out. He ordered for collection of soldiers. Wherever there was a region, that was made empty by blow of fire. In the* first year, they moved on to places where there remained with them a few things and a few coins. In the second year, the treasures got exhausted for what was collected was spent away. There were three hundred thousand and seventy thousand horsemen. He then conceived an idea for conquest of Karāchal mountain situated between Hind and China on the road to Khurāsān. He liked its conquest. He despatched an army to it. When he entered its mountains, it turned into a war-theatre. Its residents assembled. They controlled the valley which was situated on their passage. The soldiers were hard pressed. They found no way of escape, none from them. They perished. It was an obvious loss of Delhi army. It was his good fortune that there was correspondence and contact between him and Shaikh ul-Ḥakikat, Imām uṭ-Ṭarikat Mawlānā Shaikh Muṣleḥ ud-Din Sa'adi, may his grave be sanctified. When Sultān Muḥammad died, he left no son. He had one out of three during his regime Kabul Khalifati. He died during his life. Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad Ayāz died when he was at Delhi. There was son of his uncle, Firuz. He was with him. He presented himself at his death. He attended upon him during his illness. He tried for his treatment. He stood firm with claims of his bounty and training so much so that Sultān Muḥammad was pleased with him and thanked him. Hence he cast his glance at him, gave him admonition and made him at the close of his life, his heir-apparent. On the day of his death, there was chaos and confusion in the camp when one fell upon the other, there was general pillage, destruction of the ḥarim and death of children. People delayed for two days in the manzil of his death through fear of Altun Bahādur and the Mughal party and also of attack of residents of Thattha. Before the accession of Firuz Shāh, the grandees decided upon separating the Mughals. They sent them away with presents in cash, things and animals, and permitted them to

* Original Text, p. 891.

depart. Some of them requested them before travelling to let them tents of the army for defence in case of revolt. It was granted. They marched on their day and all of them came out from the camp to go to their respective places. In the meanwhile, Nawroz Karkaz, son-in-law of Narma Shirin (Tarmashirin) decided upon revolt. He enjoyed bounties of the Sultān Muḥammad for two years. He got ready and joined with the Mughals. He informed them about confusion among the people. He requested them for accord in pillage. On the third day of his death, the Sultān's army marched towards Sistān on the way* return to Delhi. It was a path which was not well laid. Before they could traverse two farsakhs, a contingent was charged with to remain on back of the Mughals in face of the army and the residents of Thattha were behind it. There was looting in a fierce manner so much so that they went with women and children. Every row of the treasures remained on one side. People had not yet come to the manzil but with despair of life. Similarly, was the condition in the second journey. Great nobles such as Mawlāna Shaikh Naṣirud-Din Maḥmud Oudhi, well known as Chirāgh-i-Delhi, Makhdum Zāda 'Abbāsi and Shaikh ush-Shuyukh Misri etc. assembled together. They saw Firuz Shāh and requested him to make amends for the people by his accession to the throne of saltanat. In like manner, tribal heads of all sections of people met him. This took place on 24th Muḥarram, 752 (1351).

On the second day of accession, they journeyed from the manzil with this arrangement: those who were on back of the Mughals on a side had perished or made captive. The amirs were posted in rear of the army. Those who were on back of residents of Thattha were in support of the army for plunder of baggage. They fell in hands of amirs of the rear who killed them and captured them. On the third journey, the residents pursued the party of Mughal amirs. They then captured the party of Hazāra amirs and the amirs of Altaman and the Hundred. There was neither Mughal nor Sindi. There was general security.

Sultān Abil Muzaffar Firuz Shāh
Son of Sipahsālār Rajab brother of
Tughluk Shāh.

I say, I got acquainted with a history which begins with his name. It deals with the early part of his life and his bright future more than what Ḍiā-ud-Din Barani has given in his history. It begins with his name from Ghiyāthud-Din Balban. I do not know the name of the historian. If he had mentioned his name in the introduction to his History I should certainly have stated in his name what I have copied from him. I do not find him to be an Arab, as I say, he has not mentioned his name as is the habit of the Arabs. I

* Original Text, p. 892.

doubt whether he was a Persian for in that case he would have mentioned his name as is the Persian custom and they are quite right in this. The object in so stating is that the historian has collected materials of his account with care. But the introduction is without his name. He does not mention it in accordance with their custom. In spite of it, he deserves the reward of deriving* benefit from him. Good is for those who do good and more.

They were three brothers during the regime of Sultān 'Alāud-Din Khalji. They waited in deputation on him from Khurāsān-Sipahsālār Rajab, Abu Bakr and Ghāzi. They were men of merit. He gave them asylum and behaved well with them. They assisted him in his reign. Ghāzi stepped forth and advanced in his service. He was the eldest among brothers. He nominated him an Amir at Dipalpur. His brothers were with him. When he was confirmed in the region, he got his brother Rajab married with a daughter of Rāi Ranmal, one of the chiefs who were inhabitants of the land. Dipalpur was the place for him to return to. But he did not agree to it. When the time to collect revenue came, he was strict with him and caused him trouble beyond his endurance and imprisoned him. After putting him into prison, his wife one day wept. She had a daughter with her married to him. She separated the daughter from her and asked her as to why she wept. She replied, "I weep because of harshness shown to your father because of you". When she attributed harshness to her, she felt much and said, "who prevents him from his freedom? I am pleased to marry with him". Her mother remained silent. She met her husband and informed him about the utterance of his daughter. He said to her, "Where she is pleased with her Islām, I turn to Ghāzi in surrendering her." He took him a means of solicitation and conveyed to him acceptance. He was immediately released. He donned him with a robe of honour, behaved with him with leniency and made him sit by his side. His daughter had the most excellent marriage with his brother Rajab. She gave birth to Sultān of the age Firuz Shāh. Rajab died. He was seven years of age. His uncle Ghāzi looked after him and brought him up as one of his sons. When Ghāzi ascended the throne of saltanat, he was fourteen years of age. On the basis of it, he must have been approximately born in the year, 697 (1297-98). When Ghāzi was Amir at Dipalpur, Firuz Shāh presented himself with him in the majlis of Shaikh ul-Islām, Barkat ul-Anām (blessing to people), Quṭb ul-Waqt Mawlānā Shaikh 'Alāud-Din, grandson of the famous Quṭb Mawlānā Shaikh Farid ud-Din famous as Ganj-Shakar, may their graves be sanctified; there was a piece of cloth before him. He tore four and a half cubits out of it. He gave it to his uncle and ordered him to turban it with it. The remaining piece measured twenty-seven cubits. It was for Muḥammad son of Ghāzi. He ordered him

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* Original Text, p. 893.

similarly. He gave to Firuz forty cubits for a turban and gave him tidings of saltanat. Period of reign of every one of them was equivalent to number of* cubits of cloth given to each one of them. During Amirship also, one day, they presented themselves in the majlis of Mawlānā Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Pānipati, may his grave be sanctified. He ordered to bring a tray of eatables. When they saw him, the Shaikh said, "Those who are present should see three sulṭāns eating from a tray. One day, Firuz Shāh before becoming a sulṭān, presented himself in the majlis of pivot of God-fearing persons, blessing to pure, pious men, Quṭbud Dunyā Wad-Din, Mawlānā Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā may his grave be sanctified. He asked him, "What's your name." He replied, "Kamāl ud-Din." He replied, "Wad-Duniyā. It was his name in childhood.

Ḥusām Khān narrated in his history; when Muḥammad Shāh died, Mawlānā, the famous Quṭb Naṣir ud-Din Chirāgh-i-Dehli, may his grave be sanctified visited Firuz Shāh and said to him. "I intend to take an oath of allegiance for you after the fashion of the pious Khalifas. Stretch out your hand for kissing." He stretched it. He took an oath of fealty and said, "I beg forty years for you." Ḍiāud-Din said: The Sultān came to Siwastān and stayed there for certain days. He looked to the muluk and the amirs as well as sections of the people with favour and granted them robes of honour and gifts. He particularised the people of Siwastān with favours and regard and fixed allowances and stipends for them. He returned properties to men of property and looked with favour at those who waited in deputation on Muḥammed Shāh in calamities for obligation. Many deputations waited on him. He sent them away with good presents and helped them on their journey. He then returned from Siwastān. When he encamped at the maidān of Bhakkar, he first of all visited holy tombs and distributed money in alms. He then favoured its pious men and imāms with presents and wished its residents well. He advanced to Uchch. He had lot of good in it. He repaired the Khānka-building of Shaikh Jamālud-Din at Uchch. He then came to Indirās. He extorted villages and gardens from their lords. During his stay there, the leading scholars of Multān and all men of turbans etc. came to see him. He received them with approbation, fulfilled their needs and behaved well with them. He then marched from Uchch. On the way, he received a report about Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad Ayāz that he seated a child connecting him in lineage from Muḥammad Shāh, on the throne and took an oath of allegiance for him. He was surprised at this step on his part inspite of his being perfectly wise. He said addressing his muluk that Aḥmad Ayāz was not a man of war. With his age, he has depraved it. He has grown up in our day. I never saw a bow, any day, in his hand as well as riding a horse unless the horse was a draft-horse. What made him behave in this†

* Original Text, p. 894. † Original Text, p. 895.

? No battle-field can be ascribed to him. I feel ashamed as to what made
take this step. He is weak and aged. I do not know who is that person
ose case he has taken up and that too in age like this. He sees, is wise and
rs that this path is not for him. His forefathers did not take such a step.
en he alighted at Dipalpur, he halted there for some days to give rest to
ses and supply them with fodder. He then proceeded further. When he
roached Ajodhan, he went to pay a visit to the mausoleum of its Quṭb
wlānā Shaikh Farid Ganj-Shakar. He assembled all members of his house-
d and then dispersed. He showed special favour to children of Shaikh
āud-Din and fixed for them what villages were endowed to them in old days
which were seized by the rulers. In addition, he granted them many
vards. It was his dignified behaviour. He then marched by the shore of
r of Sind to come to Delhi. Ḥusām Khān said: When he alighted at
aswati, Mawlānā Shaikh Naṣirud-Din Charāgh-i-Delhi said to him, "Upto
is my limit. Till today, you were in my neighbourhood and charge. Now
are in the boundary of Shaikh of the time Khwāja Bakhtiyār, Quṭb-i-Dehli,
y his grave be sanctified. You seek his permission for entry into his limit."
paused and wrote to him seeking his permission at the instruction of the
ve-mentioned Quṭb. His Holiness accepted what was said by Naṣir ud-Din
ing "He who returned to us and entered into our limit, he was in our
hbourhood sharing our favour." On his encampment at Fathābāḍ, Vazir
qbul Khān Jahān came with those who had taken shelter with him. Malek
ogha Mir Mahān etc arrived from Delhi and received his favour. In like
nner, Malek Maḥmud Beg titled in Firuzi regime as Sher Khān came with
contingent of Sanām and Sāmāna. On his march from Hānsi, Shaikh
la Bistāmi, Nathu Sudhal and a party of helpers of Aḥmad Ayāz arrived
-headed and hand-kerchiefs round their necks with humility requesting
giveness for themselves. Just after them came Aḥmad Ayāz bare-headed,
an-shaven. People of Hind do not say shaven except when involved in this
nner and his hand-kerchief round his neck. He stood at the door of the
ān's pavilion demoted from that honour which he enjoyed as one of the three
nis promised region to this disgrace which was for a man like him, concealed
ith for him. The Sultān summoned him. When he kissed the ground with*
state, he said to him, "You were not from men of this conduct with your
, your wisdom, perfection of all your qualities. What led you to take this
which is not worthy of you? and against one who addresses you?" He
lied, "Whatever good I did till today, that was due to my good fortune.
shadow is vanishing for me. Hence I am as you see me." He stood with
uette. When he encamped at a distance of three farsakhs, residents of
erent sections of Delhi came out to welcome him. He entered Delhi in the

* Original Text, p. 896.

last ten days of Jamādi II of the year. He alighted in the palace and sat on the state throne. There was general ceremony of oath taking for allegiance. He showed favour to all sections of people except Ahmad Ayāz and Natthu Sodhal. These two were in their class. They were to be punished. They had left their families and followers in their estates. When he firmly established himself in the Saltanat, he revived Shari'at and acted with justice and obligation. He prospered that was laid waste during the regions of Muhammad Shāh. There was general security and prosperity. He augmented buildings such as the Jāme 'Masjid at Delhi, madresa, fort at Firuzābad on the river Jun (Jamna). The Sultān was a builder. He dug out many canals and made water flow to its destined place. There were plenty of flowering plants, fruit-yielding trees and a Firuzi reservoir outside Delhi: Diā ud-Din said : There was no blood-shed except of five amirs in the early part of accession and eleven or twelve others. His son Shādi Khān was Wakil. He loved his son Fateh Khān. He had other children. Brother of the Sultān Malek ush-Sharf Ibrāhim b. Rajab was appointed as Bārbak. His brother Malek Quṭbud-Din son of Rajab was Amir-ul-Umarā. Ulugh Qatlugh A'zam Humāyun Kabul Khān Jahān was Vazir. Tatār Khān Bahādur was from among the great muluk. The great Sayyid Jahān al-Karamsi was the Chief Justice and Malek ul-Umarā Sayyid Sharaf ul-Mulk was the Nā'ib Wakil while Sayful Mulk Tirmidi was Amir-i-Shikār. Bashir 'Imād ul-Mulk from among the mamālik was Sahib-i-Diwan ul-'Ard. Malek Shikār Beg was Mir-i-'Ard while Iftikhār ul-Mulk al-Mustawfi was Nā'ib of Gujarāt. They were mamālik. From among his muluk, Amir Qutligh grandson of Tamar Amir Taman al-Changizi. He was his special favourite. During the regime of Balban, he was one of those who were present at the martyrdom of Muḥammad Sultan Qaān son of Balban from the side of Changiz. He entered Hind, became a Muslim and was specially favoured by Muḥammad Shāh b. Tughluk. He used* *to address him as Amir Mihān. Similar was the case with Amir Aḥmad Iqbāl.* They were from among those who sat with the Sultān in that age. The incident of Akdāla took place in the early part of his accession wherein he gained a victory. Diāud-Din's History ends with the victory of Akdāla. He had collected materials for it. It was named Tabakāt-i-Firuzshāhi. He thanked God for his efforts. After that, I have copied from the History of Ḥusām Khān.

Ḥusām Khān said : Abul Fatḥ b. Abi Bakr b. Abi Rabi 'Salmāni arrived with a Khil'at of the Khalifa from al-Mu'taḍid Abil Fatḥ b. Abi Bakr b. al-Mustakfi, the Egyptian Khalifa in Ẓilḥajj of 756 (1355). Envoy of the Sultān Shamsud-Din Bhangara arrived with it. He was appointed Sulṭān. In like manner, the envoy of 'Alāud-Din Bahman Shāh was appointed as Sulṭān. He went to Zafarābād for the death of Shams ud-Din Bhangara in 760 (1358-59) Shaikh

* Original Text, p. 897.

Zāda Bistami came with a Khil'at from Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Malek Naṣir Muḥammad b. Malek Manṣur Guide of Sulṭān of Egypt. He ennobled him and titled him as A'zam ul-Mulk. Muḥammad Shāh had banished him from his kingdom. Sayyid Rasuldār came with an envoy of Sikandar. The Sulṭān had expelled him to Lakhnawati. He returned from it to Jaunpur. He proceeded Chachnagar in Bihār in 761 (1359-60) leaving his brother Quṭb ud-Din at Karra Manekpur. He sacked Songhira and Shakar Khān was left there. Rāi Sudhan brought his daughter with her suckling mother. He adopted her as his daughter and came to the river Mahindari in search of Rāi of Chāchnagar, lord of Banāras. He fled to Telang. Wāhagdi evinced his loyalty to him with many jewels and three hundred elephants. He marched to Padmāvati and Medāwaki. These two places are situated with dense jungles with luxuriance of trees and water. They are at no time without elephants. I mean for hunting purpose and they are sufficient for two halkas (He hunted twenty elephants). He returned to Karra. His brother Qutbud-Din met him and he arranged a worthy feast. He then marched to Delhi and arrived there in Rajab of 762 (1361). He then went to the canal of Salim and branched it to Sirhind. He built a fort and named it Firuzābād. He then conquered Nagarkot. He then besieged Thattha whose ruler was Jām. He felt scarcity of provisions and so he returned to Gujarat. Nizām ul-Mulk Neknām b. Amir Hasan b. Amir Mirān al-Mustawfi* was its governor. He dismissed him for his fault to supply provisions. Zafar Khān was appointed as its governor. He then returned to Thattha and descended upon it and conquered it peacefully. Its ruler Jām met him. He returned his kingdom to him. Khān Jahān Maqbul, the Vazir died in 772 (1370-71). Zafar Khān, the Amir of Gujarat died in 773 (1371). His son was substituted in his place. His father's title was bestowed upon him. Fateḥ Khān b. Firuz Shāh died on 13th Safar, 777 (1374-75). He was born in the early part of his kingdom. Shams ud-Din Dāmghani hired Gujarāt for forty lakhs of tankas, more than usual and hundred halkas of elephants, four hundred Habashi mamluk and one hundred Arab horses. Zafar Khān son of Zafar remained intact its Amir as before. Shams ud-Din became helpless to fulfil the contract. He harassed people for revenue and transgressed limit whereupon one of the Amirs of the Hundred Shaikh Malek b. Fakhrud-Din assailed him and killed him and sent his head to Delhi. Malek Mufarrah Sultāni was appointed to his monopoly. The Sultān marched to Etāwah and Akbula in 779 (1377). After a war and flight, the ruler Rāi Sabirā Dharan made his submission. Firuz built a fort. He marched to Sāmāna in 781 (1379). Malek Kabul Kirān was there. He advanced to the Santur mountains. Rāi Sarmur hastened to make preparations to give him essential things. He returned from him. He marched to Kanthir in 782 (1380). Its ruler was Rāi Kharkar. He practised tyranny in

* Original Text, p. 898.

his own way. He killed the 'āmil of Badāun. When he came to it, he subjected it to plunder. He then appointed Malek Kabul Kirān to it and advanced to Sanbal in search of Rāi Kharker. He fled away from him to the region of Mahikān situated amidst the mountains of Payāh Kamāun. He paused and despatched Malek Khitāb ul-Afghān against him. From this year to the year 787 (1385), the Sultān frequented these places. He built fort at Siwali and named it Firuzpur for establishment of control over it. It was the last fort which he built during his reign. Khān Jahān son of Khān Jahān Vazir son of the Vazir enjoyed an elevated rank with the Sulṭān. He had become the Sulṭān to a great extent due to feebleness and advancement in age. He managed the affairs and his word was accepted by him. It so happened that he requested him about his son Muḥammad Khān son of Firuz Shāh and Daryā Khān son of Zafar Khān, Nā'ib of Gujarat. A party of men decided upon expulsion. He* used to verify it. He ordered for their captivity. Muḥammad Khān learnt about it. He deemed it necessary to remain within doors. Daryā Khān fell in captivity at the house of the Vazir. Muḥammad Khān saw his father for his release and said to him, " Khān Jahān has resolved upon disappointing me in favour of Kāfūr on account of which he acted with Khiḍr Khān to prepare the way for salṭanat for himself and expel your son from it. If you are pleased with expulsion, so far so good. I am before you." He meditated and said to him, " Take his office. Do with him what he begins to do with you." He came out with those who were with him and thronged at his house. When he found himself defeated, he killed Daryā Khān and came out fighting. He received a wound. He fled to his house and entered it through a door and came out from another door and fled to Mewāt to take refuge with Kokā Chauhān. Muḥammad Khān sacked his house, captured the amirs who helped him and killed them at the gate of the palace. The Sultān appointed him as Vazir. He then renounced salṭanat and ordered him to ascend the throne and designated him as Muḥammad Shāh. He seceded from the palace and felt loyalty during the regime of Tughluk Shāh son of Fateḥ Khān son of Firuz Shāh. An account of warning follows in the account of Muḥammad Shāh. It took place on 18th Ramaḍān, 790 (1388). He became the ruler and Firuz died.

Sultān Nāsir ud-Din Muḥammad Shāh son of Firuz Shāh

During the life time of his father, Muḥammad Shāh son of Firuz Shāh sat on the throne of saltanat at Delhi in the month of Sha'bān of 789 (1386-87). He did not remove any one from his mansab which he held during the regime of his father. He treated them with greater regard than during his father's regime. Khān Jahān son of Khān Jahān had taken shelter with Kokā Chauhān, ruler of

* Original Text, p. 899.

.. He sent Malek Ya'qub Sikander Khān to him in search of him. He dered himself to him with iron-chains. He cut off his head and sent it to He was then ordered to proceed to Gujarat as its Nā'ib. Muḥammad marched to Koh Pāyah Sirmur in 790 (1388). He learnt from Malek ;aḥ that Sikander Khān, Nā'ib of Gujarat was killed. He showed no* of regret for his murder and devoted himself to his love of sport and play. It afflicted for his blood when there arose an uproar from muluk of the mamāliks. They were one hundred thousand or more. Samāud-Din and i ud-Din were the leaders while the rest were their followers. This happen-en Firuz Shāh was alive. They assembled around Firuz Shāh and captur-e palace. Muḥammad Shāh heard about it. He returned to Delhi. he came in front of the palace, he sent Ẓahirud-Din Lahori to them ask-em to give up opposition. They pelted stones at him. Muḥammad Shāh i on to the palace. They came out with Firuz Shāh in resistance. They upported by him but he was under their thumb on account of his weak- He saw who were with his son Muḥammad Shāh from among the soldiers. sheathed their swords, dismounted from their horses and came under him. mmad Shāh turned from them with his special men and went out of Delhi. Firuzi mamaliks sacked his house. They obliged their master for his ition and that happened. Firuz Shāh died, may mercy of God be on him. andson succeeded to the throne. Ḍiā ud-Din said in his eulogy :

On one trunk of a hundred vast armies like the sun
Decoration of this verdant circle is due to you.
You are not in need of an army because through fortune
You are keeper of army camp for this strong structure.
Of Rustam's victory, nay, of awe of Farāmurz
Of Jamshid's splendour, nay, of Kayumarth intelligence
'Ali like, you are a red lion
You are from king of Badakhshān, nay, a descendant of blanket,
On Imperial throne and on reclining cushion of honour
Be of Elijah-permanence for you are paradise-faced.

d-Din connected him with Badakhshān and then with Khurāsān.

Sultān Tughluq Shāh son of Fateḥ Khān son of Firuz Shāh

Tughluq Shāh son of Fateḥ Khān son of Firuz Shāh sat on the throne of and father during his life-time at Delhi. He nominated Firuzi Firuz Khān to Vizārat. Ghiyath ud-Din Khudāwand Zāda became Head of the lārs (armour-bearers). Malek Firuz son of 'Ali became Head of the is (body-guards). Malek Mufarraḥ was nominated to Gujarat as he was

Original Text, p. 900.

before. He was titled Rāsti Khān. Chiefs of mamāliks decided upon murder of Amir Ḥusain—son-in-law of Firuz Shāh for his daughter—for his inclination towards Muḥammad Shāh as their leader. Firuz, head of the Jāndāris and Bahādur Mewāti were sent against Muḥammad Shāh. He went to Sirmur. They pursued him and thence to Baknāri, Sakhet and Nagarkot and halted there.* Tughluq Shāh engrossed himself in his lustful pursuits; disturbances arose in different parts of the kingdom. He imprisoned his brother Abu Bakr Shāh son of Zafar Khān son of Firuz Shāh. Ruknud-Din, nā'ib Wazir gave him his accord. They attacked his palace and killed Malek Mubārak. Shouts were raised. Tughluq Shāh learnt about it. The Vazir was by his side. Both came out from another door of the palace. They fell in hands of the retinue who came with their heads to Abi Bakr. This incident took place on 11th Ṣafar, 791 (1388-89). He ruled for six months and eighteen days.

Sulṭān Abi Bakr Shāh son of Ẓafar Khān son of Firuz Shah

Abu Bakr Shāh son of Ẓafar Khān son of Firuz Shāh sat on the throne of saltanat at Delhi. He nominated the above mentioned Ruknud-Din as Vazir. After a short while, he became suspicious of him and killed him. After his murder, he learnt from Amir of Sāmāna that Sulṭān Shāh had killed its 'āmil and sent his head to Nagarkot. He then learnt about Muhammad Shāh that he went to Sāmāna and sat there on the throne of salṭanat. When such was the case, a party of Dehalvi amirs joined him. He moved from Sāmāna towards Delhi with twenty thousand horse and the same number of foot. On his encampment at the famous palace of Jahān Numā, the number of his horsemen rose up to fifty thousand. The Firuzi mamālik then assembled at Firuzābād around Abi Bakr Shāh. Bahādur Māhir joined them. They marched out for war. Muḥammad Shāh took to his heels with one thousand horse to Doāb. He sent his son Humāyun Khān and Ḍiā ul-Mulk Abu Rejā to Sāmāna. A party of amirs including Malek Sarwar, Police officer of the cities, Malek ush-Shark Nāṣir ul-Mulk Amir of Multān, Khwāṣ ul-Mulk, Amir of Bihār, Ḥisām ul-Mulk, Amir of Oudh, Sarwar Khwāja Jahān and Rāij i-Rāyān Sabz Rāi. All of them numbered fifty thousand horse. Muḥammad Shāh wrote to all regions for murder of Firuzis wherever found and whoever they be. It happened. Revolt spread and disturbance made its appearance. Humāyun Khān marched from Sāmāna with a large army in the month of Muḥarram, 792 (1390) and encamped at the† rivulet of Pānipat. His soldiers sacked all localities adjacent to Delhi. 'Imad ul-Mulk Shāhin issued forth for war with him. Humāyun Khān set out for Sāmāna. Abu Bakr Shāh marched to Chahitra in the month of Jamādi I of the year. Muḥammad Shāh was there. He was with strength and power due to assemblage of above mentioned amirs. They feigned inadvertence from him as

* Original Text, p. 901.

† Original Text, p. 902.

they were at a distance from Delhi. He then started alone with four thousand horsemen in all haste to Delhi. When he halted at the gate of Badāun, soldiers of the nauba did not allow him to enter the city. He ordered to burn the gate and entered the city and stayed in the government house for some days. When Abu Bakr Shāh returned, he went out to Chahitra. In the meantime, Wakil ul-Mulk Mubashshir Rajab came to him—he was from among the greatest Firuzi Muluk and loyal—and petitioned him to return to him and surrender to him who was in concert with the Firuzis. Abā Bakr Shāh received a report of what he said. He was seized with fear on march from Delhi to Kotla. He entrusted the charge of city to 'Imād ul-Mulk Shāhin. Kotla was for the Amir Bahādur Māhir. When he came out from the city, Malek Mubashshir Rajab wrote to Muḥammad Shāh to send for him. He raised the canopy over head of his son Khān Khānān and marched to Delhi.

Return of Nāṣirud-Din Maḥmud Shāh to his capital.

He entered the capital on 19th Ramaḍān, 792 (1389-90) and alighted in the Firuzi Palace and sat on the throne of salṭanat. He donned Malek Mubashshir Rajab with a Khil'at of Vazirship and designated him as Islām Khān. All the Firuzi muluk and mamālik entered into his submission. They then became his antagonists and joined with Abi Bakr Shāh. The rest among them in the city announced after three days. Blood was spilled. Ḥumāyun Khān came from Sāmāna to Delhi. He then marched to Kotla. The two armies encountered at Mahindwāri. It resulted in defeat of Abi Bakr Shāh. He garrisoned himself in Kotla. Humāyun Khān had descended upon it. He then went to him for amnesty. Bahādur Māhir was with him. He returned with them to Delhi. On the way, he ordered for murder of Abi Bakr Shāh. It took place in that year. Civil war subsided because of this incident of murder.

In 793 (1390), he received a report of harassment to cultivators and disloyalty of the 'Āmil of Gujarat, Mufarreh Rāsti Khān. He chose A'zam-i-Humāyun Zafar Khān son of Wajih ul-Mulk Tānk as the Nā'ib for Gujarat. He proceeded to it. As stated before, the will of God was for his saltanat. His efforts were in accord with destiny. Its fortune was with his descendants. I compiled this History "Zafar ul-Wāleh b-Muzaffar wa Ālehi" (Excellent victories of Muzaffar and his descendants), in two daftars. The first Daftar deals with the Sulṭāns of Gujarat. He who reads it, will get acquainted with information about it. The second Daftar contains history of establishment of Islām at Delhi and its conqueror and those who were after him. The author is particularly interested in Zafar Khān for his being sent to Gujarat, may mercy of God be on all of them. I recite the opening chapter of the Holy Qurān and prayer for good and more from him who gets acquainted with what I have

collected for me, for him, for them and for the Muslims. God accepts it from him.

In 794 (1391), men on the frontiers and infidel rebels became dominant. Muqarrab ul-Mulk was sent against them. When he came to Kanawj, he deceived them by soft talk. They assembled around him whereupon he killed them all and returned. In 795 (1392), Muhammad Shāh marched to Mewāt and sacked it. He turned to Chitara. He fell ill there. He heard a report of antagonism of Bahādur Māhir. He therefore returned to Mewāt. When he descended upon Kotla, Bahādur Māhir came out from it, fought and returned to it defeated. The residents wielded sword and so he (Bahādur) fled from it to Chhar while Muḥammad Shāh returned to Chitara. He rebuilt it and named it Muḥammadābād on becoming a sulṭān. His disease became serious. He sent Humāyun Khān to Lahore. At the first manzil, he received news of the death of his father, Muḥammad Shāh. He returned to Muḥammadābād. His death took place on 17th Rabi 'I, 796 (1393). He ruled for five years and two months.

Sulṭān Humāyun son of Muḥammad Shāh

Humāyun Khān son of Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne at Muḥammadābād. He did not change 'Āmils of his father. He died on 5th Jamādi I of the year. He ruled for two months and eighteen days.

Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud son of Muḥammad son of Firuz son of Rajab, brother of Ghāzi Khurāsāni

On the death of his brother, Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud son of Muḥammad* Shāh son of Firuz Shāh sat on the throne of his kingdom at Delhi. He retained districts in the hands of 'Āmils. He raised the rank of Mallu Firuzi and titled him Iqbāl Khān. He nominated him Vazir. The Firuzis did not approve of it. They assembled together in opposition. Among the opponent Firuzis, there was Sa'ādat Khān who held the hand of Nuṣrat Khān son of Fateḥ Khān son of Firuz Shāh and made him a Sultān at Firuzābād in 797 (1394). The cause of disapproval of the Firuzis was that when Iqbāl Khān was nominated as Vazir, he became independent in issue of order. Maḥmud was only a king in name. In like manner, Sa'ādat Khān issued order alone. The Firuzis did not like this. They attacked him at his house. He saved his life by departing to Delhi. There was a distance of four farsakhs between it and Firuzābad. When they passed by him, they decided upon the Vazirship of Muḥammad Khān son of Zafar Khān, lord of Gujarat and titled him Tatār Khān. He was brave and intrepid. During his Vazirship, he held territory between Delhi and Firuzābād by means of sword. The Sultān held Doāb, Sanbhal, Pāṇipat, Jahajir, Rohtak while the muluk had dominated over the region. Delhi and its neighbourhood

* Original Text, p. 904.

alone remained for Maḥmud Iqbāl Khān had no grace to conciliate the mulūk. Hence revolts continued and desolation extended. Masnad ul-'Ali Khidr Khān was at Multān Iqbāl Khān dismissed him in favour of his brother Sārang Khān Firuzi. When Sarang Khān encamped at its environs, the mamālik of Khidr Khān joined him. They were powerful. Khidr had to vacate giving place to Sārang Khān. That happened in the year 798 (1395). In 799 (1396), Sārang Khān occupied Sāmāna and expelled its Amir 'Ālam Khān to Firuzābad. He sent Nuṣrat Shāh with him to the succour of Tatār Khān. They recovered it by means of sword. In 800 (1397), Iqbāl Khān won over the 'Āmil of Panipat during the absence of Tatār Khān. It belonged to Tatār Khān. He sent a contingent, occupied it and gained a scendancy over that which was possessed by Tatār Khān including animals, and wealth. On account of this, Tatār Khān sought permission from Nuṣrat Shāh and came to his father in Gujarat to seek aid of army to invade Delhi. That happened as detailed in Daftar one.

The event of Malek Tājud Din, lord of Multān took place in Rabi'I of this year. Amir ul-Kabir Pir Muḥammad son of Amir ul-Kabir Timur, Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān Mughal came to Uchch from Khurāsān and laid siege to it. He received a* report of it from Tajud-Din about his arrival for relief of residents of Uchch with forty thousand horse. He marched from Uchch to him and left him when he crossed the river Bias and found him. It was a fierce battle which resulted in the defeat of Multān army. Many of them were carried away by water while crossing it on return. In 801 (1398), Amir Timur, Ṣāhib-i-Qirān came to Delhi. There was general desolation in the region of Delhi-massacre, capture, pillage, arson on a vast scale. During the days of Mallu Iqbāl Khān, there was constant antagonism. Hence only Delhi with adjoining territory remained more or less in his hand. For help to his brother Sārang Khān, there did not remain any friend for him in distant places. It was from Sārang that he ruled over Multān and Sind. He persecuted Amir Shaikhā Khokhar. He occupied his territory lying between Multān and Lahore. Shaikhā Khokhar went out of Hind to Persia, met Amir Timur and brought him for conquest of Delhi. He served as a guide to him and entered with him through nearest roads and made it most easy for him. When the Amir alighted between Doāb, number of his killed reached fifty thousand. He marched from it. Stink of killed and captured spread all over the river Jamna. He crossed the river Jamna in Jamādi 'I of the year and alighted outside Firuzābād. In the meanwhile, he was in the palace of Jahān Numā which he appeared to him an elevated heap of dust on the side of Delhi. He returned to his camp. He ordered to blow the trumpet for preparation of war. He rode and led the advance-guard. He infuriated the elephants. Banners of contingents waved, the amir of the

* Original Text, 905.

advanced-guard came out. Both the armies encountered. The Mughal gained a victory. They returned with a number of elephants. They were toothless. On the third day of his alightment, Amir Timur assembled his grandees and soldiers and instructed them for war and urged them for mutual assistance. His son, Pir Muḥammad stood near him. He said, "More than one hundred thousands of Hindi captives are in our army. The Mughals had made them slaves and perhaps, being of the same race, they might originate mischief at a favourable opportunity. What is the order?" He waited a while. He then raised his head and said, "The announcer should make a proclamation in the camp that any one who has a Hindi captive in his hand should kill him by his hand. He who neglected it or turned from his murder by giving him to another person, his blood would be spilled." That was done. It is related from Nāṣir* ud-Din 'Umar—he was from among men of the turbans—saying "Because of clemency, I do not know that I killed a sparrow till the day of proclamation. I had fifteen of them with me. I kept them. I did not know how should I kill a human being. I will sacrifice my life for them. I said, I strike my sword and I transgress the limit among them once or many times. There is no power and no strength except that of God. On Saturday, 7th of the month of the year Amir Timur rode out for war. He stood in the centre. On the right wing was his son Muḥammad Jahāngir and with him were the amirs Shaikh Nur ud-Din, Sulaimān Shāh, Yādgār Barlās, Kamari Yasāwal, Timur Khwāja Wāk Bukā and Miḍrāb. On the left wing were Sultān Maḥmud Khān, Sultān Ḥusain, Khalil Sultān, Jahān Shāh, Shaikh Arsalān. In the vanguard were Rustam, Shāh Malek and Allāhdād. Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud Shāh came out for war from Delhi. Mallu Ikbāl Khān was in the centre. Malek Mu'inud-Din *and Malek Khān* Multāni was on the right wing while Khatāi Khān and Amir 'Ali were posted on the left wing. The total army of Delhi that day consisted of 10,000 horse, 20,000 or 40,000 thousand foot, and 120 elephants. In Ẓafarnāma of Sharaf ud-Din 'Ali Yazdi it is stated there were 40,000 horse; Matla' us-Sa'dain, half of it; Tabakāt-i-Bahādurshāhi, 4000; in the Ḥabib us-Siyar, it is stated that the Mughals were frightened of them because of facing horses and elephants who were like mountains. They shone lightening-like with steel plates as if they were polished mirrors. Those plates were connected with nets of rings of furbished iron. There were daggers in hollow fixtures carrying canine teeth for piercing. They were lightened upon them for stabbing in war. There were heavy chains carried on trunks in length of eubils to strike with on right and left. Khwāndmir, author of Ḥabib us-Siyar said: When both the armies faced each other, lightenings of plates and swords shone forth. Amir Timur stood at a particular place heeding to the amir who was moving *out* from men of the turbans joking with them saying "Oh lords! Where is your post today?"

* Original Text, 906.

Khwāja Afḍal ud-Din son of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Kashi and Mawlānā 'Abdul-Jabbār son of al-Kāḍi Luqmān ud-Din al-Khwārazmi said to him, "Our post is with the armour" and gave a proof with this verse : *

If Mars has fright in heart
It makes head-gear of Venus a garment.

The two armies then encountered each other, horsemen fought with one another; Iqbāl Khān retreated and turned towards Delhi. Naṣir ud-Din was with him. At the approach of night, he went with him to Baran. Amir Timur alighted at Hawḍ-i-Firuzi. Khwāja Faḍl ul-lāh Bijli, the Vazir at Delhi sought amnesty and went to him. He said to him inspite of sack "None should enter into the Treasury. If it is to be amnesty for those who pay a fixed amount of money, I guarantee this service." The Amir replied, "Request those who sit at the gate of the city for prevention of horses and retinue." He ordered for it. He took the drum with him, placed it at gate of the city and beat the naubat. The city was decorated after announcement of amnesty. He entered with the Vazir for obtainment of Mawlānā Jalāl ul-Islām. The Amir sat alone at the Hawḍ and convened a Majlis of Ten. He placed the saddle on the sides of the Hawḍ in accordance with the Mughal custom in case of victory. In the meanwhile, a man entered to bay sugar-candy. He was followed by another man. They followed one after another in succession and crowded at the shop-keeper. He weighed in haste for one, two, three. They thronged at the shop and those who were present followed one after another in succession. They subjected the shop to plunder. News spread in the camp that pillage had taken place in the city. They rushed like a flood. The Amirs of the Nauba became helpless to stop them from entering the city. People took part into it, plundered houses and markets and sword played its part from each side. Arson was committed by infidels of the city. They were overtaken by disappointment when they closed doors for women-folk. Hence they resorted to fire to burn houses with those who were inside them. They assailed with swords the followers of the Amir. Thus they killed and were killed. Pillage continued in the city for eighteen days. The least number of Mughal captives was twenty. Metals and cloth (destroyed) could not be counted. The Amir took an oath of their children from tradesmen and artisans and of those whom they wished according to the Chingizi custom in case of pillage. The city was laid waste due to arson and it became extinct. The Khuṭba was recited on Friday, 10th of the month of the year in his name and in the name of his son Muhammad Sulṭān. Nāṣir-ud-Din 'Umar was the Khaṭib (reciter of the Khuṭba). Amir Timur marched † to Wazirābād on 26th of the month of the year. An envoy of the lord of Lahore, Bahādur came to him. He took his lunch with all consisting of fowls and eggs.

* Original Text, 907. † Original Text, 908.

They had heart to heart talk about Tughluq Shāh. Bahādur then came for lunch with his son Kaltāsh. He was ennobled with favour. He then marched to Dawlatābād, and to Meerat. Mawlānā Aḥmad Thanesari and Rāi Safi were at Meerat. He ordered for Jawhar and came out with his son. They killed and were killed. There was general massacre of men of the fort. He then ordered for its destruction and moved on to the river Ganges and killed a large number of heretics on its sides. He thence proceeded to Siwālik and Kotla. When he alighted in the vicinity of Māyla village, an envoy of Shāh Sikander, lord of Kashmir came to him. When he crossed the river Jammu, he left behind some soldiers in ambush and marched on. Local people including its ruler Rāi Jammu saw then moving. They came out of ambuscade and captured Rāi Jammu and came with him to the Amir who presented Islām to him. He embraced Islām and chose to journey with him. On Tuesday, 27th of the month, he had alighted beneath a viaduct where the roads met. He granted permission to his children. They resolved upon (proceeding) to their respective localities. He permitted those Hindi Amirs who had accompanied him to return to their respective places. Khiḍr Khān was among them. He was granted Multān. He then nominated him as Deputy of the army in its march. He looked after the baggage of those who had trusted him. He marched on Monday, last day of Jamādi II to his kingdom.

In 802 (1399), Nuṣrat Shāh returned to Delhi. 'Ādil Khān, lord of Meerat and Shihāb Khān, lord of Mewāt and Malek Almās, lord of Doāb joined him. Delhi was empty of the Mughals who were left behind by the Amir Timur. They were involved in an epidemic. Many of them died within less than a month. Supply of provisions was cut off. It was heard that it was done by local men. They left Delhi at an opportune time. They took their way to Kābul with an intention for deliverance. Nuṣrat Shāh was nearby. He entered Delhi. Ikbāl Khān heard about his arrival. He sent Shihāb Khān from his side for his defence. On his encampment outside Baran, the local unbelievers made a night-attack on him. He achieved martyrdom. It so chanced that Iqbāl Khān came in its wake to Baran. He regained what was his such as horses, elephants and baggage. It was cold booty for him sufficient for war. He collected it, mourned him and marched to Delhi. Nuṣrat Shāh came out to Mewāt and Ikbāl Khān * entered the city. From that period, the amirs established independent power. Every one with power and pomp became a sulṭān in his kingdom. They resembled feudal kings in their respective principalities. In Gujarāt, the Khuṭba was recited in the name of Muzaffar Shāh; at Dipalpur and Multān in the name of Khiḍr Khān; at Kālpi and Mahuh in the name of Maḥmud Khān son of Malek Firuz; at Qanawj, Delwarah, Jaunpur, Bharaich and Bihār in the name

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* Original Text, p. 909.

of Khwāja Jahān Sulṭān ush. Sharq; at Malwa in the name of Dilāwar Khān; at Sāmāna, Ajodhan in the name of 'Ālam Khān. Such was the case throughout Hind.

In 803 (1400), the incident of Ṭaghi Khān Turki took place. He decided upon conquest of Dipalpur. Khiḍr Khān marched against him. He took to his heels. He then alighted on the frontiers of Ajodhan. 'Ālam Khān was there. That very night, 'Ālam Khān made a night-attack and killed him.

Maḥmud Shāh b. Muḥammad came to Delhi in 804 (1401). Iqbāl Khān met him and entered the capital with him. The Khuṭba continued in his name while the kingdom was for Iqbāl Khān. He had entered Gujarat during Timurian invasion. Ẓafar Khān had met him. He was then his Nā'ib in the kingdom. He asked him to stay for some time in Gujarat till passing of hardship of the invasion. He did not see to that. Present time helped him. He moved with him for a send-off beyond his frontiers to the frontier of Mandu. He then returned to Naharwāla. The Khuṭba and the Sikka were in the name of Maḥmud Shāh. On his arrival at Mandu, Hoshang met him and he travelled with him in etiquette of muluk for their master and tarried there till he heard return of Iqbāl Khān to Delhi. He went to him and remained with him for fear of sudden calamity weighed heavy upon him. He marched with him to Jaunpur for its conquest by tongue and not by heart. It was a stratagem for defence to the enemy which would suffice his purpose. He descended upon him when the brother of Mubārak Shāh, Ibrahim Shāh was there. He stayed for some days. He then parted with him on an excuse and returned to Delhi. Maḥmud only apologised. His meeting was definitely with a purpose. He remained like a guest for some days. He begged for help but did not get it from his people. He bade him adieu and left Jaunpur for Kanawj. Shāhzada al-Marwi was its Amir on behalf of Ibrahim. He ordered him for its surrender. He did it and went to Jaunpur. Maḥmud remained contented with Kanawj and lived there.

Muqaddam Narsingh Deo conquered Gwalior in 805 (1402) and died. His* heir was his son, Bahrām Deo son of Narsingh Deo.

Iqbāl Khān descended upon Gwalior in 806 (1403). A battle took place at Dholpur. Bahrām Deo fled to the fort and garrisoned himself in it. Iqbāl Khān left an Amir in the region and returned. Iqbāl Khān descended upon Kanawj in 807 (1404) and besieged his patron. He returned a loser with disappointment.

Iqbāl Khān marched to Sāmāna in 808 (1406). Bahrām Khān Turki was there. Peace was concluded. He returned to Multān. On his encampment at

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* Original Text, p. 910.

Ajodhan, Khiḍr Khān met him. After a hard war, fate turned its face with a wound. Khiḍr Khān pursued him, captured him, cut off his head and sent it to Fatehpur. Ikhtiyār Khān was his Nā'ib at Delhi while Dāwood Khān was from among the amirs. When he heard about the event, he sent for Maḥmud Shāh. He left Kanawj for Delhi and sat on throne of the kingdom. Bahādur Māhir and Iqlim Khān joined with him.

Ibrāhim Shāh conquered Kanawj in 809 (1407-08). Tatār Khān son of Sārang Khān Firuzi joined him.

Ibrahim conquered Sanbhal on alightment in the same year. It belonged to Asad Khān Ludi to whom Tatār Khān had given it. He then marched to Delhi and encamped and encamped on shore of the Jamna. Zafar Khān, lord of Gujarat was at Mandu. He marched for succour of Maḥmud towards Delhi. Ibrāhim learnt about it. He returned to Jaunpur.

Sultān Maḥmud invaded the fort of Baran in 810 (1408-09). Marjān, mamluk of Iqbāl Khān on behalf of Ibrāhim was there. He killed him after a victory. Maḥmud then marched from Baran to Sanbhal with Asad Khān Ludi in attendance. Tatār Khān received a report of it. He abandoned it, came out and it became Asad Khān's as it was.

Khiḍr Khān came to Fatḥābād in this year. Dawlat Khān learnt about it. He was at Sāmāna. He marched against him and crossed the river Jamna. He had left his amirs behind him. Bahrām Khān Turki was one of them. He was the first in loyalty to Khiḍr Khān. He joined him. Khiḍr Khān marched* to Fateḥpur along with those who had assembled around him. Afterwards, he conquered every region which belonged to Maḥmud Shāh except Doāb.

Khiḍr Khān alighted at Fateḥabād in this year. Malek Tuḥfa was sent against Doāb. After its conquest, Khiḍr Khān marched to Firuzābād. Ikhtiyār Khān was there. After alightment on it, the fort alone remained for cutting off caravans of supply of provisions. He returned from it to Fateḥpur.

Maḥmud had attacked it in 811 (1409). He made peace on loyalty. He employed his son. The son was with Maḥmud. He defended the city but he did not meet him so he abandoned it. Khiḍr Khān assailed Siri. Nāṣirud-Din Maḥmud was there. Khiḍr Khān then returned for blockade of supply to Siri. In 812 (1409-10), Dawlat Khān and Bahrām Khān met on the river Jamna when Khiḍr Khān arrived there. Both of them met him, joined his party and marched with him to Fateḥpur. Bahrām Khān had formerly joined Khiḍr Khān, he then returned to Dawlat Khān. But now both of them joined him and became one.

911* Original Text, p. .

Khiḍr Khān assailed Nārnol in 814 (1411). Bahādur Māhir titled Iqlim ān was there.

In 815 (1412), Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Din Maḥmud went to Kanthir for hunting vls and wild animals. He then perched a hawk on his hand and approached game and hunted it. He was surprised in its movements in flight high up descending with the game and caught it in its claws. He then sported with cheetah and played with its implements of hunting. He returned with plenty ame to Siri. On his return, he suffered from sciatica which became serious he died in the year. With his death terminated the saltanat of the dynasty Ghāzi Tughluq Shāh of Badakhshān, Khurāsān in the region of Hind. ımālik of his grandfather gained ascendancy over him. He had raised him to status of Wizārat and titled him Iqbāl Khān. The Timuri invasion took ıce during his days. The cause of it was the bad policy of Iqbāl Khān and tiality for his brother Sārang Khān. The muluk in different parts of the* ıgdom established independent power. He died. His Khuṭba was recited in lhi and his coins were current. Salṭanat of his grand-father Ghāzi lasted from (1321) to end of the year 815 (1412).

ṭān Dawlat Khān

After the death of Nāsir ud-Din Maḥmud, Dawlat Khān sat on the throne his Kingdom at Siri. The historian Ḥusām Khān had not mentioned him ough he had knowledge of him. He turned from Khiḍr Khān to him. His try into Siri coincided with his death. Destiny did not help him. He died 816 (1413).

Khiḍr Khān invaded Siri in this year. Dawlat Khān garrisoned himself thin it. There was constant war when he came out for amnesty. Khiḍr Khān nquered Siri. He then imprisoned him at Firuzābād. The historian did not that he came out from it: Every one did not obtain happiness that he ıght.

* Original Text, p. 912.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Sayyids

Rise of the star of kingdom and government of People of the House. First the Salṭanat of Khiḍr Khān son of Sayyid Mardān, titled Rayat-i-A'lā

The kingdom is not permanent for any one. It comes through the beneficence of God at His convenience. He takes it away without any cause for it. He has made the causes which are known to men of wisdom, to take it away with its goodness and refrains from what is evil. With efforts, it is in apology* from servants. For that purpose, Mallu's good luck turned into bad luck. There is information from the historian in the invasion of Timur. He did not mention any one except Khiḍr Khān. Amir Timur specially favoured him by appointing him Amir, on his return, at Multan. God punished Mallu for its owner. He thought him worthy of deserving help. He therefore helped him in the year by reaching him to salṭanat. He (Khiḍr Khān) sat on the throne at Siri on 17th Rabi'I, 817 (1414-15). He is Khiḍr Khān son of Sayyid Mardān Naṣir ul-Mulk titled Rāyāt-i-A'lā. Good news about it, is hinted at before in the account of Sulṭan Muzaffar of Gujarat in his case by Quṭb-i-Rabbāni Mawlānā Jalāl ud-Din Makhdum-i-Jahāniān, may his grave be sanctified. Both of them met and ate pink in his majlis. It was for his father Mardān Naṣir ul-Mulk during the regime of Firuz Shāh son of Rajab of Multān. When he died there, his son Shaikh b. Mardān ruled it. He died and so his brother, Sulaimān b. Mardān ruled it. He died and so Khiḍr Khān b. Mardān ruled it. He continued to be Amir till Iqbāl Khān removed him in favour of Sārang Khān. Were it not for the attack of mamālik upon him in unity, he would not have abandoned it. He met Amir Timur, Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān, after his conquest of the capital and accompanied him on his return to a viaduct. He permitted people of Hind to return, when he favoured him among them by award of Multān. He settled there. Iqbāl Khān became his enemy. He fought with him and killed him. Iqbāl Khān was the cause of departure of salṭanat from the house of Ghāzi. It was Khiḍr Khān and his father and his grand-father who nurtured the house of Ghāzi. It was proper that he killed him. It was a punishment of death to him on behalf of the family. It was in the movement of Iqbāl to suppress revolt by death of heir to the kingdom, settle himself, and after an oath of allegiance, he should treat all with kindness and not exclude anyone from his bounty. He neither reproached anyone for former faults nor killed any one. He behaved well with all sections of people. He appointed his vazir

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* *Original Text, p. 913.*

one whom he sent out for conquest of Doab from Fatehābād. He was Malek Tuhfa. He was titled Tāj ul-Mulk. He nominated Malek Sarwar as Nāib and Khair ud-Din Jāni as Diwan ul-'Arḍ. Malek Mardān had adopted 'Abdur-Rahim. He was titled 'Alā ul-Mulk and appointed as Amir of Multān.*

Amir Bahrām Khān Turki died in 818 (1415-16). He had Firuzpur and Sirhind under him. He appointed his son Mubārak Khān son of Khiḍr Khān to their government.

In 821 (1418), he attacked Badāun which was under Mahābat Khān. He had heard about design for rebellion on the part of Ikhtiyār Khān and Qiwām Khān. He killed them on the bank of Gangā.

In 823 (1420), Sārang Khān, brother of Iqbāl Khān made his appearance on the frontiers of Jālandhar. He sent amirs against him. He fled from the frontiers to mountains and barren entrances. Amir Tughān granted him security. He came to him and killed him.

In 824 (1421), Khiḍr Khān invaded Gwālior. It belonged to its Rāi. In the midst of the siege, vazir Tuḥfa Tāj ul-Mulk died. His son Sikander was appointed vazir. Khiḍr Khān fell ill and so he returned by concluding peace.

Sultan Khiḍr Khān died on 19th Jamādi I of the year. He was a good Sultan, a Sayyid, divinely graced, clement, generous, sincere, kind, pious, brave, just, forbearing, forgiving and pure-hearted. He ruled for seven years, two months.

Sultān Mu'izzuddin Mubārak Shāh son of Khiḍr Khān

Mu'izzuddin Mubārak Shāh son of Khiḍr Khān acceded to the throne on the day of death of his father on 19th Jamādi I at Delhi. All sections of population took an oath of allegiance for him. Shaikhā Khokhar returned to Hind during his regime. He was with Amir Timur at Samarqand. He then permitted him to separate and so he came to the centre of his kingdom, Tilhar in Sind. There was a fierce war between him and the lord of Kashmir, Sultān 'Ali. Sultān 'Ali was captured. It was a wonder that he gained strength through loss.

Shaikhā Khokhar made an assault on Mu'izzuddin in 825 (1422). He sent an army against him. He then marched to Tilhar. When he approached† it, he went to lofty mountains. Mu'izzuddin descended upon him and stationed the army. He then turned to Lahore which was in a desolate state due to wars. He tarried in it and reconstructed it. Malek ush-Sharq was appointed its Amir. He returned to Delhi.

He donned the robe of Vazirship on Malek ush-Sharq in 826 (1423).

* Original Text, p. 914. † Original Text, p. 915.

Jasrath, lord of Tilbar met him this year as well as Rāi Bhilam, lord of Jammu in the maidān. It was a fiercely fought battle in which Jasrath had an upper hand. He extended his hand of occupation of territory as far as Lahore. Sikander b. Tāj ul-Mulk Tuḥfa was its Amir after Malek ush-Sharq. He encountered him in the maidān. It was a victory for Sikandar.

'Alā ul-Mulk, lord of Multān died this year. Maḥmud b. Hasan attained to its Amirship.

It was in this year that Shaikh 'Ali son of Sargatmash Mughal, lord of Kābul marched on Bhakkar and Siwastān.

Hoshang, Sulṭān of Mandu marched on Gwālior this year. It belonged to Mu'izzuddin. He too marched to it. Both corresponded at a manzil on the river Jital, made peace and guided each other. Every one of them marched to the centre of his kingdom.

Amir Malek ush-Sharq Rajab known as Nādira came to Multān in 830 (1427). Its Amir Maḥmud b. Ḥasan was transferred to Firuza as Amir.

Mu'izzuddin marched to Biyāṇa in 831 (1428). He heard a report of attack of Ibrāhim, lord of Jaunpur on Kālpi. Qaḍar Khān was its Amir on behalf of Mu'izzuddin. Mu'izzuddin journeyed from Bayāna to it. He crossed the river Jamna and encamped at a place Abruli. Here he learnt that Mukhtaṣṣ Khān brother of Ibrāhim had alighted on the frontiers of Etāwah. Malek Maḥmud b. Ḥasan got ready to march on him. He had ten thousand horse. On receipt of this news, Mukhtaṣṣ Khān returned from it to his brother. In like manner, Maḥmud went to his kingdom. Ibrāhim then crossed the river Jamna for Bayāna. Mu'izzuddin also crossed the river. They encountered on shore at Kanthir. A war ensued between the two from the early part of the day to evening. They then maintained moderation for encamping to its side. They made peace and returned to their respective places.*

Amir Sikander assailed Kalānaur in this year. Jasrath was there. Jasrath garrisoned himself for some days. He then came out and fought and put him to flight. There was confusion in the region as far as his centre Lāhore. Aid poured in for Sikander. He came out from Lahore, fought with him and routed him to his capital Tilhar. He returned.

Malek ush-Sharq Rajab Nādira, lord of Multān died in 832 (1429). After him, Maḥmud b-Ḥasan, titled 'Imād ul-Mulk ruled over it.

Amir Faulāz Turki attacked the fort of Tabarhind in 833 (1433) and conquered it. Malek Yusuf was sent against him from the side of saltanat. He made an assault on the fort. Faulāz played a fraud by correspondence and

* Original Text, p. 916.

feast and acceptance of submission. His envoy came to him, sounded him and felt inadvertence. He came out from the fort and assailed him and defeated him. He did not acknowledge his authority. He then made amends for help of the salṭanat. 'Imād ul-Mulk lord of Multān returned to the fort with them and attacked him. Faulāz sent a messenger for conclusion of peace and promised to come out to them with 'Imād ul-Mulk. 'Imād ul-Mulk went to him and stood at gate of the fort on a side when Faulāz met him. He took his pledge and decided to move with him. His companions forbade him. He returned to the fort fighting. He then issued forth, fought and returned to the fort and garrisoned himself. 'Imād ul-Mulk returned to Multān. Yusuf 'Ali remained hard pressing him for six months. Faulāz constantly sent for Shaikh 'Ali, lord of Kābul with an amount of money forcing him to come.

Shaikh 'Ali marched from Kābul for his succour in 834 (1430-31). Inhabitants of round-about places joined him from Hindia. Among them was the tribe of Khokhar. Malek heard about their arrival to the river Jhelum. He marched to the help of salṭanat on return from the fort. The Shaikh came in their wake and encamped outside the fort. Faulāz marched to him, met him and gave him the promised amount—two lakhs of tankas. On his return to Kābul, he claimed security for confidence. He surrendered his son, and wife as hostages. He sent them with them to Kābul. He then marched from outside the fort with Faulāz in attendance. When he was in the neighbourhood of Jālandhar, he resorted to pillage and created disturbance as usual. He then laid designs against Lahore but Sikander pacified him by payment of an amount of money. He returned from him to Multān, sacked its suburbs and created too much anarchy and he made a large number of persons of round-about places * captives. Amirs of Sulaimān Shāh Afghān Ludi pursued him. Sulaimān perished in a war with the Mughal. Those who were safe, returned. Lord of Kābul was in their wake. He then attacked Multān. 'Imād ul-Mulk tried for its defence but he fought for some time. There was no continuous war between them till the salṭanat-help came to him under shade of standard of Majlis ul-'Āli Fateḥ Khān son of Abil Mujāhid Muzaffar Shāh, lord of Gujarat. On his arrival, 'Imād ul-Mulk waved flags, came out and fought. It was an aid in advance. It resulted in the Mughal defeat. The Hindi soldiers pursued them as far as the river Jhelum. Most of them broke swords. The rest joined, through fear of killing, with Shaikh 'Ali and got drowned in the river. Those who escaped drowning were a small number. They returned to Kābul. Majlis ul-'Āli returned with those who were with him as well as 'Imād ul-Mulk to Delhi. Khayr ud-Din Jāni was appointed at Multān.

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* Original Text, p. 917.

Amir Sikander, lord of Lahore, encamped outside Jālandhar in 835 (1432). A war ensued between him and Jasrath in ferocity. Sikander was captured and Jasrath assailed Lahore which was defended by Khush Khabar, mamluk of Sikander. In the meantime, he heard about arrival of Shaikh 'Ali to Multān along with other residents in all fierceness. In like manner, Fawlāz Turki came to Taberhind. Sultān Mu'izzuddin marched to Lahore. Jasrath retreated to Tilhar with Sikander in captivity. Shaikh 'Ali withdrew himself to Bārhut, Nuṣrat Khān was nominated Amir of Jālandhar and Lahore on behalf of the salṭanat. Mu'izzuddin returned. Jasrath continued as a rebel to raise disturbance in the kingdom.

Mu'izzuddin marched to Pānipat in 836 but heard about illness of his mother while he was on the environs of Tabarhind. Amir Sarwar ul-Mulk ordered to besiege Faulāz Turki who was in the fort. He returned to Delhi. On the way, he received a report of her death. He was almost about to reach her when he paused and encamped on the river Jamna, he constructed a building and prospered the place within a short time when others built their houses following his example. He received news of Tabarhind's victory. In the wake of news, there arrived the head of Fawlāz Turki. The place was named* Mubārakābād. He then journeyed to Tabarhind and then returned to Mubārakābād.

In 837 (1433-34), Mu'izzuddin received report of a conflict between Hoshang and Ibrāhim Sharqi in regard to Kālpi. Dahliza came out to Jaunpur. He then encamped under his cupola and tarried there for a certain period. He always rode out to the maidān of Mubārakābād. It was Friday of Rajab. He rode out for Friday prayer to it with a small number of retinue. Ṣadr ul-Umarā Mirān waited for an opportunity. When he settled down, the door was closed by making an unbeliever whose name was Gangu pause there. He ordered Sudhanbāl son of Kho to strike him a sword. He was free from him. Ṣadr ul-Umarā was in concert with Sarwar ul-Mulk. When he killed him, he sent news of it to him. Sarwar ul-Mulk entered the house of ḥaram and came out with Muḥammad Khān son of Farid Khān son of Khiḍr Khān for salṭanat. Mu'izzuddin ruled for thirteen years and three months. God the Holy alone is Permanent.

Sultān Muḥammad Khiḍr Khān b. Farid Khān b. Khiḍr Khān

Rāyāt-i-'Āli Muḥammad Khiḍr Khān b. Farid Khān b. Khiḍr Khān ascended the throne at Siri. He appointed Sarwar ul-Mulk as absolute Nā'ib. He did what he wished for those who killed and got him appointed. During

* Original Text, p. 918.

his office as Nā'ib, there were unceasing revolts among the amirs for usurpation of power. The amirs besieged him for murder in Siri. The Sultān was externally with him while internally he was with the amirs. In spite of this, Sarwar ul-Mulk was always on guard against him. It so chanced that one day he saw the Sultān in company of unbelievers who were generally in conflict with those in whom he had confidence. He collected them in a house and ordered to kill all of them including Sarwar ul-Mulk. He sent the retinue. They came with Ṣadr ul-Umarā and he ordered him to be crucified at the palace-gate. He opened the gate of the fort for amirs. They entered the city and pursued the nobles of Sarwar ul-Mulk, and his followers. He collected them in captivity and chains, including Sudharan Gangu Khatri. The Sultān was in search of him. They then passed with them by the mausoleum of Mu'izzuddin Mubārak Shāh and killed those who committed evil of crime of murder at its gate. He then cut off the head of Malek Mubāriz the Kotwāl at the gate of Red Palace. In like* manner, Malek Hoshiyār, slave of Sarwar ul-Mulk was done to death. Kamāl ul-Mulk and his follower-amirs and sections of state people came forward for oath of allegiance. Kamāl-ul-Mulk was bestowed upon the title of Kamāl Khan and appointed as Vazir.

The Sulṭān marched to Mubārakpur in 838 (1434-35) where amirs of the frontier assembled. They included 'Imad ul-Mulk, Islām Khān, and Majlis-i-'Āli Sayyid Khān. When he encamped on the outskirts of Multān, he donned Khān-Khānān with Amirship and made him an absolute amir and returned to Siri.

In 844 (1440-41), Sultān Maḥmud Khalji encamped at a distance of half a farsakh from Delhi and the Sultān (of Delhi) garrisoned himself. Bahlol b. Ludi Afghān was his amir. He ordered him to fight with the Khalji and raised his position to that of Amir ul-Umara of the army. He was young, intrepid, strong, alert, horseman and brave. He issued forth from Delhi and encamped outside of it. The Khalji, on hearing about his encampment, faced him. He tarried in his pavilion and encountered him with his son Ghiyāthuddin b. Maḥmud and his brother Qadr Khān. He stood in the midst of two armies that day. In the evening, every one of them returned to his pavilion. With the rise of dawn, the envoy of Khiḍr Khān came for peace. It so happened that the Khalji saw a dream that night to the effect that there was disturbance in parts of his kingdom. He took a lesson from it. He was aggrieved thereby. He made peace with the envoy and immediately marched for retreat to his kingdom while Bahlol pursued him to some farsakhs and seized his baggage which was left behind. He returned and was ennobled with favour of the sulṭān and

* Original Text, p. 919.

his regard. He raised his dignity by adopting him as his son, doubled his territory and got to the top of his rank in the royal palace.

In 845 (1441), the Sultān marched to Sāmāna and granted Dipalpur and Lahore to Bahlol. He sent him against Jasrath and returned to Delhi. When Bahlol entered into his frontiers, Jasrath sent a message to him saying, "there is a sword between me and this saltanat. I had come fighting from the side of my enemies. I am at war with you side by side. For you I am a helper and peaceful. If he goes away through your good luck, his name will not be mentioned from pulpits. It is not for you as to who helps. I am for you as you love me." The messenger came frequently between them. His request was clear. He made peace and returned to Dipalpur. He began to collect men of his kind and became powerful. In the meantime, the 'Āmils extorted revenue with severity. They had imprisoned many cultivators. Many of them migrated* to other territory. Thus hearts of the followers had scattered. The Amir of Bayāna had gone over to the Khalji. The salṭanat had weakened because of dispersion.

In the year 847 (1443-44), Sultān Khiḍr Khān died. He ruled for ten years and two months.

Sultān 'Alāud-Din b. Muḥammad Khiḍr Khān b. Farid Khān b. Khiḍr Khān b. Mardān Naṣir ul-Mulk, Rāyāt-i-'Alā.

'Alāud-Din b. Muḥammad Khiḍr Khān b. Farid Khān b. Khiḍr Khān ascended the throne at Delhi. He cared for personal comforts, relied upon others for his policy and was more negligent than his father. His administrative organisation got confused without delay.

'Alāud-Din marched to Bayāna in 880 (1475). He heard that the ruler of Jaunpur had come for resistance to him. He returned to Delhi. Ḥusām Khān was his Vazir who reproached him to return.

In 881 (1476), 'Alāud-Din marched to Badāun smarting under reproach of his Vazir to him. The Vazir said to him, "Time does not bear separation from the capital. Badāun is not the place of residence to those who are near Delhi. Do not return from the wish of one who advises." He left behind mamluks, one of whom was Amir in the city while the other one was on the precincts. He marched of his own accord towards it and gave himself up to his pleasures. Within a short time, the mamḷuks disagreed among themselves. There were mutual discords and dissensions and massacre. The Vazir also fought. 'Alāud-Din was much affection by the action of Vazir. He became fearful of his future life with him. Bahlol heard about what happened at Delhi between

* Original Text, p. 920.

the Vazir and the Sulṭān, at Dipalpur. He seized an opportunity and wrote to the Vazir, "It has reached me that you have become anxious about your future. Let us exchange our places. Let Delhi be mine." He replied to that. Bahlol came to Delhi and got ascendancy over it. He left behind his confi-* dential men but the Vazir had come out prior to his arrival. He then wrote to 'Alāud-Din, "I had made amends for disturbed state of affairs in time". He returned to Dipalpur. 'Alāud-Din learnt about the Vazir's departure and his arrival. He was devoid of worthiness to rule the kingdom. It was sad. He wrote in helplessness a reply. "I had called you myself with meekness and comfort. You are my brother when my father adopted you as his son by giving me Badāun and the rest of territory to you." When Bahlol got acquainted with exact state of affairs, he sent to him a mandate of Badāun. He wrote to him, "what territory I have from your father and your self in addition to Delhi is in my hand. I will not renounce your loyalty and the mamluk and what they owned from their master. He marched from Dipalpur to Delhi. After that, 'Alāud-Din died in a year.

* Original Text, p. 921.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Ludis

Elevation of banner of fortune of the time with the Salṭanat of Bahlol b. Ludi Afghān

It is within memory of an intelligent man and ken of a literary pe that that there is nothing static but of obvious dynamism through cong causes for thinking and seeing with the eye. Trust in God does not come ir way of relation with causes. It does not raise the curtain from heart like has come and upon what it depends. In the tradition of the Prophet, peace and benediction of God be on him, it is related that a desert 'Arab to the Prophet. He asked him "where is your camel?" He replied, "I l left it free to the care of God." The Prophet said, "Tie it up and leave the trust in God." There are potent causes for the salṭanat of Bahlol. are primarily concerned with the will of God. What is other than that fro is the march of the Khalji (dynamism) and frigidity (staticism) from K Khān; again it is retreat of Khiḍr from advancement of steps to him advancement of Bahlol to desired object; further, Khiḍr Khān adopted B as a son. He advanced during his regime one day and controlled power du the regime of 'Alāud-Din the next day. As stated above, 'Alāud-Din div himself of salṭanat during his life and remained contented with Badāun w he had. He lived there till his death. Bahlol son of Ludi Afghān sat on throne during his life at Delhi in 885 (1480). All the 'Alāis assembled ar him. In the early part of his reign, all the amirs evinced their loyalty to At the time of Khalji's invasion, Khiḍr Khān garrisoned himself and inv Bahlol with Khil'at of Amirship of the amirs' soldiers and ordered him for campment outside Delhi in opposition to him. No where did the Khalj an equal to himself. He encountered his son Ghiyāthuddin. On the da battle, he stood in the midst of it. On the next day the Khalji accepted t of peace. Bahlol rose high in the esteem of Khiḍr Khān. He adopted hi his son, raised him in status and bestowed Dipalpur upon him. During regime of 'Alāud-Din, he was at the topmost position with the decline of of 'Alāud-Din in the saltanat due to his engrossment in pleasures and imme in his time of getting what emerged from his faculty of thinking. On Bal invasion of Tilhar and fighting with its ruler Jasrath, he rendered wha help he could. He returned from it but inadvertence of 'Alāud-Din summ him and watched his fall. Negligence did harm to one whose temperament

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* Original Text, p. 922.

not capable of guidance and which brought him nearer his fall. It so chanced that the Vazir was pressed for action due to disturbed state of affairs. He renounced allegiance and the split widened which needed a patch. The Vazir took an action in this risky affair. Bahlol seized the opportunity and invited him to himself and he became a ruler in that year. He augmented size of his army, particularly by men of his own race and gave them what he had in his hand. They respected him and he gained strength. He gave them clothes. He gave them horses. They loved him. They held him in esteem in their hearts. He gained in strength from amirs of the nauba. They were supplied with horses as well as clothes. The daughter of 'Alāud-Din son of Muḥammad Khān was married to Sultān Ḥusain, ruler of Jaunpur. For that purpose, he was obsessed with conquest of his father's territory. He repeatedly came (for attack) but ultimately Bahlol gained a victory. At the last time, Bahlol pursued him to Jaunpur and conquered it. He stationed his son Bārik Shāh there. It was mentioned in the first daftar of my history "Zafar ul-Wālih b. Muzaffar wa Ālehi." Sikander had become the independent ruler at Jaunpur. Bahlol died in 904 (1498).

Sultān Sikander son of Bahlol

Sikander son of Bahlol Afghān ascended the throne of salṭanat. He was a brave and obedient sultān. He conquered Bengal. He recovered what was lost by Delhi. He made assaults and conquered. He always moved with his ḥarim. When he issued forth from Delhi for conquest, the amirs remained loyal to him till he returned. He assailed the fort of Antari, conquered it by force and resorted to general massacre in it and its adjoining places. He then* attacked Gwalior. Its ruler Mānsingh came out to fight with him frequently but he was defeated every time. Sikander then marched to Agra and encamped at its river and made it his capital. He constantly waged war with Gwalior. The fort remained with Mansingh during his life time while the rest of his territory was conquered by Sikander.

In 923 (1577), Sikander suffered from the disease of corroding ulcer. When he was despaired of life, he, of his own accord, invested his son Ibrahim with authority in the salṭanat. Oath of allegiance was completed during his life. He then died at the close of the year. He was powerful, delightful, intrepid, and severely harsh.

I now narrate anecdotes full of grief and sorrow. These are not in history but they are of hearsay account. I heard some Afghāns saying about Sikander at Nāsik Trimbak in the Dekkan. It was the capital of Sayf ul-Muluk Miftāḥ Ulugh Khāni Habashi. He was one of the amirs of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh

* Original Text, p. 923.

famous as Baḥri. I was a hâjib and dabir (secretary) to the Amir. One day, there was a mention of power of Sikander son of Bahlol in course of conversation. I heard an aged man saying who was at Agra during his regime. He heard about his strength that a genii who could not be overpowered in strength made his appearance in his ḥarim (seraglis). He would not go unless he promised to part company with his wife. According to a report, he would stake his kingdom but not his wife. Sikander was well disposed to his wife. He would visit her in her turn. In the meantime, he disapproved of what he saw of her yellow colour, change of body, want of joy, and her grief after enjoyment. He asked her the cause of it. She replied, "If the questioner limits his turn, I will not disapprove of the question." He then said with increased clarity "I will not exceed my turn." She said, "At the time of your coming to me, I always see one who enters upon me in your likeness, in your dress, with your caress, chicanery and sits in your manner. He does not transgress his habit in your movements and postures. He goes away. I do not see him except at such an hour. I am in pains for that. He was amazed and resolved upon to see him. In the evening, he wore his armour and lay in wait for him. He was as reported by her to him. He came out from his hiding place and stabbed him with a poniard. He then grappled with him and took out his dagger to stab him. The jinn said to him, "Is this better than that? I* promise you not to come back to your wife. I will not enter your city as a foreigner. I inform you about that." So saying, he stood up and never returned to his wife. He always spoke about it. The narrator said that it so chanced that Babur arrived with a party of Kalandars to outskirts of Agra. The jinn informed him about him and his house. Sikander went to him and alighted at the place of Kalandars. When Bâbur saw him as a fortunate man, he held him in esteem and regarded him great in his heart. He connived at him. He was among the Kalandars like one of them. He approached Sikander from his party and sat near Bâbur on information of the jinn in his qualities and clothes. He began conversation with him by asking his name, as to who he was, whence he had come and where he would go. He did not speak the truth in anything in his reply. Sikander smiled and named him. He said, "Yes. You are the guest, you are worthy, you are welcome. You are experienced. I am so and so. This is my capital. I have no power over you. You are pious. For you from me is what you love." He then turned to the party of Kalandars and made them intimate by his speech. He said to them, "I had ordered a feast for you and I request you to accept it." He ordered to spread the carpet, a shade, eatables, drinks, fruits, sweets of different kinds, various kinds of perfumes, and flowers. He then went to his quarters. The

* Original Text, p. 924.

ator said: When he disappeared from sight, Bābur stood up and went on way. He said to his companions, "Every one of you is against its ruler way today. The promised place of meeting is that who lives. The ator said: When Bābur came to Kābul, he said to his companions, saw Sikander. He is more than what I heard about him. Under these mstances, there is no way to his kingdom.

ān Ibrāhim b. Sikander b. Bahlol Ludi

Ibrahim b. Sikander b. Bahlol Ludi Afghān sat on the throne of salṭanat e city of Agra. Sikander had given his son Jalāl ud-Din Jaunpur, raised canopy over his head and permitted him the Khuṭba and the Sikka during ife-time. When Ibrāhim became the Sulṭān, he divested him of saltanat* aunpur and conquered it. He conquered Gwalior during his regime leaving a ion of territory in the hands of its ruler Vikramāditya. After a short while, rty of amirs became his antagonists. He killed some of them, imprisoned n and dismissed them. Those who feared him, decided to summon his uncle m Khān son of Bahlol from Gujarat and nominate him as Sultān. It has n stated in the account of Muzaffar Shāh in the first daftar. He accepted invitation with Muzaffari help. He met Bābur, ruler of Kābul on the skirts of Agra. He said to him that perhaps he would need help of men. e were his five hundred Mughals who would be with him. He replied, ere is aversion between the Mughals and the Afghāns. They would not and would not defend. I request you to wait till I get power." Bābur l, "If it happens as is your counsel, you are excused. They defend themes as I know." Bābur bade them farewell and 'Ālam Khān journeyed to hi and he met him on its outskirts. They sought him. When they saw the hals, they intended to rebuke him for the information. They said to him turn. He so ordered them. They refused to do so as they had girded ds. They then got ready and stood in the maidan and hesitated for an . They then turned to go back to Bābur. Such is the information of the ali. 'Ālām Khān agreed to summon them; they raised a canopy over head Nizām, titled him 'Alāud-Din and entered Delhi in perfect order.

ān 'Alāud-Din son of Bahlol Afghān

'Alāud-Din 'Ālam Khān son of Bahlol b. Ludi Afghān sat on the throne at hi on 10th Zilhajj, 931 (1524). They then marched against Sultān Ibrāhim was in Agra. Ibrāhim got a report of it. He made amends for the causes discord between him and the amirs, laid restrictions on what had passed and ded for them to the amirs of Delhi. He corresponded with them and did as y pleased. Opinions divided and 'Alāud-Din looked for a party of them at

* Original Text, p. 925.

every manzil. His judgment got confused. He was overpowered by fear from rest of them who were with him. He came out of his pavilion at mid-night, alone singly. He was on a very fast running horse and went to Bābur, met him and informed him of what had happened with him. He stood a security for help. He got ready and proceeded to Agra with nine thousand Afghān horse.* Sultān Ibrāhim received him with eighty thousand horse and seventeen hundred elephants. At dawn with the departure of night, Bābur ordered for array of banners and waving of flags, heaping up of baggage of one after another with horse and foot on right and left. He marched to a side. Ibrahim then made his appearance from behind. It was a gathering in the neighbourhood of Pānipat. In the morning, Ibrāhim intended for array of war-carts and elephants in chain to be posted in front with boxes of fire-muskets (naphtha) on them. The Mughal vanguard made its appearance from the side of war-carts. Muskets began to be discharged. The elephants startled; they turned against friends, collided with horses in chains and striking them with kicks. Babur made his appearance from a side. It was the work of decrees of God on Ibrāhim. He perished under blows of elephants and horses falling one upon another. Elephants were in chains in rings. It was due to a startle of elephants standing in row after row. They passed on those who were behind kicked them and pounded flesh, muscles, blood and intestines into dough. The number of those who perished with Ibrāhim beneath feet, of amirs was forty-three and 35,000 horse. The enemy also killed a large number. 'Alāud-Din son of Bahlol met Bābur but the historian Ḥusām Khān does not mention his condition after Bābur's entry into Delhi in 932 (1525).

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* Original Text, p. 926.

CHAPTER XXX

The Mughals

Zahir ud-Din Muḥammad Bābur, the Mughal son of Timur Gurgān

Zahirud-Din Muḥammad Bābur b. Sultān 'Umar Shaikh b. Sultān Abu Sa'eed b. Sultān Muḥammad Mirzā b. Mirān Shāh b. Amir Timur Gurgān Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān, sat on the throne of salṭanat at Delhi. He was born on 6th* Muḥarram, 888 (1483)

> The noble king was born on 6th Muḥarram
> Chronogram of his birth was also Shash (sixth) Muḥarram.

He was a rarity in his own way. Khwāndmir narrates in his Ḥabib us-Siyar that Shaikh Bahādur was in prosperous circumstances in the early part of his life. He was at Andjān, his capital. One day, he climbed up a turret. There was a bath-room. He fell from it and died. It happened in Sha'bān, 899 (1494). His son Zahir ud-Din Muḥammad Bābur sat upon his throne. In event of a war between Muḥammad Khān Shaibāni and Sulṭān 'Ali Mirzā outside Samarqand, Khwāja Abul Makārim and the citizens were in favour of surrendering Samarqand to Bābur. They wrote to him to come at such and such a time of night. Bābur arrived and Abul Makārim opened the city-gate for him in inadvertence of the Uzbek and admitted him. There were more than five hundred men in the city. They killed all of them and Bābur sat on his ancestral throne at Samarqand. Muḥammad Shaibāni learnt about it. He returned from Samarqand in 906 (1500). Bābur had vacated Samarqand in a war with the Uzbek but now he permitted his army of Andjān to return to it. After a short while, the Uzbek Khān came back and made an assault on Samarqand. Bābur retreated to Andjān and the Uzbek Khān made his entry into Samarqand. He established his authority in Transoxiana. He sent an army against Andjān. War and pillage continued between him and Bābur for several years. When power of the Uzbek gained in strength, Bābur marched from Andjān to Tirmidh and the Uzbek entered Andjān. Muḥammad Bāqir was the Amir of Tirmidh. He met Bābur who consulted him for war with the Uzbek. He replied, "Derive benefit from what you see of wars in the beginning, be polite with time, retire from it to a side and wait for an opportunity." Both of them agreed and journeyed towards Kābul. Their passage lay on Kunduz. Khusraw Shāh was its ruler. When he came to it, Khusraw Shāh came out, met him, treated him as a guest and gave him guidance. In spite of it, he made him a captive, overpowered him with what was present with him.

* Original Text, 927.

Muḥammad Bâqir advised him for flight from him before he puts him in captivity and makes a demand of what is not with him. That happened. Bābur came to Kâbul. Amir Muḥammad Muqim son of Amir Zun Nun was its Amir.* He requested amnesty. He was seized with dismay from the beginning. He moved with what he had to Qandahār. Bābur entered the fort and conquered the city and its suburbs. It was a peaceful victory in 910 (1504). In the early part of 912 (1506), he received a report of Khān Uzbek's assault on Balkh and Herāt. The rulers of these places were Badi'uz-Zamān and Muzaffar Ḥusain respectively. They were rulers of half to half territory while the Khuṭba was recited for both of them. They had to face the invasion of the Uzbek and most of the sons of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā. But he did not leave behind him except one or two. Such was the case with the army. On their assembling, Bābur marched to Herāt, met them and they all issued forth with a vast army for defence against the Uzbek. They agreed for a short while They then differ in views. They withdrew to Herāt and their unity broke up and did not meet afterwards. Bābur returned to Kâbul.

Muḥammad Zamān b. Badi'uz-Zamān b. Sulṭān Husain Mirzā invaded Bulkh in 913 (1507). Kiwām Beg was there. He wrote to Bābur for surrender of Balkh to him and to come to him. Qanbar Beg arrived and he surrendered the fort. Qiwām Beg went to Kābul. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad Zamān had encamped on the outskirts of Limkar at the invitation of Amin, Beg Amir Sharghān. He was extremely negligent. Jābukā Beg Muqbil fought with Amir of Balkh. They had come to straits. He fought and defended personally. His horse slipped, nay his fate and he fell a captive. The Amir recognized his status and treated him with great respect. He proceeded to Kabul. When he came to Bābur, he showed him regard and bestowed on him Balkh and its dependencies. Herāt and the whole of Khurāsān belonged to Shāh Ismā'il in the early part of his entry. Bābur corresponded with him. He then sought permission for conquest of portion adjoining his region. He permitted him for conquest of Transoxiana.

In 917 (1511), Bābur marched to Mawarā un-Nahr with the army of Zābulistān and a fierce battle took place between him and Mirzā Sultān Uzbek in the vicinity of Badakhshān. Bābur came out victorious. He killed the Uzbek amirs such as Hamz Sulṭān, Mahdi Sulṭān and conquered places which belonged to the Uzbek such as the fort of Shādmān, Khatlān, Kunduz and Baklān. He wrote to Shah Ismā'il Qazilbāsh about these victories and requested him for help to conquer Samarkand with acceptance of Khuṭba and Sikka in †

* Original Text, 928.

† Original Text, p. 929.

his name. He showed sympathy towards him and helped him with Amir Aḥmad Beg Ṣufi Ughly, and Amir Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār. Muḥammad Timur Sultān Uzbek was the Amir at Samarqand 'Abdullā Khān Uzbek was Amir at Bukhārā. When both of them heard about his arrival and with help of the Shāh, they fled to Turkestān. Bābur entered Samarqand and sat on the throne of his forefathers and he recited the Khuṭba in the name of Shāh Ismā'il Qazilbāsh and impressed coins in his name. He wrote to him for victory, Khuṭba and sikka. He dictated similar matter to his amir also with care for loyalty. The Shāh sent to him a robe of honour worthy of him with his envoy. He authorised him to rule over Samarqand and Bukhāra while he authorised Khān Mirzā for the fort of Shādmān, Khatlān and Badakhshān. Whereupon, Amir Aḥmad Beg and Amir Shāh Rukh returned to Herāt and Bābur sent message with them. The envoy Muḥammad Khān Aishak Āqā came back with the reply of Bābur that he was extremely pleased for his kindness to him. He connected it to the movement of attack and the effect of his speech. The Shāh sent, from his side, one who would control Transoxiana. He was the great Amir Najm Beg and with him were Zain ul-'Ābedin Beg, Khwaja Kamāl-ud-Din Maḥmud Sagharji and Sādat Khān Beg. In the meanwhile, there was a war on the frontiers of Herāt in which the Uzbek had won a victory. Its account is that the Uzbek heard about departure of Muḥammad Timur Sultān and 'Ubaidullāh Khān to Turkastān due to help received by Bābur from the Shāh. They decided upon recovery of Transoxiana for them. The amirs such as Jāni Beg Sulṭān accompanied them with followers of their tribes. When they came to Bukhārā, they encamped at its frontiers. Bābur was in the fort of Bukhārā. He got ready for war. Amir Mazid Tarkhān advised him to make necessary arrangement for the fort for the Uzbek would attack with all his might. He immediately went out with those soldiers who were present with him. The Uzbek deceived him by abandonment of resistance and withdrawal from him to a distance of one or two manzils. Bābur got puffed up with lustre of his sword and regarded the enemy weak for their retreat. He hastily rushed upon them. They were in their armours by way of caution. When he approached them, they retreated and came face to face with him. It was a fierce battle which resulted in the flight of Bābur to Bukhārā. They attacked Bukhārā, he fled to Samarqand. They entered Samarqand and assaulted it. He took to his heels and took refuge in a fort. They entered Samarqand and behaved well with * residents and cultivators. It happened in 918 (1512). Najm Beg got intelligence of it. He sent for those amirs who were on the frontiers and they responded to him. Among them was Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammad, lord of the fort. When he met him, he informed him about the arrival of Bābur in his

* Original Text, p. 930.

wake. Najm Beg received him along with those who travelled with them under his flag. Their number reached twelve thousand Qazilbāsh horse. They assembled in the maidān of Tang Jugjag which was also called Darband-i-Āhnin. This was an assemblage with Bābur. He guided them under his usual fond method. Najm Beg then marched to Khazār where was the Uzbak Amir Āk Fawlād Sulṭān. Najm wrote to him for surrender of the fort and amnesty to him and favour. He opened the gate and met him. Najm ordered for his captivity and slaughter of his men. After occupation of Khāzār, he advanced to Karashi. Its Amir Shaikham Mirzā had heard what he had done to Āk Fawlād Sulṭān. He preferred war to safety. He had to face a vast army with his small contingent. Valour was supreme. He was captured in the battlefield. There was general massacre. Amir Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammad pleaded that it was not his offence but he did not plead for him. Fifteen thousand persons were killed. He then journey to Bukhārā. When he was at a distance of two farsakhs from it, he heard that Muḥammad Timur Sulṭān, Abi Sa'eed Sulṭān son of Kuchunji Khān had marched from Samarqand for him. He paused at his place and sent Bahrām Beg Karāmāni to fight with them. They encamped at the fort of Ghajdawān and garrisoned themselves. Bahrām Beg assaulted it, and Najm Beg was in wake of him. When he terminated to it, he encamped outside it and tarried for long. There was shortage of provisions in the army of Najm. Khwāja Kamālud-Din Maḥmud joined Najm Beg. He was well acquainted with the Uzbek technic of wars for forts and in maidāns. He said to him that the fort should be besieged in winter for quick victory because of sufficient supply of provisions. There were sultāns who were obedient strong with contingents and cash. "It is proper to assault Karashi till winter departs. Caravans of Balkh etc. will move with provisions to your camp. The provisions will then be transferred to the fort you can then camp till approach of summer at the fort to make conquest easy for you." In the meantime, when Kamāl ud-Din talked about assault on Karashi, Bābur made his appearance in the majlis. He heard what was said. He supported him and compelled him for it. Najm replied that it would be done tomorrow. For what was said, perhaps tomorrow might not come as they knew. Next morning, the Uzbek vanguards unfurled their standards drawing their arms. It was* because 'Ubaidullāh Khān and Jāni Beg Sultān had heard at Bukhārā about Najm Beg's encampment at Ghajdawān and therefore they had marched to it. Muḥammad Timur Sultān and Abu Sa'eed Sultān emerged from the vicinity and joined them. After assemblage, they laid designs against Najm Beg. He had shown himself in the maidān with the right and the left wings. Bābur had fixed a veil to restrict help to one who needed it. Bahrām Beg was Amir of the

* Original Text, p. 931.

left wing. Amir of Uzbek right wing attacked him with hundred horse and killed him. The Uzbek contingent then assaulted the army of 'Irāq and Āzarbaijān. They fled being pursued by the army of Khurāsān. The rout was brought to a finish by Najm Beg. Bābur turned reins to Kasham of Badakhshān. Ghiyāthuddin Muḥammad was at Herāt while Kamāl-ud-Din Maḥmud was at Balkh. Ḥasan Beg Lillāh and Aḥmad Beg Ṣufi Ughli were at the bridge of Karki. Najm Beg fell a captive in the contingent of 'Ubaidullāh Khān and he was brought to him. He ordered to cut off his head, Zain ul-'Ābidin Beg was killed in the battle-field. A general massacre followed on Najm Beg being subdued. Khwāja Muḥiyuddin Yaḥyā son of Shams-ud-Din Muḥammed Maiwārid, and Khwāja Mirjān son of Qiwām ud-Din Muḥammad son of Ustāz ul-Ma'mār came out safely from the battle-field. They went to the mountains. The Samarqandis saw them and killed them. This incident took place on Tuesday 3rd Ramḍān of the year.

In 919 (1513) Tumān Sulṭān brother of Jāni Beg Sulṭān came to Balkh under an order of the latter. Residents of Balkh were inclined towards him and so Kamāl ud-Din Maḥmud went to Kasham, Badakhshān and met Bābur and tarried with him till he heard that Tumān Sultān had withdrawn to Transoxiana. He went to Balkh but the residents closed the gate in his face. He turned to Khurāsān. On his encampment at Pil Chirāgh, Amir Adham al-Juzrawāni famous among retinue of Juzrawān killed him as a robber. This happened in the early part of Rajab of the year.

In 926 (1519), Bābur went to Kandahār from Kābul. Shujā' Beg son of Zin Nun Arghun was there. He garrisoned himself and prevented his entry. Bābur learnt about. He had encamped-death of Khān Mirzā son of his uncle* and lord of Badakhshān. He regained it and sent his son Humāyun, as an independent Amir. Bābur continued to stay outside Qandahār. During these days, he conquered Garmsir. Shujā' Beg wrote to Amir Khān Zanbil Beg, lord of Herāt requesting him to remove Bābur and come to wait upon Shāh Tahmasp. It so happened. Amir Khān wrote to Bābur to consult Shujā' Beg as he was one of the servants and to forgive him. It was proper to leave him. Bābur wrote to him that repentance at the eleventh hour of death is not acceptable. After the victory, as he did not come on his feet, he came in captivity to the gate. It is stated in Ḥabib us-Siyar that Shujā' Beg came to Herāt during the government of Dev Sulṭān at Balkh. He was imprisoned in the fort. It was legal at this time to be in the grave. He was brought on a horse at the foot of the fort. He got down to saddle of his horse by means of a cord from the turret and fled to Qandahār. Ḥusain Beg Lillāh heard about it. He ordered the army of Khurāsān to be killed. It was a day ordained as evil. He then

* Original Text, p. 932.

prepared himself for Qandahar. Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār submitted Shujā' Beg to him and apologised for his offence. He accepted the Khuṭba and the Sikka as well as the usages of the Imāmiyas. He then returned from him. Amir Khān had hinted in his letter to Bābur to pardon him as previously stated, he had fled from prison to the grave. It happened before Babur's attack on him. Bābur replied what he had replied. He remained outside Qandahār till there came to him, from Durmish Khān Vazir of Abin Naṣr Sām Mirza son of Shāh Ismā'il, lord of Khurāsān Muzaffar Beg Ḥājib, with an order for withdrawal. Bābur returned in 927 (1520). Shujā'Beg left Mawlāna Bāqi at Qandahar and marched with the envoy to Herāt.

Khān Bāqi was under his guarantee. Bābur sent for him for surrender of the fort. Within three days of Bābur's arrival to Kābul, there came a letter of demand. He rode out within an hour to him. entered the fort being accompanied by the envoy of Herāt Tāj ul-Millat wad-Din Ḥasan Chalabi. He had come to him after his arrival from it to Kābul. He behaved well with him and permitted him to go from Qandahār. He was accompanied by his ḥājib Mirzā Kubi. He left behind his son Kāmrān. He returned to Kābul. His envoy Mirzā Quli returned from Herāt with an edict of favour, This happened in the* year 928 (1521). So far the account is copied from Ḥabib us-Siyar as stated by Khwāndmir.

In 933 (1526),—this is what Ḥusām Khān has narrated in Tabakāt-i-Bahādurshahi—a battle took place between Ibrahim and Bābur who conquered Delhi. He visited the saints and marched to Agra where the mother of Ibrahim and his minor children lived. She prevented his entry into the fort for some days. She then came out seeking amnesty. He sent them to Kābul and entered Agra. He did to its citizens what he did not like. In some Persian histories, the date of conquest is thus stated:

> Zahirud-Din Muhammad Shāh Bābur
> Of Alexander's luck and fury of Bahrām
> Conquered Hind by luck.
> Its date is "Fatḥi b-dawlat" (conquered by luck).

The Afghāns assembled around Maḥmud b.Sikander. The ruler of Chitor, Sāngā, Udaisingh, ruler of Bāker and Ḥusain Khān, ruler of Mewāt joined him. (He was from a party of Bābur) Maḥmud marched with one hundred and twenty thousand horse to regain Agra. Bābur made a night-attack on them. They were in negligence and puffed up with vastness of the army. That party of union was dispersed. Ḥusain Khān, Udaisingh, and Sāngā fell in the battlefield. Maḥmud fled towards Gujarat. It happened at the close of the year.

Original Text, p. 933.

Bābur conquered Jaunpur in 934 (1527). Maḥmud returned to Jaunpur in 935 (1528) but Bābur turned him out. Maḥmud journeyed to Nuṣrat Shāh son of Sayyid 'Alāud-Din, ruler of Bengal. He helped him with 60,000 horse and recovered Jaunpur for him. It remained for two years under him.

Bābur died at Agra in 937 (1530). Some verses in Persian are :

Bābur Pādshāh, Qalandar-like
Who showed world with facile pomp
Departed leaving date of his death
Pādshāh Bābur of Qalandar merit.

Abul Faḍl Dahelvi writes thus about the life of Bābur: Sultān Bābur sat on throne of his father at Andjān on Tuesday, 5th Ramḍān, 899 (1494). He was then twelve years old. During the regime of his father, Sultān Aḥmad Mirzā and Sultān Maḥmud Mirzā, the Uzbek Khāns made an assault on Andjān. On his accession, they departed with peace. Antagonism continued between* him and the Chaghatāi and Uzbek Sulṭāns for twelve years. He conquered Samarqand in 903 (1497). Bāysanghar Mirza son of Sulṭān Mirzā was its ruler. He left it. He again conquered it in 917 (1511). The Uzbeks conquered it. He therefore, went to Badakhshān where Khusraw Shāh was its lord. He abandoned his army and then recruited it in times of necessity. He killed Baysanghar and blinded Sulṭān Mas'ud son of his uncle and joined with him formerly on his passing to Badakhshan, pardoned him and permitted him to choose what he had under him to carry with him and marched to Khurāsān. He then journeyed to Kābul whose ruler was Muḥammad Muqim son of Zun Nun Arghun. He seized it from 'Abd ur-Razzāk Mirzā son of Ulugh Mirzā son of Sulṭān Abu Sa'ied Mirzā son of the uncle of Bābur. He heard about it and garrisoned himself. He then came out under his amnesty with what belonged to his brother Shāh Beg at Qandahār and conquered Kābul peacefully at the close of Rabi' II in 910 (1504). He conquered Kilāt in 912 (1506). It was a dependency of Qandahār. In this very year, there was an earthquake in the vicinity of Kābul as far as the city. In one of these days, the tremors were felt for thirty-three times. There was general destruction of the fort and the houses. Many persons perished under the debris. In a war with the Uzbek this year, the ruler of Khurāsān, Sultan Ḥusain Mirza responded. His messenger was Sayyid Afḍal b. Mir Sulṭān 'Ali Khwāb-bin (interpreter of dreams). During his absence from Kābul, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirza attacked it. Sultān Sanjar Barlās defeated him. They agreed upon appointing Khān Mirzā as Amir. Mulla Bābā Sāghari, Amir Muḥib Khalifa and Amir Muḥammad Qāsim Kohbar etc. were appointed for the fort from his side. On his return, he learnt about it.

* Original Text, 934.

Jahāngir Mirzā left behind baggage. He was weak for it. He hastened with a party, travelled the valley of Hindu Koh in heavy snow-fall and entered Kābul on morning of the night. In the morning, he waited upon his mother Shāh Begum who stayed with Khān Mirzā. He sat before her with etiquette. He said, " If the mother shows special kindness to her son, the other son had no cause of complaint. He cannot disobey her." He then said, "I have passed* a sleepless night; I have come from a long distance. He placed his head in the lap of the mother and slept. Then came his mother's sister (daughter of his mother's sister-Abul Fazl) Maher Nigār Khānum. He quickly woke up and met her. Those who had attacked the fort learnt about his arrival. They dispersed and the soldiers followed them. They returned to Muḥammad Husain. He presented himself near him. He turned to him and pardoned him and gave him permission. He went to Khurāsān. His mother's sister came with Khān Mirzā and said addressing him " Oh eye of his mother! I have brought your sinning brother with me, what is your order in respect of him?" He embraced him, pardoned him and gave him the choice. Out of shame he chose to go to Qandahār for which he was granted permission. In 913 (1507), Bābur marched to Qandahār. There were wars between him and Shāh Beg Arghun and his brother Muḥammad Muqim. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā came to him. Khān Mirzā had invaded him. He met and returned. After conquest he left behind Nāṣir Mirzā who was younger than his brother Jahāngir Mirzā and returned to Kābul. He sent Shāh Beg Khān Mirzā to Badakhshān. After killing Lapir Rāghi, he firmly established himself in the government of Badakhshān. It always remained under Bābur. In the meantime, he wrote in 916 (1510) about murder of Shāh Beg Uzbek and that his arrival was proper. Bābur marched in Shawwāl of the year. He conquered Samarqand in the middle of Rajab of 917 (1511). He tarried for eight months. There was a fierce war between him and 'Ubaidullāh Khān Uzbek at Kaul in Safar of 918 (1512). Bābur got defeated and fled to the fort of Shādmān. He was then present in the battle of Ghajdawān. Najm Beg was killed, Babur moved on to Kabul.

Conquest of Hind

Bābur marched to Hind four times. Firstly, in Sha'bān of the year 910 (1504) by way of Bādām Chashma and Jadaklik. He crossed Khaibar and alighted at Jam. He has written his auto-biography in the Turki language and named it " Wake'āt-i-Bāburi." He has written in it himself that when he came out from Kābul to a distance of six manzils, he reached Ādināpur and came to the frontiers of Garmsir and neighbourhood of Hind. What he had not seen, he saw in a different way—men, vegetables, plants, wild animals, birds

* Original Text, p. 935.

and customs and usages. He was amazed. It was really an occasion for* amazement. At the first manzil, Nāşir Mirzā came from Ghazni. A council of consultation was convened in respect of a crossing-place on the Indus. They unanimously decided by grace of God to cross it from the side of Kohat. They plundered it and pillaged Bangash and Bannaur. Bābur went to 'Isā Khail and encamped outside Darbela. It is a town on the bank of Indus, a dependency of Multān. Thence he paused on the environs of Kai. After traversing several manzils, he came to Ghazni. From it, he went to Kābul where he arrived in Zilhajj of the year. Secondly, he marched to Hind by way of Khurd Kābul in Jamādi I, 913 (1507). There was difference of opinion among his companions in the neighbourhood of Mandrawal, so he retreated to Kābul. Thirdly, he marched by way of Bajaur on Monday, 1st Muharram, 925 (1519). On the way, there was a severe earthquake which lasted for half astronomical hour. After the earthquake, Sulţān 'Alāud-Din met him. He conquered the fort of Bajaur. Khwāja Kalān Beg son of Mawlānā Muhammad Ḥaidar was posted there as an Amir. He was one of the greatest grandees of Mirzā 'Umar Shaikh. He moved onwards to Hind. He crossed the river on Thursday morning, 16th Muḥarram of the year and encamped near Kacha Kot. From Bahra, at a distance of seven farsakhs to the north, there is a mountain, which is named by the author of Zafarnāma as Koh-i-Jud. It was a manzil in the eastern plain of Bahra on the bank of the river Bahat. Four hundred thousand Shāhrukhis were taken from residents of Bahra as the price of amnesty. Hindu Beg was posted to its government. Shāh Ḥusain was appointed to the government of Khushāb as a sort of assistance to Hindu Beg. He sent Mullā Murshid with a letter to Sulţān Ibrāhim Ludi, ruler of Delhi. His path lay through Lahore. For this purpose, Daulat Khān, Amir of Lahore was chosen. He returned to Bābur. On Friday, 2nd Rabi' I, he received news of a birth of son to him. As he was on travel to Hind, he took it a good omen and named him Hindāl. He returned to Kābul on Sunday, 11th Rabi' I. His arrival was on last day of the month. Hindu Beg abandoned Bahra on Monday, 25th Rabi' II and came to Kābul. Fourthly, Abul Faḍl says: I do not know its date. He† marched from Kābul to Lahore, conquered it and returned. It appears that it is near the date of Dipalpur's conquest. It was in 930 (1523). All the affairs happened at their appointed time due to weak judgement of amirs, absence of accord on the part of brothers, conquest of Hind delayed for implementation to the fifth time. Conquest of Hind took place on Friday, 1st Şafar, 932 (1525). Kāmrān Mirza was appointed as Qandahār with an order to look after Kābul. Humāyun came from Badakshan on 17th Şafar while Khwāja Kalān Beg arrived from Ghazni on the same day. He crossed the river Sindhu on 1st Rabi' I near Kacha Kot. His army consisted of twelve thousand horse and foot as

* Original Text, 936. † Original Text, p. 937.

well as a party of tradesmen etc. He passed over the river Jhelum, Bahat, Bahlol and Chenāb. He was in the expanse of Sialkot on Friday, 14th Rabi' I. On his encampment at Kalānaur, the amirs of Lahore such as Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and 'Ādil Sultān etc. met him. He conquered the fort of Malut on Saturday, 24th Rabi' I. The spoils consisted of books of Ghāzi Khān. Some were given to Humāyun and the rest were sent to Kamrān. In the course of his march from Ambāla, he encamped in the expanse of a tank. He heard that Ḥamid Khān, governor of Hissar Firuza had advanced some manzils. He ordered Humāyun to march against him. The day of his encampment was Sunday, 13th Jamādi I. On that day, Pani (Baban in Akbarnama) a Hindi amir made his submission. Humāyun withdrew from Hisār-i-Firuzā on Monday, 22nd of the month (21st. Akbarnāma) to the tank. It was a victory for him. Babur gave Ḥisār-i-Firuza, its depedencies, and its adjacent places to him and indited victory in his name. He marched moving on to Delhi. He encamped in the vicinity of Sarsāwa. He learnt this from Haider 'Ali, a servant of Khwāja Kalān Beg. He had marched for conquest and returned saying that Dā'ud Khan and Ḥātim Khān were advancing to this direction on behalf of Ibrāhim with approximately six thousand horse. On Sunday, 18th Jamādi II, he ordered Chin Timur Sultān, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and all the soldiers of the right wing to encounter them. A war took place. It was a victory. Ḥatim Khān* was captured with his seventy men. An order for punishment was issued. He then ordered Ustād 'Ali Quli, who was in charge of artillery to act in respect of war-carts after Turkish fashion in arrangement of chains and raw hide. Distance between two war-carts should be seven from charge of a gun at a time. This should be done within a week. He encamped in the plain of Pānipat on Thursday, last day of Jamādi II. The contingents were arrayed, war-carts were arranged in rows and gabions were in front of the centre. The left wing was fortified with ditch and trees. The right wing was firmly made stable from direction of the city. Sulṭān Ibrāhim had encamped at a distance of six farsakhs from Delhi with one huudred thousand horse and one thousand elephants. For seven days, the advance-guards came and went between the two armies. Sulṭān Ibrahim moved from his manzil to encounter Bābur on Friday, 8th Rajab. Similarly, Sultān Bābur prepared himself for the battlefield. He personally posted himself in the centre. On the right wing of the centre, its name in the Turki language is "unak Jhul" stood Chin Timur Sulṭān, Sulaimān Mirzā, Amir Muḥammad Kokaltāsh, Amir Shah Manṣur Barlās, Amir Yunus 'Ali, Amir Durwish Muḥammad Sārbān and Amir 'Abdullāh Kitābdār. On the left side of the centre, which in Turki language is "Sul Ghul", were posted Amir Khalifa, Khwāja Mir Mirān Ṣadr, Amir Aḥmadi Parwānji and Amir Tardi Beg brother of Kuch Beg, as well as Muḥib 'Ali Khalifa and Mirza

* Original Text p. 938

arkhān. Humāyun stood with stability on the right wing. He had him Amir Khwāja Kalān Beg, Sulṭān Muhammad Duldi, Amir Hindu Wali Khāzin and Pir Kuli Sistāni. On the left wing, Muḥammad Sulṭān, Mir Mehdi Khwāja, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Junayd Barlās, Khwāja Mir Ḥusain, Kutluk Kadam, Amir Jān Beg and Amir Muhammad Bakhshi stood with ess. In the vanguard were Khusraw Kokaltāsh, and Muḥammad 'Ali -i- Jang. Mir 'Abdul ' Aziz was posted with the reserve. On the right were Wali Sharmal (Abul Fadl in the Akbarnāma. The text is not clear) Malek Qāsim Bābā Qashqa. Flanking party on the left wing was under command of Karākuzi, Abu Muḥammad Nizabāz, Shaikh 'Ali Shaikh* l and Tankari Quli. Both the armies moved. It was a fiercely fought which resulted in the defeat of the Afghāns and Ibrāhim fell dead on ide of the battle-field and no one had knowledge of it. I say, it was out-y his defeat. It is said that six thousand of Sulṭān Ibrāhim's centre were . The war began with elevation of the sun to the height of a spear till it ed from the meridian. It is difficult to enumerate number of the killed on fghān side excluding those of the centre. It was a victory for Sultān r.

If the sun of fortune helps
The sky assists with opportunity of time
With warmth of battle of truthful persons
I write the story
In this column of long living persons
I paint for the future generation.

ort, he entered Delhi on Wednesday, 12th of the month and he marched ra on Friday, 22nd. Humāyun was ahead, under order, on the day of y. He obtained a piece of diamond in the majlis of festivity of the ruler uq (This diamond weighed seven mithkāls. Jewellers estimate its value ivalent to half the daily expenses of the whole world. This diamond was treasury of Sultān 'Alāud-Din who had obtained it from a descendant of māditya, rāja of Gwalior. Abul Faḍl). Bābur kept Delhi and Agra under ntrol. The outskirts were yet under the Afghāns. Qasim Sanbali was in rt of Sanbal ; Nizām Khān was in Bayāna, Ḥasan Khān was in Mewāt ; mmad Zaitun was in Dholpur ; Tatār Khān was in Gwalior as well as g Khan ; Husain Khān Nawhāni was in Rāpri Quṭb Khān was in Etāwah Khān was in Kālpi, Mahāwan adjacent to Agra was under favourite ilik of Ibrāhim. Nasir Khān Nawhani alias Karmali had Kanauj with its nding places from the river Gangā. It was a disputed territory during the e of Ibrahim. It was conquered later on with its adjoining region. He

Original Text, p. 939,

moved from the capital to two or three manzils encountered the region of Bahâr Khân son of Daryâ Khân. They had titled him Sultân Muḥammad. During Bâbur's stay at Agra, it so chanced that it became extremely hot and hot winds began to blow. It became unbearable. Life became difficult. The merchants halted. Many companions of Bâbur began to flee from Hind to Kâbul. He heard about the unbearable climate in presence and absence but he became indifferent as they were brought up under his care such as Aḥmad Parwânchi* and Wali Khâzin. He was surprised and amazed at their condition particularly at the condition of Khwâja Kalan Beg. He was in all battle-fields and ranks, particularly, in respect of travel to Hind, was firm in care, patience and instruction. In the meanwhile, this happened with severity after the victory. He was the first to talk about return from Hind clearly and in hints. He was elderly among those persons. Bâbur assembled them near himself and conciliated them with kindness by saying, " We have conquered such a vast country by efforts and hardships. Where is Kâbul from us? We shall not give it up for the difficulties of water, climate, stoppage of caravans. It is not in keeping with the ambition of a conqueror and the ruler of men and the world. It should not be vacated for ease and uneasiness, joy and sorrow, luck and ill-luck, severity and slightness, hemistich : Nothing is permanent, troubles will vanish. Those of you who have decided upon parting company, there is no objection and no prevention. " Depend upon God if you are faithful ". The amirs saluted him and said, " We are with you in prosperity and adversity. We have entrusted our affairs to you. " He then permitted Khwâja Kalân to go to Kâbul and sent gifts and presents of Hind to members of his family with him. He fixed for the region of Ghazni, Gardiz and Hazârch of Sultan Mas'udi and granted him in addition to this region, Kuhrâm from Hind. He similarly granted territory of the Afghâns who were loyal to him. Every time, they made sacrifices for him and they were appointed in the region. He assigned Sanbal and Ḥiṣâr Firuza which was adjacent to it to Humâyun. Hindu Beg was appointed as Vakil. Nawhâni Afghâns in the east were in preparation of a revolt with fifty thousand horse. They passed beyond Kanawj. On the west, Rânâ Sângâ had conquered the fort of Kahandâr which belonged to Ḥasan son of Makan. He held a council of men of judgment where to begin from on both the sides. They replied, " Sângâ. He had conquered a fort which was of old standing. It should be taken back from him by means of correspondence. It is possible to inform him by correspondence to guage his mind and then to turn to the east. " Bâbur resolved to conduct this campaign in person. In the meantime, Humâyun requested him to entrust that campaign to him. Humâyun marched from the† capital on Thursday, 10th Ziqa'ad and encamped at a distance of three farakhs. The great amirs who were appointed with him were Amir Shâh Ḥusain 'Âdil,

* Original Text, p. 940.

† Original Text, p. 941.

Sultān Muḥammad Kokaltash, Amir Shāh Manṣur Barlās, Amir Kutluk Kadam, Amir 'Abdullāh Kitabdār, Amir Wali, and Amir Jān Beg Pirkuli. They were all in the vicinity of Dholpur which belonged to Muḥammad Zaitun. Bābar sent Aḥmad Qāsim Kābuli who was in the town of Chandwār to come with them to Humāyun. In like manner, he appointed amirs who had gone out to remove Quṭb Khān Afghān from the frontiers of Etāwah. He played with it. Etāwah was in charge of Sayyid Mehdi Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Sultān Muḥammad Duldi, Muḥammad 'Ali Khing-i-Jang and 'Abdul 'Aziz Mir-i-Ākhur. Humāyun marched to that direction. Naṣir Khān Afghān was at Jājma. When Humāyun encamped at a distance of fifteen farsakhs from him, he came out of it, crossed the Ganga and entered into the region of Kharid. Humāyun pursued him and occupied that region and marched to Jaunpur and prospered it with generosity and justice. On his return to the capital, nearly from Dalma, Fateh Khān Sarwāni approached him with submission. During the regime of Sultān Ibrahim he bore the title of his father A'zam-i-Humāyun. He sent him in company of Syed Mehdi and Muḥammad Sultān to the capital. Bābar appointed him to the territory of his father. He expected title of his father. He was titled Khān Jahān. He left for his territory. Babur wrote to Humāyun on his arrival to proceed to attak Rānā Sāngā in his limits on Wednesday, 24th Ṣafar. Nizām Khān Afghān, ruler of Bayāna submitted himself this year and surrendered the fort. Tatār Khān, lord of Gwālior also made submission and surrender the fort. In like manner, Muḥammad Zaitun surrendered Dholpur. Abul Faḍl said: On 16th Rabi' I of the year, mother of Sultān Ibrāhim won over by bribe those who were resolved upon poisoning Sultān Bābur. It became known and the order for punishment was issued. When Humāyun learnt about an order for call, he appointed Shāh Mir Ḥusain and Amir Sultān Junayd Bartas as amirs of Jaunpur. He marched to Agra. He came to the Royal Presence on Sunday 3rd Rabi' II in the plain of Chahār Bāgh. Bābur marched against Sāngā on Mondey, 9th Jamādi I. He was in the neighbourhood of Bayāna, its amir Mehdi came out from the fort one day and looked to a great crowd. He returned from war to the fort and killed in one day Tan Kiz Khān.

On Thursday from his march, he encamped in the plain of Mandhakar between Agra and Sikri and thence to Fatehpur. Amir Muḥammad Sārbān pitched his pavilion near a tank in Fateḥpur on a pool with plainful water. Mehdi Khwāja and all the amirs came as ordered. Sāngā was at a distance of one farsakh from Basāwar. There was a distance of eighteen farsakhs between the two armies. The advance-guards continued coming and going.

On Saturday, 13th Jamādi II 933 (1526), Babur alighted in the vicinity of Khānwa, a dependency of Bayāna at the foot of a mountain, at a distance of two farsakhs from Sāngā. Regulations of Hind: Bābur wrote in his Wāqeāt in connection with recruitment of the army that he whose income was one lakh

of tankas, he should maintain one hundred horses with him and so on. territory of Sângâ yielded him ten crores. His army, therefore, should c of one hundred thousand. Added to which, there were other chiefs under as auxiliary. They were not necessarily loyal. One of such chiefs was Sil ruler of Raisin and Sârangpur. He had six thousand horses; Udaisingh had twelve thousand and Ḥasan Khân Mewâti, ruler of Mewât twelve thou Bhârmal Idari, four thousand, Narpat Hâdâ, seven thousand, Satarwi six thousand, Narsingh Dev Chauhân, four thousand, and Maḥmud Khân : Sultân Sikander, had no territory but ten thousand assembled around hi hope of territory which they formerly possessed. All of them helped to th tent of one hundred thousand. All told they were two hundred thousan thousand. Bâbur arrayed his army at a near distance. Bâbur posted hi in the centre. Chin Timur Sultân, Mirzâ Sulaimân, Khwâja Dost Khâ Yunus 'Ali; Shâh Manṣur Barlâs, Durwish Muḥammad Sârbân, 'Abc Kitâbdâr and Dost Ishaq Âqâ etc. were to his right side. 'Alâud-Din b. S Bahlol Ludi, Shaikh Zain Khwâfi, Amir Muḥib 'Ali b. Nizâm-ud-Din, Khalifa, Sardi Beg brother of Kuch Beg, Sher Afgan b. Kuch Beg, Ârâish Khwâja Ḥusain etc. were to his life side. Humâyun was posted in comma the right wing. To his right side were Qâsim Ḥusain Sultân, Hindu Beg K Khusraw Kokaltâsh, Aḥmad Yusuf Oghlakchi, Qiwâm Beg Urdu Shâh Khâzin, Karâkuzi, Pir Kuli Sistâni, Khwâja Pahelwân Badakhshi and 'Ab Shakur etc. To his left side were Mir Mand, Muḥammadi Kokaltâsh, Khv Asad Jândâr. Amirs of Hind such as Khan Khânân, Dilâwar Khân, Malel Karâni, Shaikh Khuran etc. were in command of the left wing. On th wing were posted Mehdi Khwâja, Muḥammad Sultân Mirzâ, 'Âdil Sul Mehdi Sultân, 'Abdul 'Aziz Mir-i-Âkhur, Mir 'Ali Khing-i-Jang, Qutluq Q Karâwul, Shâh Ḥusain Bârbeki, Jân Beg Atka and the Hindi amirs, Jalâl : Kamâl Khân son of Sultân 'Alâud-Din, 'Ali Khân Shâhzâda Karmali, I Khân Bayâna etc. The right flanking party consisted of Tardika, Malek : brother of Bâba Kashka and a party of Mughals. On the left were Mumin and Rustam Turkomân. In accordance with the Turkish art of war, the carts were placed in front of the centre and they were chained one wit other for prevention against throw by crowds. Nizâm ud-Din 'Ali Khalif appointed for this arrangement. Sultân Muḥammad Badakhshi was app to convey royal commands to the amirs. He was before him. He had to sergeants to different directions for attention. In this way, one-fourth day passed when wind of war began to blow, flashes shot up in all direc right and left. The left wing of the enemy assaulted the right wing : Sultân where was Khusraw Kokaltâsh. Under royal order, Chin Timur w his aid. The enemy fled behind his centre. It was a victory in the nar

* Original Text, p. 943.

Chin Timur. Muṣṭafā Rumi brought his cannons forward from front of the centre and set fire to the centre of the enemy and scattered them. A contingent was set against a contingent wherever the enemy made his appearance and put him to flight at the first assault.

Knot upon knot the hand struck spear*
Cuirass upon Cuirass, blazen back hidden
On everyside, there were stone-penetrating lances
They blocked up path of safety with thorns
Indigo-coloured swords shone forth
They dazzled eyes with lustre
Dust of earth tied a blade of grass with moon
Closed passage of breath within throat.

Bābur then ordered men of the right of the centre and the left to bring war-carts in the middle and attack right and left. In the wake of this, Bābur assaulted in person. They assailed with his attack of the right and the left. The earth so to say stretched forth for their destruction. It took place at close of the day. In like manner, the enemy. One got mixed with the other. It was a fierce war which resulted in defeat of the enemy. Ḥasan Khān Mewāti died from among the amirs by a cannon-ball while Rāwal Udaisingh, Manekchand Chauhān, Rāi Chandra Bhān, Dalpatrāi Karamsingh, Dungarsi etc. met with death by the sword and spear. Bābur dismounted from his horse, placed his forehead on the earth in humility before God and prostrated himself with thanks. He rode and pursued Sāngā to a distance of a farsakh. Muhammadi Kokaltāsh etc. then went in pusuit of him. When night set in, he ordered drums of victory to be beaten with joy. He returned to his pavilion when two hours of the night had passed and alighted. His star had arisen which brightened the earth with light of its Lord. Shaikh Zain al-Ṣadr found a chronogram for this victory. He was a man of rank, excellence and warning. Fateḥ Bādshāh-i-Islam (victory of the king of Islām).

Data found by Mir Gesu which he wrote from Kābul to Bābur is the same. Bābur copied it in his Wāqeāt from victory of Dāpalpur to this victory, there is coincidence in date. It is "Wasat-i-Shahr-i-Rabi'ul-Awwal" (middle of the month of Rabi'I). It was said by two of the scholars. He then paused pursuing Rānā Sāngā and marched to conquer Mewāt. Muḥammad 'Ali Khing-i-Jang prepared himself to go to Ilyās Khān. There were signs of revolt in the Doāb region. He seized Kaul and captured its ruler Kijak 'Ali. On arrival of Muḥammad 'Ali, he left Kaul for some direction. Muḥammad 'Ali pursued him, caught him a captive and came with him to Agra. He was inflicted capital punishment. That happened.

* Original Text, p. 944.

Khān Mirzā died in 917 (1511) at Badakhshān, which afterwards was* granted to Humāyun. He went to it on 9th Rajab of the year. It was his capital at most of the time.

Babur marched towards Alwar, the capital of its ruler, Malwān in Mewat (A.F.) and conquired it. Bābur marched to Chanderi in 924 (1518) (This year seems to be wrong). It should be 934 (1527). Its ruler was Rāi Medni. He sent Chin Timur Sultān from Kālpi with 7000 horse. On the morning of Wednesday, 7th Jamādi I, he gained victory. Its date was in accord with "Fatḥ Dār ul-Ḥarb". Aḥmad Shāh, grand son of Sultān Nāsir ud-Din was appointed to its government. Abul Faḍl said "I heard from authoritative persons about the death of Rānā Sāngā before Sultān Babur marched for conquest of Chanderi. Sāngā encamped at Iraj. Its Amir Āfak garrisoned himself. On his encampment at it, the Rānā saw in dream a figure of dreadful personality who threatened him and menaced him. He woke up with fright and he began to shiver through dread of his dream. He then suffered from fever. He returned from the fort and died on the way. I say, on the encampment of Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Din Akber Pādshāh at Burhānpur for conquest of the fort of Asir, I heard as having been narrated by Amir 'Aziz Khān son of Amir Jhujhār Khān Habashi one of the amirs of mamālik connected with Muḥammad Shāh Fāruqi-Bahādur b. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh had garrisoned himself—" I was informed by one of the scholars of Broach, deceased Amin Jiv Kāḍi of Burhānpur. He was inside the fort with his Sultān Bahādur. He was engaged with the permission of his Shaikh Saifi 'Ali Jalālud-Din to recite the Holy Qurān. He was about to finish the period of forty days of its recitation, he saw Julālud-Din in his dream coming to him with a wooden pillar with a body in his hand. When he went near him, he threatened him and menaced him with incivility and roughness in recitation. He raised his hand to beat him with a staff. He moved to eseape his beating. His turban fell down from his head out of dread. He woke up. He had no control over himself through fright. He was free from recitation. He informed him about his dream. Fright of dreadful voice remained with its threat and menace. He raised his head. His turban fell down and he died† within a week. This story got circulated. It was repeatedly narrated in the name of the Khān etc. In the wake of his death, the fort was conquered within a short while. Such anecdotes are not impossible for occurrence. He who is fortunate in good deeds, always meets with wonders. Mirzā 'Askari arrived from Kābul, under a royal order, to Agra for the campaign of Multān on Friday, 3rd Muḥarram, 935 (1528). After consultation, it was unanimously decided to march eastwards from Agra. This took place on Monday, 7th Rabi'II of the year. Bābur went out for hunting to Dholpur. He then resolved to march

* Original Text, p. 945.

† Original Text, p. 946

to the east. He received a report that Maḥmud Khān son of Sikander had occupied Bihār. In the meantime, he heard that Humāyun in concert with Sultān Uwais set out from Badakhshān with fifty thousand for Samarqand. Residents of the place had written to him for peace. Bābur wrote to him to return to Badakhshān to clear Kingdom of Hind for himself. He then wrote to Hindāl Mirzā to come to him. He crossed the river Jamna for going to the east on Thursday, 17th Jamādi I. At the manzil, an envoy of Nasir Shāh, ruler of Bengal came to him. Mirza 'Askari came to the shore of Ganga on Monday, 17th Jamādi II. He ordered him to move with what he had to the other side. He received a report near about Karra that Maḥmud Khān son of Sikander had withdrawn himself from Bihar. Bābur advanced towards Ghāzipur and thence to Bhojpur and Bahia. He encamped there and assigned the Amirship of Bihar to Muḥammad Zamān. He was at ease for Bengal. He marched to get rid of Pani (Baban) and Bāyazid towards Parmārar (Sirwār). After great difficulty he subdued them and routed them. He returned to Agra. It so happened that Humayun nominated Sultān Uwais as his deputy for the government of Badakhshān and came to Kābul. Kāmrān Mirza had come to Kābul from Qandahār. He met him and his brother Hindāl Mirzā. Hindāl went to Badakhshān for its defence under his instruction. He came to Bābur in his majlish while his mother was talking about him. Bābur was much pleased for his arrival. Mir Haider came to Agra in 935 (1528) under a royal order. He left Amir Takir 'Ali at Badakhshān. Before his arrival, Bābur was in grief for the death of son Mirzā Anwar. He became a source of consolation for him. He* found him to be his friend. He was intimate with him and with his speech. He lived with him like a friend and not like a son. During the absence of Humāyun from Badakhshān, Sulṭān Sa'eed Khān, one of the amirs of Kāshghar had relation with Bābur. He had met him. He had treated him with regard for the conquest of Badakhshān at the request of Sulṭan Uwais. He had sent Rashid Khān from his side. Before his arrival, Hindāl Mirzā advanced and occupied Badakhshān. Sa'eed Khān came and descended upon it and returned to Kāshgher. Kābur got intelligence of it. He ordered Khwāja Khalifa to march against it. He halted. In like manner, Humāyun would not part with it. He wrote to Sa'eed Khān wondering at his action with previous rights. He then said, "I summoned Hindāl from it and gave Badakhshān to Mirza Sulaimān. He was in position of a son. When I saw you with rights and obvious relation I came out of Badakhshān for him. That was proper. It was my responsibility with your expectation of it for him. I acted on this information. It so happened that Sa'eed Khān returned on arrival of Sulaimān Mirzā. He met Hindāl and Sulaimān. Sulaimān stationed himself under royal order. Hindal quitted it.

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* Original Text, p. 947.

Death of Bābur: Abul Faḍl said: Humāyun went to Sanbal an menaded its sides with pleasure according to his desire. He then had te ture which obliged him (to be bed-ridden). Bābur sent for him by Physicians treated him. Medicine did not cure him. One day he cross river. He vomited blood. Bābur had become frightful of his diseas convened a meeting of eminent men of religion and world. Mir Abul represented that ancient wise men have said that when worldly phy become helpless in treatment they have suggested that dearest things sho given away in alms. Bābur replied, "I am the dearest existing being belief of Humāyun. My head is the best thing in his view. There is n better that I can sacrifice for him. I have done it." He said and K Khalifa represented that "he would almost regain health, and that he live his physical life under your shadow. What is the meaning that the should speak in this manner? The object of the ancients in distribution is financial. There is nothing dearer financially than the diamond of Ibı treasury which he has in his hand." Bābur said, "This and similar to it can it be equivalent in weight to Humāyun for alms from him, I have the matter with him. I sacrifice myself for him." He then entered into for prayers and engaged himself in that which is the practice of holy me then came to the bed of Humāyun and went round it for odd three time accepted his prayer. Immediately, his body became emaciated, Humāy lightness in himself and recovered. Bābur had made a will. He made nobles present themselves before him and made Humāyun his successc placed his hand for oath of allegiance upon his hand and ordered him to the throne and said to him in the presence of Khwāja Khalifa, Qanb Tardi Beg and Hindu Beg etc. One of his admonitions was in respect of l to be shown to his brothers, if they deserve reward from him for what t He died on 6th Jamādi I, 937 (1530). Mawlānā Shihāb Mu'ammāi fou of his death in "Humāyun bud wareth-i-Mulk-i-Dini".

Sultān Naṣir ud-Din Humāyun, son of Muḥammad Bābur son o 'Umar Shaikh Bahādur

Naṣir ud-Din Humāyun son of Bābur ascended the throne at Agr (1530). He was born in 913 (1507). This date can be found out from " Bād." He gained a victory in his name in war with Maḥmud.

In 938 (1531), he conquered Jaunpur and killed the chief of the A It was a fiercely fought battle. The Afghāns assembled around Nuṣra ruler of Bengal. The daughter of Ibrahim son of Sikander was married Tatār Khān son of 'Alāud-Din marched against Bahādur, ruler of Gujara

* Original Text, p. 948.

A war with Gujarat took place in 942 (1535). Its detailed account is given before in the life of Bahādur in the first daftar.

Sher Shāh Afghān emerged in the neighbourhood of Bengal in this year. Humāyun was in Gujarat. The affair of Sher Shāh became serious in 943 (1536). Both of them encountered at the river. Its detailed account will come in the life of Sher Shāh. Humāyun journeyed to the Sultān of Persia, Ruler of 'Irāq * Tahmasp Qazilbāsh. During the regime of Salim Shāh son of Sher Shāh, he returned with help to Kābul. His brother Kāmrān Mirzā opposed him in Kābul. He turned from him to Lāhore. The account of what happened between them will come when Salim Shāh died.

* Original Text, p. 949.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Surs

Sulṭān ul-Hind Sher Shāh, son of Ḥasan Afghān Sur

I say, it chanced for me—I lived in Songir in the district of Burl when the dignified Khān, Rustam of the age, 'Abdul Karim Fawlāz Khā of Ṣandal Fawlāz Khān Habshi was the Amir. I was then under the sha his favour, regard, sufficiency and protection—Ibrāhim Khān son of Pathan Ludi came to see him in his majlis of the most beautiful of y character, safe with nature of an old man, most handsome man in creati most perfect in nature Shujā'ud-Din Amir Muḥammad Amin Khān son c 'Aziz Khān son of Amir Jhujhār Khān Habashi, may God fulfil his hope, early reign of Sher Shāh. He said, "I heard it from a man who knc world that a child is born in a city of Ruh and grown up in it. His Shaikh Farid and the name of his father is Ḥasan. After some time, came out on a cow to Delhi during the regime of Bahlol Ludi. His son Farid was travelling with him. He had the baggage of his father o shoulder. Ḥasan had a spiritual guide on his path. His name was Bal He used to be overpowered by 'attraction'. When Ḥasan came to h met him, he ordered him to slaughter the cow. It was his habit with n his visitors. When he ordered him, he said to him, "For you, there camels in it." He did according to his bidding. In the morning wh started on journey, the holy man said to his son Farid, "I give you good salṭanat." When Ḥasan came to Agra, he and his son came to the Salṭanat. Amir 'Umar Khān Sarwāni came out from the Diwān. He i external and internal regions with him. The knowers saw them. He them and asked them their names and inquired as to who they were and they came and what was the cause of stopping. Ḥasan informed him. to him, "follow me." He then turned to them with kindness. They wer ing so he ordered for them something to ride upon. When he entered hi he employed them and gave them wages for food. Bahlol then came ou to certain places. 'Umar Khān saw them standing in the sun in the m He ordered a tent for them. When the tents were demolished, he saw th standing. He asked them the cause of it. It was said to him. He th ordered two camels for them. It was as said by his Shaikh (spritual After the death of 'Umar Khān, they were with the Amir Jamāl Khān. the regime of Bahlol, Sasram belonged to a harsh, pertinacious unb

* Original Text, p. 950.

Similar was the case with the region of Junah. One day the Vazir asked as to who would undertake to conquer it. Jamāl was in his majlis. He said to him, "Ḥasan Sur and Muḥammad Khān Sur would reclaim them by conquest." He knotted a banner for them. Other Afghāns joined them. Ḥasan proceeded to Sasrām. It was won by difficulty. He remained as its Amir. Similarly, Muḥammad Khān conquerred Junah and continued as its Amir. Ḥasan, inspite of his life as an amir, was, internally and externally, with God the Holy. He saw his son Farid dressing for the world outwardly and inwardly. He was impelling him for the future life. But he increased love for the world. One day, he showed aversion for it and separated his son Farid. When Ḥasan's death approached, he willed Amirship for his son Nizām. He was on the creed of his father. He sent a message to his brother Farid summoning him for Amirship. He had fear from his mother and so he apprised his brother of this fear. He rode to him and pacified his mind and came with him to the office of Amirship, surrendered what he had in his possession and renounced the world. Muḥammad Khān Sur then conquered Sasrām. Shaikh Farid son of Ḥasan came out of it after a severe struggle and went to Ḥajipur Patna, one of the famous cities in Bengal. He met its ruler Daryā Khān Nawhāni and informed him about the event. He helped him with his son. He marched with him to Sasrām and reconquered it for him. On return of the son to his father at Ḥājipur, Shaikh Farid moved with him. A quarrel ensued between them on the way wherein the son met with his death. Many others also perished along with him. It is said that he died a natural death. Shaikh Farid came after a time with belongings of the son to Ḥājipur. He found that Daryā Khān had died. The government had passed to mother of the son. News had circulated about Babur's invasion towards Ḥājipur. He apologised to her and mourned with her. She was in anxiety for a following. She requested Bābur to meet in seclusion. He did it and the messenger returned with his reply. She then assembled the nobles of the place and interchanged questions with them to find out as to who was worthy of resistance to Bābur. They unanimously decided in favour of Shaikh Farid. She surrendered treasury to him. She married him and surrendered the palace of Amirship. This is what I heard from him in the year 1012 (1603).* One the above-mentioned Ibrāhim Khān presented himself in the turret which was at Songir. He obliged Mawlānā Kāḍi Miyānjiv, Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Rabib ul-Mulk, Ḥāji Siyāh I'tibār ul-Mulk and Sayyid Jalāl b. Ṭarāḥ al-Yāfai' by his presence. In the course of conversation, they talked about Sher Shāh. He had carried the baggage of his father on his shoulders. He was walking behind his animal. Muḥammad b. Ḥusain informed from whom he had learnt that he heard from behind himself a voice saying Sulṭān ul-Hind walking barefooted complaining of a load. When he looked behind, he found none. He

* Original Text, p. 951.

treaded on his way, he heard that voice a second time, he turned to it but found none. At the third time, he regarded it a good omen, put faith in the voice and walked his way. It was more than advantage—who derived the benefit? He attended the majlis of Bābur behind a curtain. When the table-cloth was spread out, Humāyun and Kāmrān—his two sons—were on the right side of Bābur. Bābur ate fish. The fish was palatable. Its fins were long. He thought as to how he collected it in his mouth. He then threw away the fins with a knife and collected them in a spoon. He raised it to his mouth. Eating became easy for him. Bābur winked by his eye. Humāyun feared his statement. You saw what he did. It is wonderful for me. When the table-cloth was removed, he ordered to expel him from the majlis. He was thinking over it. He was evading his destruction. When he came out, he did not find anything to prevent him. He rode his horse and returned and took his way to Ḥājipur. But Bābur watched him. After two astronomical hours, he ordered him to be brought before him. It was found that he had left. This is what information he gave. It was found to be true. Men of the state are inspired. They gape at it to find what it is. In a holy tradition, it is stated "Fear sagacity of the faithful as he sees with the light of Allāh. Shaikh Abul Faḍl Dahelvi writes in Akbar Nāmā about his early career. The Grandfather of the author (Ḥāji Dabir) whose name was Ibrāhim was a dealer in horses in the district of Narnaul. His son Ḥasan was praiseworthy. He loathed business. He was inclined to the army. He took to it and got himself employed under Rāimal, an infidel chief. Rāimal was the grandfather of Rāisāl who had become famous as a darbāri in the regime of Akbar. The derivation of the word Darbār is dar, a door and bār means showing or opening it. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhim went to Sasrām and remained in service of Naṣir Khān Afghān. He was an amir of Sikander Shāh b. Bahlol. He manifested dignity in his service. When Naṣir Khān died, he served his* brother Dawlat Khān. He rose to a distinguished position in his service. He used to give counsel to him. He then served Amir Pani who was famous during the regime of Sikander. Ḥasan advanced under him. His son parted company with grandfather of the author and served Tāj Khān Ludi. He then served Amir Bāwdah Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Uzbek. He then seaved Sultān Junayd Barlās Mughal. One day, he presented himself with him before Sulṭān Humāyun b. Sulṭān Bābur Mughal. When he saw him with him, he turned to Sulṭān Junayd and said to him, "This is the Afghān pointing him out and finished his speech in regard to him. Farid saw himself being pointed out and thought over it. He sat away from his majlis, rode his horse and passed like lightning to his father. After a short time, his father Ḥasan died. All the people were helped with his wealth. He went out with them to Sasrām and became known as a robber in Chakalistān, Junah in the district of Rohtas. He grew in power and

* Original Text, p. 952.

strength. Fortune helped him in finesse and his efforts were in concert with decrees of fate. His fame spread far and wide. At the time of Humāyun's invasion of Gujarat, he helped Bahadur, its ruler with money sent to him through Afghān merchants. War prolonged because of this. Before this, he was in correspondence with him and sent men to him to move onwards to Bengal. It was one of the causes on account of which Humāyun withdrew from Dhanduka—he had marched to Div—to Agra. Abul Faḍl said: He seized Bihār because of death of Daryā Khān Nawhāni and marched against Uḷugh Mirza, ruler of Serv and conquered it. He then conquered Banāras and then Patna. He then marched to Surajgadh within precincts of Bengal and subdued it. It was a boundary-line on this side. He then besieged Gaur and war continued between him and Nasib Shāh its ruler, for a year. He proceeded to Bengal. An astrologer of Rājā Udaisingh never made a mistake in calculation. He sent some one in search of him. He did not accept the invitation but wrote to him, "you call me to question me about conquest, you will conquer Bengal on coming to it after a year. It happened as he wrote. So far Abul Faḍl had narrated. I say: When Sher Shāh firmly established himself in Bengal, it is suitably fit to give an account of those Muslim rulers who conquered it and established firm control over it from the time of Sulṭān ul-Hind, Sulṭān ul-Islām Mu'izzuddin Muḥammad al-Ghori to the date of its establishment when this book was written. It is a vast country with plenty of water containing many maidāns, lands full of luxuriant trees and rivers with plentiful water. Its extensive circle, prosperity of region, valleys, ramifications, mountains—all belong to its chief who is under the ruler of Delhi. Sword of the Mujāhids was always brandished for establishment of faith as its account follows. Hemistich: He who was liberal in stabbing resided in the house.

CHAPTER XXXII

History of Bengal

Amir Ghori Ikhtiyār-ud-Din Muḥammad son of Bakhtiyār

Abu ' Umar Minhāj al-Juzgāni writes in his Tabaqāt: Amir Ikht Din Muhammad b. Bakhtiyār al-Ghori came to Ghazni during the r Sulṭān Mu'izzuddin Muḥammad al-Ghori. He made his appearance in h for livelihood as a soldier in the army. When a movement to Hind got shed, he came to Delhi. He received no encouragement as he wish Quṭbud-Din. He returned to Ghazni and tarried with the uncle of h Amir Muḥammad b. Maḥmud. He was present with him in the battle where he had to flee. He proceeded to Nāgor where was his brother Am Maḥmud. He was under his command. When Kanowj was annexed to the Amir's circle of control widened over the region. He knotted the b Amirship at Kashmandi for his brother Amir Muḥammad. He sent hi Ikhtiyār-ud-Din Muḥammad would not like to be separated from him. Amir Muḥammad b. Maḥmud got martyred on that side fighting Ikhtiyā Muḥammad brought the region under his control and became famous in Amir posted him in place of his brother. He became an independent an abandoned it and journeyed to 'Āmil of Oudh, Amir Ḥusām ud-Din He assigned to him the district of Sylhet and Sahaili. Ikhtiyār-ud- noted for bravery on this side. He was intrepid and penetrated into re the unbelivers and obtained what no Muslim amir had obtained befo He seized booty in wealth, horses, arms to an unlimited number. He, tl firmly established himself in power, pomp, dread, wealth and his fam far and wide. Men of the Ghori tribe heard about him. They came from every mountain pass and assembled under his banner and conquer places along with him. Quṭbuddin received a report about him, he l like him, corresponded with him and sent him presents and gifts. It w which was not conquered Bihār, according to language of Hind means a especially meant for the Brahmins. Its residents are Brahmins. The with Greek philosophers and religious teachers. Mas'udi, author of Mur Dhahad uses the word Brahmin for them—He marched to it, subjecte pillage and plunder and came back. He then marched to Māyati and co it by force. The first to enter its gates was Nizām ud-Din al-Farghāni brother Samṣām ud-Din and carried out general massacre. They foun inscriptions there. The Amir sent for those persons who could deciph

* Original Text, 954.

but they failed to find him. He was loaded with such immense booty which he no where found and returned. He then came to Delhi, met Quṭbud-Din who ennobled him with approbation and advanced upon him. Most of the persons were surprised at him. Eminent persons were filled with jealousy for him and resolved, according to some, to bring about his ruin. They received a report of his bravery, his dash and his strength and conveyed to him in exaggerated terms about his daring rush against an elephant which was regarded as beyond human strength. The Amir lauded him and acknowledged his strength. The Amir understood that they wanted to bring about his ruin out of jealousy or his acknowledgement of helplessness in accordance with their knowledge. He turned to Quṭbud-Din and said, "I will come with elephant. All jealous persons applauded him. They requested to bring a mad elephant. He was brought. The amir's hand, when, sent towards it was about to touch ankle bone of his leg, he took out his poniard and stood face to face with him. The elephant advanced like a moving mountain and flowing torrent. When he neared him, he jumped like a lion and made him seat when he struck a blow on his trunk which made him turned backwards. Quṭbud-Din raised his voice in applause, embraced him and sent for him a robe of honour and ordered the amirs to do so as he did. In less than an hour, many gifts and presents were brought. Their jealousy flared up. He stood up from the majlis and swore in the presence of all that he would only take gifts of Quṭbud-Din out of regard for his status and from none else. So saying he withdrew to his region. He then resolved to march to Bihār. His* awe had spread among residents of those places and particularly Lakhnawati, Bang, Kāmrud and Nudia. The Rāi was Lakhmanah. He was great on that side in extension of territory. He was eighty years old and ruled like that for eighty years. There is a wonderful story about his birth. His father died. His mother was pregnant with him. The chiefs of the state unanimously decided upon loyalty for the bearing of his wife. They placed the crown upon her belly and they paid him greetings and salutations. Every one of them gave proof of what he had with him. When the time of birth came, she felt travails of birth. Astrologers assembled as usual, in accordance with customs of the local people for finding ascendant of the native from the first movement of its coming out. They all agreed that if the birth takes place at such and such an hour, he would rule for eighty years. She sent for her people and said "I am in travails of birth as you see. You have heard the discourse of astrologers. This hour, I do not see the child will tarry in my womb. It would produce an effect on my life. You suspend me in an inverse position to that hour they have agreed upon. Do that with great confidence to prevent its coming out. You need not worry as to what happens to me. You are excused for election. They did as they elected. The astrologers waited for the time. She felt severe pain which others

* Original Text, p. 955.

did not know. When the time approached, members of the family fulfilled their pledge. She was seated on a chair as usual. She gave birth. She was alive but there was hardness due to contraction and so she dicd. The child lived and grew up in wealth. His kingdom extended and life prolonged. When he conquered Bihār, he had almost reached eighty. Astrologers came to him and said to him, " We have found in our books that this territory would be conquered by a person with such and such qualities. One of them is that when he extends his hands, his fingers would almost reach his knees. Time for it had come. This Amir is famous on this side. He is the promised man. He would gain ascendancy over this city soon. We request you to quit it before time." He replied, " you found his praise in your books; send to him a person who could note all those signs in him. If you find them in him, we would certainly go out before his entry into the city." They did so, got knowledge of those signs and informed him about that. He was a person as described. " We should make haste. There is lot of time." Personally, he would not like to quit the city where he dwelt for eighty years. He continued to live in it. Those who were certain for its fall due to those signs left the city. With conquest of Bihār, (Nadid) was conquered under those conditions. Next year after the conquest of Bihār,* Amir Ikhtiyār ud-Din decided to conquer Nudia. He marched in all haste towards it. On his approach, eighteen daring horsemen advanced on its sides. They were in guise of merchants of horses behind them. They entered Nudia at noon and went to the market, and stopped at the door of Rāi Lakhmani. He was sitting along at meals without clothes as was the custom. As it was midday, he had permitted persons to retire, depart and keep themselves to their houses. On account of that, they found the door empty. They raised shouts of " Allāh-o-Akbar", entered the palace, placed swords when those who were inside the palace raised a clamour and Rāi was at the meal. He heard cries. There was no doubt in him about entry of the promised amir. He stood up to the skylight in the palace for an hour, came out on his face to the residents at night-fall and died. He had reached eighty. The Amir sat before him till he finished his meals. His companions were with him. They all ate their food. The Amir occupied the palace. His soldiers entered it in his wake. All of them enriched themselves. The Amir had spoils in the shape of horses and arms. It was loyalty. After massacre and captivity, he carried what he had seized from the city to Lakhnawati demolishing Nudia. He made Lakhnawati his capital and occupied all nearby places. He recited the Khuṭba in his own name and raised aloft the canopy. Ten thousand horsemen of his own race assembled under his flag. This victory took place in 591 (1194). When he established his authority in a serious manner, he resolved upon conquest of Turkish cities. He marched against them moving in mountains and barren roads situated

* Original Text, p. 956

between Tibet and Lakhnawati. Tribes of Kunj, Manbaj and Thār inhabitated it. They embraced Islām at his hands. The chief of them was named Amir 'Ali Manbaj. He was chosen as a guide. He took them to a city called Mardhan Kot built by Gushtasp, King of Persia. He prospered it on his return from China to Kāmrud. It is situated on a big valley which is called Bankamti like the river Gangā, thrice in width, which flows touching Hind and flows into sea of salt called in Hind Samandar. He then journeyed on shore of the valley reaching its elevation in ten days. He terminated at the river which had a bridge of hewn stone over it. He left behind him a Turki amir from among his mamālik and a Khalji amir for defence of the bridge till his return to it. He* crossed the bridge and proceeded further. Rāi of Kāmrud heard about him. He sent a message to him saying, " It has reached me that you intend to conquer Tibet with men you have. I wish you to go back from it till you collect double the number of soldiers you have with you now, gain strength to rule over a majority of them. They have a large army from ancient times. You return after this and act according to my advice. I will be your advance-guard afterwards. But........ (he did not heed his advice) and advanced further. Juzjāni says : He came to Lakhnawati in 641 (1243) and alighted at Mu'tamid ud-Dawla Muqbil Rikābdar of Amir Ikhtiyār ud-Din Muḥammad. In the meantime, he talked about this adventure in course of conversation when I heard him saying : After he crossed the bridge, he journeyed through ravines, valleys, lofty mountains as hurdles for fifteen days. He entered the frontiers of Tibet on the sixteenth day. He climbed up a place where there was a fort built by the Turks. The Amir pondered over what was near the fort. Its Amir came out and fought for the whole day. He then returned to the fort. The Amir had encamped at a distance from it. He lost many of his companions while the rest were wounded. He was overwhelmed with despair and became a butt of reproach. He had captured a man of the fort. The Amir asked him about it. He said, " This is within boundary of Tibet for defence and espionage. There is a city at a distance of six farsakhs from it which is called Karam Patan. There is a Turki Amir with three hundred thousand and fifty thousand archers. They are attached with this place. Inmates of the fort sent an envoy to them. The Amir and his companions decided to withdraw. They journeyed it night and in the morning came to a place and kindled fire with plants and rubbish. It was dreadful for habitation. Animals perished. Men did not find anything to eat. They walked with patience, most of them on foot till they came to the bridge with severe hardships. The two amirs had disputed. They had left one after the other. The bridge was demolished. That made the difficulty serious. In the meantime, it was difficult to cross water. Rāi of Kāmrud heard about it. He came with his men like scattered locusts. They took refuge in a temple

* Original Text, p. 957.

with gold idols and fortified themselves. They gathered fire-wood around the* temple to burn them. They came out from it, took their way to the river fleeing from them. When they paused at the river, it so happened that one of them entered the river and came out of it to the shore. People followed him. The Amir was among them. None escaped except the Amir, his hundred men and the guide. The guide had friends around. He took the Amir there and feasted him with what was present. He then journeyed to Devkot. He felt ashamed for the loss of men. When he marched to Tibet with 10,000 horse Khalji, he returned to Devkot with one hundred of them. He became sick of it. When he rode out, there were so many evil prayers and abuses for him. That added to his grief. He who came to him, told him about the dread of campaign and that how he was saved. He remarked, "I did not see what was good for me this time except to vacate the ruler of his kingdom. Sultān Mu'izzuddin so intended and that was what happened. He heard about him. He said that it was adversity. He fell ill and died within a few days in 602 (1205). It is said that 'Ali Mardān Khalji, an 'Amil came to pay a sick visit to him. The Amir did not see any one for the last three days. He raised cloth from his face and looked at him. He then stabbed him with a knife. He died of it. Amir Muḥammad Shirān Khalji, 'āmil of Lakhnawati heard about his death. His brother Amir Aḥmad, 'Amil of Jājnagar too heard of it. Both of them came to Devkot for condolence. They then journeyed to Nākoti, the office of 'Ali Mardān Khalji. He captured Amir Muḥammad and surrendered him to Bābā Ispahāni, the Police Officer. He returned to Devkot when other Khalji amirs assembled around him and raised the canopy over his head.

Amir Muḥammad Shirān Khalji

Muḥammad Shirān Khalji sat on the throne at Devkot in 602 (1205). He remained loyal to Ikhtiyār ud-Din Muḥammad. He loved him more than 'Ali Mardān but the Police Officer so arranged that he fled to Delhi from prison. He met Quṭbuddin and tried for the government of Amir Kāymāz Rumi Lakhnawati. He was the 'Āmil of Oudh. He went to Lakhnawati from it and evinced his loyalty to Ḥusam ud-Din in place of Khalji, 'Āmil of Kankori. He journeyed to Devkot with him. He met Kāymāz, looked into his affairs and returned Muḥammad Shirān came out of it. When Kāymāz returned, the† Khalji Amirs met Muḥammad Shirān and attacked Devkot. Kāymāz heard about their attack, he returned from the way, fought with them and put them to flight towards Maksida and Santus. Difference of opinion arose between them. They fought and killed Muḥammad Shirān Khalji in the battle-field.

Sulṭān 'Alāud-Din 'Ali Mardān Khalji

Amir 'Ali Mardān Khalji son of Ḥusam ud-Din, 'Iwad the Khalji at Devkot

* Original Text, 958.

† Original Text, 959.

had come to Lakhnawati from the side of Quṭb ud-Din. 'Iwad agreed with him; 'Ali Mardān raised aloft the canopy over his head and designated himself as Sulṭān 'Alaud Din in 607 (1210). It was due to the death of Quṭb ud-Din in this year. During his regime, there was quiet between the Hindu chiefs and himself in respect of tribute. He was a blood-thirsty tyrant. He killed a party of Khalji amirs. It was a wonder with himself when talking of the conquest of Ghazni and Khurāsān and more than that. It is related of him that a merchant was reduced to poverty. He intended to see him. He asked him "what city do you belong to?" He said, "Ispahān". He said, "They would write to him with a mandate of Ispahān" and departed him. He did not give anything to him. He requested for a favour: He said to him that the 'Āmil of Ispahān needed provision for travel to it. He then ordered for him some expenses for his boldness. If he had done in an arbitrary manner as ordered for a mandate of Ispahān, he would have killed him. He troubled men of Khalji out of his evil nature and killed them on mere suspicion. He ruled for two years.

Sulṭān Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaḍ Khalji

Ghiyathuddin 'Iwaḍ b. Ḥusain Khalji ascended the throne at Lakhnawati in 610 (1213). He is originally from Khalji of Garmsir of Ghor. Once he carried a load on a donkey and set out from Zawilistān to Pushta Afroz. Two men dressed in patched clothes joined him. They asked him for food. He took out food from his bag and spread out eatables before them. They ate their share from it. He behaved with good manners with them. He had a leather-bag of water in his hand. After washing their hands, they drank from it and prayed for blessings for him. One of them looked to the other to give him* reward out of thanks. The other one said to him, "you may become commander and Sultān in Hind". He kissed their hands, changed his mind for Pushta Afrog and returned to his house. He then carried his wife on his animal and started for Hind. He came to Amir Ikhtiyār ud-Din Muḥammad when he was an Amir, met him in his Diwān. Every day, his power began to rise as he was the Amir of several places. After the death of Ikhtiyār ud-Din, he was Amir at Kankori. He met Kaymāz with loyalty. Afterwards he was at Devkot in concert with 'Alāud-Din and he journeyed with him. After that, he raised a canopy over his head at Lakhnawati. He had very good qualities in him. There are good qualities of remembrance after him. Masters of turbans (holy men) assembled at Lakhnawati during his regime. They graced him, showered blessings on him and he gave them allowances for maintenance.

Jalāluddin b. Jamālud-Din, a Ghaznawi preacher came from Firuz Koh to Delhi in 618 (1221) and returned with plenty of money to his native place. He

* Original Text, p. 960.

was asked about his wealth. He said, "One day, I convened a meeting for future life in the Dīwān of Sulṭān Ghiyathud-Din 'Iwaḍ Khalji at his capital of Lakhnawati; he ordered for me a tray full of gold. He ordered his nobles to give me presents. He collected ten thousand of gold tankas for me in a majlis. He then gave me three thousand gold tankas and increased five thousand more gold tankas on the day of my departure. God thanks him from me and shows mercy to him.

al-Minh'aj al-Juzjāni said : The city of Lakhnawati has wings on each side of the Gangā. In the west it is called Arāl and the city of Lakhnawati is on this side. In the east it is called Yarmal and Devkot is on its side. Ghiyāthud-Din 'Iwaḍ Khalji built a bridge over it from Lakhnawati to Lakhur and to Devkot. Its length is approximately one hundred farsakhs which a passer-by traverses in ten days. He had left many good works in the book of his deeds. The cause of construction of the bridge was plenty of water on that land. In monsoon, water flowed over many places so much so that it was not fordable. Hence the passage was blocked up for residents. It was not easy to cross it every time by boats even by sailors. Torrent of water made it difficult for boats to float also. He therefore, built a bridge as a road out of kindness for his subjects and gratitude for his power.*

In 622 (1225), Sulṭān Il-tutmish Shamsud-Din came to Lakhnawati. Ghiyāthud-Din garrisoned himself in Devkot. Peace was concluded on terms of recitation of the Khuṭba and currency of coins in his name (Shamsud-Din Il-tutmish). Shams ud-Din was inclined towards him on account of good public works on that side. He said in respect of him—He had known about some of his good works—he who has such good works to his credit is worthy of the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāthud-Din. Lakhur, Lakhnawat, and adjacent places Bang, Kāmrud, Jūjnagar, Tirhat and Bihār etc. bear monuments of him.

In 624 (1227), Ghiyāthud-Din was out for jihād with the unbelievers in the neighbourhood of Bang. He received intelligence that Nāṣirud-Din Maḥmud son of Sulṭān Shams ud-Din Il-tutmish, lord of Oudh entered Lakhnawati in an hour of his negligence and that he sat on the state throne. He returned from those sides to face him with whatever was with him at the time. It was a fierce war between them. He displayed bravery but attained to martyrdom along with Khalji amirs.

Sulṭān Nāṣirud-Din Maḥmud son of Shamsud-Din Il-tutmish

Nāṣer ud-Din Maḥmud son of Sultān Shamsud-Din Il-tutmish sat on the state throne of Lakhnawati in 624 (1227). When Ghiyathud-Din attained to martyrdom, Shamsud-Din received intelligence about it. He sent a canopy for

* Original Text, p. 961.

his son and permitted him recitation of the Khutba and the impression of coins. He derived no benefit as he died in 626 (1228).

In this very year, Amir Balkā Khalji conquered Lakhnawati. Shamsud-Din marched against him and killed him and fought for some time. 'Alāud-Din Jāni was appointed as Amir.

In 627 (1229-30), 'Alāud-Din Jāni al-Mu'izzi died. Shamsud-Din sent one of his muluks Sayfud-Din Aibak al-Shamsi title Baghāntat as its Amir. He controlled it and became famous. Baghāntat died in 631 (1233).

Sultān 'Izzud-Din Ṭughān Khān al-Khatāi al-Shamsi

Shamsud-Din heard about the death of Baghāntat. He sent his mamluk* 'Izzud-Din Ṭughān Khān al-Shamsi as its Amir. His name was Ṭughril Kara Khatāi. He was noted for manliness and bravery. Aibak Gorkhān was appointed as an Amir of Lakhur during the salṭanat of Firuz b. Shamsud-Din. When he encamped outside Sankot of Lakhnawati, 'Izzud-Din marched against him and killed him by an arrow. He conquered Lakhur and firmly established his power as Amir on the side of Lakhnawati. During the saltanat of Raḍia Sultān a daughter of Shamsud-Din, she sent a canopy and insignia of saltanat. He established his authority as a sultān. He marched against Ṭirhut and collected wealth beyond enumeration. He conquered Kara during the saltanat of 'Alāud-Din Mas'ud b. Firuz.

In 641 (1243), lord of Jājnagar made futile attempt on the sides of Lakhnawati. Ṭughān Khān marched against him. Juzjāni said: I was with him. When he encamped at Katās, in the early frontiers of Jājnagar, war ensued between the advance-guard and the unbelievers. The advance-guard gained a victory. Izzud-Din got delighted with victory. He uplifted the rank of the Amir of the advance-guard. In the meanwhile, armed men and horsemen got down for meals, Rāi of Jajnagar made his appearance from behind the army with horse, foot and elephants in darkness. It was thick darkness. 'Izzud-Din retreated from him. When he alighted at Lakhnawati, he sent Sharaful-Mulk al-Ash'ari to the Sultān to inform him about circumstances and requested him for help. He wrote to the 'Āmil of Oudh, Fakhrud-Din Tamar Khān al-Shamsi whose name was Kirān ordering him to go to his aid with all the contingents of the neighbourhood. On his arrival on Tuesday, 13th Shawwāl of the year, the Rāi of Jājnagar attacked Lakhur and killed its 'Āmil Fakhrul-Mulk Karim ud-Din Lāgheri and conquered it. 'Izzud-Din had encamped outside Lakhnawati when news of Tabar Khān's arrival got circulated. Rāi of Jājnagar retreated to his frontiers. Tamar Khān came to 'Izzud-Din and encamped on his side. Fright was created with the meeting of two armies which led to encounter out-

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* Original Text, p. 962.

side the city. Order of succour mediated for establishment of peace between them. Every one of them retired to his tent. When peace was concluded 'Izzud-Din was at gate of the city dispersing his soldiers for entry into the city and looking after the houses. Tamar Khān heard about it. He was in his armour. He rode out and attacked 'Izzud-Din who fled from him to the city* and garrisoned himself. Tamar Khān besieged him. Peace was made on surrender of the city. 'Izzud-Din started for Delhi with his belongings. The historian was in his company. It happened at the close of 642 (1244). 'Izzud-Din Tughān Khān came to Oudh as its Amir and stayed there till he died in 644 (1246). On the night of death of 'Izzud-Din, died that person who expelled him from salṭanat of Lakhnawati Fakhrud-Din Tamar Khān al-Shamsi in it. Permanence is for God the Holy.

Sultān Ikhtiyar ud-Din Yuzbek al-Khafchāki al-Shamsi

Ikhtiyār ud-Din Yuzbek al-Khafchāki al-Shamsi was appointed as Amir of Lakhnawati in 644 (1246). During his regime, Rāi of Jājnagar and his son-in-law Sāntir came to Lakhnawati and encamped on its river. Ikhtiyār ud-Din marched against him, severely attacked him and defeated him. He came back. He defeated again. His white elephant was not being controlled by the driver. He came out in his face in the contingent of Rāi of Jājnagar. They captured him and got delighted thereby. Ikhtiyār ud-Din conquered Amuda and defeated its ruler and seized from him what he possessed. It was booty sufficient for comfortable rebellion. On his return to Lakhnawati, he raised three canopies—black, white and red, over his head and designated himself as Sulṭān Mughithud-din and moved on to Oudh and recited Khuṭba in his name. Some of the amirs played a policy for his expulsion by inviting the Sulṭān. He left it by water for Lakhnawati. He stayed for half a month at Oudh. He then moved on to Kāmrud and conquered it. Rāi of Kāmrud fled to a side of his country. Juzjāni said: It is a report based on authoritative sources that he was a descendant of the Persian king Gushtāsp. When he entered China and returned from it to Hind—It was hinted at before in the account of Ikhtiyār-ud-Din Muhammad. He left behind at Kāmrud eleven hundred boxes of gold coins which were in his name. These were at Kāmrud at the time of the assault of Sulṭān Mughithud-Din on Kamrud. When he conquered Kāmrud, these boxes were in addition to what he had in his hand of the spoils of Kāmrud. He threw his feet at it, ruled it and made it an abode of Islām. Mughithuddin was the first to recite his Khuṭba here. In the meantime, Rāi Kāmrud corresponded with him and said † to him, " You came to this limit. None except you came. You conquered a city which will be the kingdom to be maintained with sword only. Ikhtiyār ud-Din Muḥammad had a greater claim on it for length of his two outstretched hands.

* Original Text, p. 963.

† Original Text p. 964.

Your luck will decline in it. As before, you will have to return this bounty to me, to my kingdom. It will be your obligation on me and I will pay so much annual tribute to you and give you so many elephants. Khuṭba will be recited in your name along with usages of Islām." He refused to accept for what he had collected and respond to his request. It would not be in accordance with the right course. Rāi of Kāmrud changed his mind from admonition to a ruse. He ordered residents of his land to purchase the whole stock of food-stuff in the city at black-market rate and carry it to their respective places. They came to the city, vociferated for corn and raised its price. Mughithud-Din had coveted their gold which did not accrue to his treasury and he did not claim for the store. There did not remain a single grain of corn for cultivation of land and its fertility. The whole city was without it except a quantity to last for two months. When the spring season was over, Rāi of Kāmrud came out from his place with possibility of entering into a contract to the city and the place where there was plenty of water. He opened up canals and directed them towards paths of the city from all neighbourhoods. The roads got blocked up, and supply was cut off. Mughithud-Din was in a helpless state. He left it intending to proceed to Lakhnawati. Where is Pleiades to deliver from hand? When the Rāi separated water surrounding it, it worked well. He was amazed. He then took a guide for Koh Pāya to subdue it. It was situated within ravines and valleys which were of difficult path both for entry and exit consisting of narrow passes. Elephants were moving in front had to fight with elephants of forests. Men were busy among themselves. Rāi of Kāmrud attacked for war. Mughithud-Din was on his elephant. He was on elevation from his companion in the eye of the enemy to become a target. An arrow hit his chest which brought him to the ground. His son made him and the rest captive. They were brought before Rāi of Kāmrud. His son asked him to meet him. He replied but he was in the agony of death. He came near him and embraced him. He placed his cheek on his cheek and left the world. Every perfection has its decline. He was the first to seek for peace but he refused and perished. To this class of persons belong Sulṭān Sanjar Saljuqi, Sulṭān 'Umar b. Laith Ṣaffār. In the opinion of experienced men, response to peace is better than to war. God the Holy said to His Prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him. "If they bow down for peace, bow down." There was a war of* Mughithud-Din in the Salṭanat of Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud b. Shamsud-Din. His deeds turned from side of the Salṭanat of 'Izzud-Din Balban Yuzbeki titled Kalaj Khān. It so happened that on his march to Bang, the 'Āmil of Kara Tājud-Din Sanjar Arsalān Khān al-Khwārazmi assailed Lakhnawati. He did not know about the resolution of one of his companions and that too an amir of

* Original Text, p. 964.

the Sultān. He had not assaulted him under order of the Sultān. The amirs paused to respond him at the first fright. Hence wisdom of necessity took place with response. It happened within three days of war. He conquered the city and sacked it for three days. He proclaimed for amnesty, controlled the city and its suburbs. Kalaj Khān received a report of it and returned to him. A fierce battle was fought between the two. Kalaj Khān was captured and attained to martyrdom in 657 (1258). Arsalān repented, for what happened to him from his side, after the war. He went to Kara from Lakhnawati.

Sulṭān Mughithud-Din Ṭughril al Balbani

Ṭughril Balbani came as Amir of Lakhnawati to govern it on behalf of Nāsir ud-Din in 657 (1258). He continued in the office during the salṭanat of Ghiyāthud-Din. In 670 (1271), Tughril established independent power when he renounced his submission and loyalty and declared himself as an independent Sulṭān. He designated himself as Sultān Mughith ud-Din. Diā ud-Din Barani narrated in his Tabaqāt that Ghiyāthud-Din Balban received intelligence of his disloyalty even though Tughril was one of his mamālik. He was brave, light in movement, generous, cheerful, Turkish in race, and he attained to the rank of malek. He was noted among the Shamsi muluk. He was exceptionally famous among the Balbanis. Soldiers and subjects loved him for his generosity. Ghiyāth ud-Din achieved a rank in the region of Lakhnawati and Bengal. No one ruled over Lakhnawati but became disloyal to Delhi from the time of Sultān Mu'izzud-Din Muḥammad Sām to this date. He extended his territory and increased its population. The road to Lakhnawati from Delhi was full of mountains, valleys, ravines, depths and narrow passes. None came out of it* where he entered it except with personal hardships. Rebellion of a governor was strange as he came from the west but his loyalty to the ruler set (like the sun) in the west. Residents also rebelled against the governor. He rebelled as an essential of that part of region. It was a rebellion of the governor against the paramount power or a rebellion of the local people against a governor. Diā said: The Sultān sent Amin Khān Aitkin Mui Darāz al-Balbani—one of the muluk of his mamālik against him. He was the 'Āmil of Oudh. When he crossed the river Sarāv, Tughril encountered him. His followers helped him in victory because of his generous nature inspite of their knowledge of the Sultān's punishment. How was that? A fierce battle was fought between them which resulted in the flight of Amin Khān to Oudh. Ghiyāthud-Din learnt about the defeat. He got infuriated and became harsh and shamefaced due to victory of his disloyal malek. He sent a royal order to Oudh for crucifixion of Amin Khān at the gate of Oudh. It was executed. Wise men sought information as to what he had done. He was a Sultān of balanced judgment, clemency, endurance, and

* Original Text, p. 965.

he had knowledge of war. He could stop war at times with might and desperation and at times with weakness with great perfection. He then despatched Malek Narmin with preparation in 671 (1272) with all the amirs of Hind as auxiliaries. Tughril had augmented his pomp, might and pride with his victory with all that he had. He encountered him and put him to rout at the first assault. He also seized all that he had left of elephants and arms and this was in addition to what was left by Aitkin. Ḥusām Khān relates in this respect that he sent Malek Shihab and Zafar, a third time against Tughril. Sulṭān Ghiyāth ud-Din marched to Sāmāna and bestowed the title of Amir on Malek Sunj Sarjāndār and ordered his son Bughrā Khān to attend upon him. He was at Sanām. He returned from Sāmāna and came to Doāb and crossed the Gangā, marched to Lakhnawati. He wrote to Malek ul-Umarā, lord of the Police at Delhi. He was brought up under his care and guidance with an edict of viceroyalty in absence and issued an order to its adjacent places and to inform him whether Tughril is subdued or taken a prisoner or killed. Till his return, he should be in charge of the government of the region with power of dismissal, captivity and murder. On the way, the army and amirs of round-about places joined him. Advance of monsoon did not prevent him from careful preparation. At the manzil of Bawdah, he sat for review of soldiers. The number of horse and foot had reached one hundred thousand. The Sulṭān crossed the river Sarāv. Rain fell in opposition like months of the vicinity. Tughril used to say to his companions "Let any army come, he would encounter it in a nearer place to Delhi. If the Sulṭan marched against him, he would fail to resist him." When* he heard a report of him, that he had crossed the river Sarāv, he made preparations to encounter him to his side. Rain continued to pour down night and day, in cats and dogs with tarrying of the Sulṭān in the manzil. Tents drenched with rain remained pitched till they got dried up. Tughril look the opportunity to flee. Every one who entered into his kingdom—silent and speaking, specie of animal, vegetable, mine in the city—felt moving outside. With the rise of Canopus, he marched towards Jājnagar. Every one who moved with him except his soldiers, eminent men of the city, swordsmen who opposed him, wealthy men, ordinary residents were filled with fright of the Sultān's punishment. The report circulated among soldiers that he had resolved upon conquest of Jājnagar and stay there. When the Sultān encamped at a distance of forty farsakhs from Lakhnawati, he advanced from his first manzil to Jājnagar. The governor came out from his boundary to the first manzil to the frontier of Jājnagar. On arrival of the Sulṭān to Lakhnawati, he ordered to make amends for what was destroyed. He tarried for certain days. Diāud-Din said: He nominated my grandfather, father of my mother as Nā'ib and ordered him for

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* Original Text, p. 966.

organisation of postal service and note down events for his information. He marched to Jājnagar. On his arrival at Sonārgānw, Rāi Danawj, older resident, presented himself before him with a party of his men. He kissed the carpet. The Sulṭān said to him, " I left the kingdom in search of my mamluk to get hold of him by hook or crook. Promise me to tread the land and sea to seize him." He did so. The Sulṭān marched in his wake when he encamped at a distance of sixty farsakhs from limit of Jājnagar. He did not find any one on the way to give him information about him. He halted in his manzil and ordered Maḷek Bārbek Bibaras Sultāni to be with seven thousand horses in uniform, rash and numbered advance-guard for the army. He advanced twelve farsakhs in his way. He made efforts to get knowledge of his information. Malek Barbek Bibaras rode out and moved as ordered. The Sulṭān was in his wake. The Malek sent his horsemen to all directions not at a great distance to make inquiry about him. None talked anything about him. It was near the frontier of Jājnagar that Malek Muhammad Sarābdār, 'Āmil of Kaul, his brother, Malek Mughlā and Tughril Kush chanced (to know about him). They were lions of the army with forty others similar to them. They advanced to Bārbek* that he was at a distance of ten farsakhs with a merchant. They returned from the tent of Tughril going to their places. They questioned them about Tughril as to where he was. They refused to give information about his where-abouts. Malek Muḥammad ordered to punish one of them. His head was beaten. They did not point it out. He ordered to punish the other one of them. When they found him killing, they informed that he was at a place with palm-leaves known as Sang Pusht and that he would journey from it next day to enter into the land of Jājnagar. They surrendered one of their party. He ordered them to return to Malek Bārbek to inform him about Tughril on information of one of their surrendered men. They should request him to hastily reach him with them. Through fear of his death, they resolved to enter into his tent. The party moved on with the informer. It so happened that Malek Muḥammad and his companions were ahead of him. They moved with one man on horse as a guide. When they neared him, they climbed up a hillock and saw that he was inside the pavilion. In the middle of it there was a tent of Tughril. It was on a higher elevation. Tents of the pavilion were scattered. People were in negligence. Smoke rose in the hollow part from every side to cover men of the pavilion. Elephants, were at a distance from the pavilion eating from trees. Horses ate green plants in the pavilion with their teeth. Inmates of tents were engrossed in music, drink and playing back-gammon. Malek Muḥammad and his companions ordered him and said, " we had knowledge of this, vacate with will, come on to our side for what you see with eyes. He raised the voice,

* Original Text, 967.

Tughril would pass away and after that he would not fall in chains of his seeker. We enter the pavilion in their inadvertence from the nearest path to Tughril. Who enters from us to kill him, who would inform about arrival of the Sulṭān, who will wield the sword from us, who will blow the trumpet and who will support them in flight. Would to God that Bārbek knows about the fortune of the Sultān. They descended from the hillock in a scattered manner in all directions to enter the pavilion. They then assembled, brandished arms and shrieked trumpets shouting 'Tughril, Tughril'. They entered the tent in a body. When he heard the trumpet, he was not in doubt about arrival of the Sulṭān. He opened the curtain from a side, came out to a horse, rode it without a saddle and a bridle to a river nearby. His guards and retinue dispersed from near him hearing the name of the Sulṭān through fear of his punishment. Malek Mughlā and Tughril Kush pursued him. He had neared the river when Tughril Kush saw him. He put an arrow into his bow and darted it at him. He came to the* ground, saw Mughlā who cut off his head and concealed it under his skirt. He sat on side of a river washing his hands and face. The salāhdāris, the jāmdāris and the jāndāris came out in his wake questioning about him, 'Tughril'. Barbek Bibaras was at the pavilion with drum and standard. The pavilion was empty of Tughril and his followers. Malek Mughlā and Tughril Kush stood up at the river towards Bārbek and placed his head near him. He immediately despatched a postman with information about victory and head of Tughril. Bārbek-collected what was in the pavilion. Malek Muḥammad and his companions seized belongings of Tughril as booty. Enery one of them enriched himself for life. He captured men and women of exceptional merit and fame numbering three thousand. Bārbek then collected what was inside the pavilion. He had left members of his family and captives and returned to the Sultān with it. The Sultān had halted when head of Tughril was brought to him. Barbek arrived with the spoils to the Sulṭān and informed him about what had happened. The Sulṭān turned to Malek Muḥammad who was head of the guards in advance, reproached him for his rashness in search at the risk of his safety. He raised his rank as well as that of his companions and particularly of Malek Mughlā and the archer with favour. He named him Ṭughril Kush. The Sultān returned to Lakhnawati and ordered for fixation of gallows on side of market of Lakhnawati. They were more than two farsakhs in length. They were fixed in the ground. He then assembled all those who were connected with Ṭughril—sections of persons, attendants, and ordered all of them to be punished by beheading. A Qalander was brought for execution. He had a status with Ṭughril........he used to address him as Sultān Durwish. Ṭughril had ordered three maunds of gold for him. The Qalander was given gold equivalent to iron he had. He had

* Original Text, p. 968.

a chain (of iron) and chains for his followers etc. He and his compa
were executed. Chiefs were then executed on those gallows. It was a ter
the city out of fright of punishment. Perished those who perished. He
ordered those who had given refuge to Ṭughril on the places from Del
journey with them in iron to Delhi. Punishment was a lesson to its resic
Ḍiāud-Din said: Such punishment was not inflicted in history. Epid
spread as its consequence.

Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Din Maḥmud Bughrā Khān b. Ghiyathud-Din

He then summoned his son Bughrā Khān to privacy and gave him sev
admonitions. He assigned the salṭanat of Lakhnawati to him includin
dependencies and adjacent places. A green canopy was raised over his
He permitted him to recite the Khuṭba in his name as was the case i
salṭanat of Tughluq Shāh. He marched to Lakhnawati and accompanied
him to some manzils. He met him with loyalty. He left him a sulṭān.
was permitted to return. He gave him all that was left behind by Ṭı
except gold and elephants. He gave him admonitions and was serious for
execution. His first admonition was that one who ruled over Bengal
established stable order in it, did not touch a wine glass. He did not ta
sport and play during day time. Oh my son! do not drink to choking
you rule over Bengal. Do not transgress the limit of sinfulness for estal
ment of order in it. Be daring in execution of punishment as you saw me.
world is based on annihilation. Its difficulties are easy. The difficulties o
next world as well as the account of what we did are hard. I will be aske
the day of judgment whether I gave you education in legal administratic
not. How did you rule over such a region and ruled it in the intere
creatures of God? I would fail to reply. He placed my throne for admini
ing justice between disputants. I know what I kept invisible to your ey
two or three days and also from your heart and turned to that which wa
for him. Keep men on your faith. I and you would be blamed for that.
my son! I saw from leaders of religion during the regime of my p
Shamsud-Din. You would not see them and what I heard about their grea
and admonition, you would not hear. Leaders of our time are for evil.
Sulṭān avows what they prohibit. I was in the region while you are at clc
it. You sleep in your negligence. Who will awaken you? Tears flowed
from his eyes. He ordered to beat the drum and returned to Delhi. Bu
Khān followed him to some manzils. In a manzil, they embraced each oth
departure. There was no order from him. After he was free from after sur
prayer. He sent for a band of his aged Muluk-Bughrā Khān was by his
When his scribe Shams presented himself, he should be cheerful with hi

* Original Text, p. 969.

dictate. When he made his appearance before him, he turned to aged persons, he said that he wanted to dictate admonitions for statesmanship to his sons as he cherished. If he does not listen to them, out of paternal kindness I have invited persons like you to be present for their adornment. You have passed so many years, you have long experience. You saw with your eyes what others heard with ears. Perhaps, he might be from those whom God wished to assemble for guidance. He then said to Shams Dabir (secretary) to write* what he hoped to be his admonitions. Firstly, Maḥmud became the ruler of this region Lakhnawati and its adjacent places. It was proper on his part to be loyal to Delhi ruler for with all its length and width, it was adjacent to Delhi. Since Delhi conquered it, it formed part of its administration. The Amirs were its administrators. Those who became enemies of Delhi Sulṭans saw what they saw. Oh my son! he who established independent power at Lakhnawati, does not enter Delhi. He is always afraid of him. For there are two Khuṭbas and two Sikkas. By finesse of politeness, guidance and affection to the governors, he orders, as far as possible to be inclined towards him but they establish stable power over the region. He who attacked Mahmud ruler of Delhi, he collects its residents. He does not rule without their support. He lives with peace. He is not bold enough to fight with him. He endures him. He does not quit Delhi for Lakhnawati. When he returned, Maḥmud also returned to Lakhnawati. He had known it through experience. I say: Perhaps he came to Tughluq Shāh on this advice. There was no need for a wish. The fruit of action for admonition was return to his kingdom as an independent sulṭan. Secondly, Oh my son! The way of the 'āmil in region is a different thing while way of ruler of the region is something opposite to him. If the 'āmil made a mistake or committed an error or relied upon what is evil, he dismisses him and takes him to account and punishes him. In spite of this, he does not sever hope of office, is not disappointed of life and does not waste his trouble. The ruler, when makes a mistake conceals his mistake but its effect is manifested in dispersion and rebellion. For his mistake, there is no dismissal, and no return but his life along with members of his family and subordinates is lost. He clarified to Maḥmud that he wished under these circumstances to consult experienced men in administration of the region and administer in the best manner. If his desire is accomplished without consultation or he rectified his error, he should not feel proud thereof; nay, he should see to it gradually with personal disappointment in what his mistake was a good course and his unevenness even. This happened with the Phraohs. Thirdly, Maḥmud got benefited with topics of admonitions for they were verified by his father and resulted in prayers for good. Fourthly, these admonitions made him deal with his subjects in accordance with law

* Original Text, p. 970.

whether rich or poor. Sultāns acted according to them from ancient ti in spite of new events taking place. An order passed remained, neith deviated from it in the middle nor he changed at night what he passed ' day. For, that led to affairs of displeasure and disappointment of sta tended to rottenness of temperaments and needed treatment. Loyal creatures depended upon Mahmud's devotion to God, more or less. La monition was to turn to recluses who had renounced the world and know of them and retirement upon their doors. They are those who do not wish thing not give trouble to those who sit with them. He should try to search persons. If one of them is found, that would be better for him in this worl the next. He donned him with a robe, embraced him, kissed him betwee eyes and cheeks, wept, bade him farewell and parted to go to their resp places. I say : Ḍiā ud-Din does not mention about death of Nāṣir-ud-Dir I do not know the date except that he says that it took place during the re of his son Mu'izzud-Din Kai Qobād to the end of his reign, 688 (1289). during the regime of Ghāzi Tughluq Shāh to his meeting in the year of d 724 (1323). He made Qadr Khān an amir in 735 (1134-35) during the r of Muhammad Shāh son of Tughluq Shāh. The historian makes no menti Qadr Khān either about his death or dismissal. There is doubt about his : or dismissal due to four or five dates mentioned. Bahrām Khān car Sonārgānw in 735 (1134-35) and ruled over Bengal.

Bahrām Khān died in 739 (1338). Fakhrud-Din conquered the kin He was a salāhdār of Bahrām Khān. Amir Qadr Khān had designs a him. He fought with him and defeated him, occupied Sonārgānw, seize treasury, carried some of it on horse. Back and some remained. Amir Ḥu ud-Din said to him, that he made haste to carry on horse-back before m mischief coveted it. Qadr Khān replied that something remained of it after having carried it, it was sent to a place to be under view of the S Fakhrud-Din heard about it. It was due to his miserliness that his compa left it behind. He corresponded with them and assembled them on conditi legality of wealth. They killed Qadr ud-Din, divided his treasure and Fak Din returned to his kingdom.†

Sulṭān Fakhrud-Din Salāhdār

Fakhr-uḍ-Din Salāhdār sat on the throne of salṭanat at Sonārgānw in year 734 (1332-33). His companions parted company with him because incident with Qadr Khān as referred to before. He then assembled them killed Qadr Khān. He returned to his throne. He sent his mamluk Mu to Lakhnawati. 'Ali Mubārak, lord of the Diwān-ul-Arḍ was in it. He atta

* Original Text, 971.

† Original Text, 972.

Mukhliş and killed him in a conflict. He returned to Lakhnawat and occupied it. He sent a petition to the royal palace to appoint him 'Āmil at Lakhnawat. He sent Malek Yusuf Police Officer to it. He died on the way. Muḥammad Shāh was thus free from an important affair. He waited for a suitable opportunity.

Sulṭān 'Alāud-Din 'Ali Mubārak.

'Alāud-Din 'Ali Mubārak ascended the throne of salṭanat at Lakhnawati in the year 739 (1338). It was a blessing for him. He styled himself as Sulṭān 'Alāud-Din.

Sulṭān Shamsud-Din Ilyās Ḥāji Bhangara.

It so happened that Malek Ilyās Ḥāji killed 'Alāud-Din in 740 (1339) and ascended the throne of salṭanat with the title of Sulṭān Shams-ud-Din. Shams-ud-Din moved on to Sonārgānw in 741 (1340) and made Fakhrud-Din a captive in war. He returned with him to Lakhnawat and struck off his head by his hand. He occupied Bengal with all its frontiers. He continued as its sulṭān during the course of his life. It remained with his heir for a certain period.

In 754 (1353), the Sulṭān received intelligence that Shams-ud-Din Ilyās was at Tirhut and that he had stretched his hands to nearby places. He marched towards Lakhnawati in the month of Shawwāl of the year. On his encampment at Bawdah, Hindu chiefs presented themselves in his Diwān. During the close of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, they took advantage of the disturbed political condition and rebelled along with others. When the Sulṭān crossed the river Sarāw, Ilyās came out from Tirhut to Pandua and engaged himself in collecting all the materials within his power for garrison. Rāi of Gorakhpur was a notable person* of this side with a number of followers with Gorakhpur under him. He saw the preventive preparations of Shamsud-Din Ilyās against encounter of the Sulṭān. He was a powerful rebel before the salṭanat. He made amends from the very beginning by means of loyalty. He made two halkas (one halka is equal to ten elephants) of elephants as a means for kissing the carpet and presented himself in the Diwān of the Sulṭān. He succeeded in winning his good will and remained with his people in attendance upon him. The Sulṭān raised his rank with a gold-embroidered robe of honour, studded with jewels, a jewel studded belt, well-adorned horses, a canopy and a crown—the two emblems of salṭanat for him on this side. In like manner, Rāi Khorsah called Jahtah with his name of Khorsah came to the palace. He was greatly favoured except with a crown and canopy. He remained at the stirrup. He brought the tribute of the period of his disloyalty of his own accord to the treasury. He then returned with permission to Khorsah. The Rāi of Gorakhpur travelled with the Sulṭān to Pandua with his horse and foot. He issued an order for him for preservation of the limit of

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* Original Text, p. 973.

his territory from opposition and issued a proclamation to that effect. What had happened from him before issue of the order was made null and void. Hemistich: In this way, we fulfilled his desire. Shams-ud-Din had garrisoned himself within the fort of Pandua. Sulṭān learnt about the designs of the Sulṭān. He fled to Akdāla. It was near Pandua. He garrisoned himself in it from the side of water. There was no way to it except by crossing with boats while on the other side there was a forest, dangerous to pass through. He garrisoned himself with tried warriors and ordered its residents to live between water and the forest. On the encampment of the Sulṭān at Jakhat, he marched alone to Tirhut. On the outskirts, all the chiefs assembled for expression of loyalty. They were favoured with robes of pleasure and ennobled with kindness. He returned to Jakhat and marched from it to Pandua. As it was a centre of Shams-ud-Din, it abounded in buildings and gardens. He did not remove himself to Akdāla with him except swordsmen. On account of that, he announced general amnesty to the èlite and the common people excluding residents of his house and his belongings. There was security except for the horses and the retinue of his house who were done to death. The Sulṭān encamped at the river opposite to the fort of Akdāla. Becoming helpless for resistance, Shams-ud-Din continued to attack from the garrison. A plan occurred to him to send him what could not be achieved by the sword. There was plenty of water on that side in all seasons of the year. In monsoon, water begins to flow in torrent.* It blockades all roads till rise of the Canopus. Supply of provision was cut off. There was shortage of provisions in the army. Many persons suffered because of isolation. The pavilion was on a low ground. When it rained, the ground was full of water which prevented pegs of tents to be firm and tents to be pitched. There were plenty of mosquitoes as long as barley-seeds biting like wasp. Its poison remained for most of the time. It did not take out its tail instantly. It spreads by rubbing. Its poison then disappears. Imagine a depressed ground, and the bite preventing also stay on the ground. The Sulṭān departed for a siege of Akdāla. He planned first of all to encamp at the roads round around the pavilion. He was free from it. The Rāi of Gorakhpur was in attendance. He was skilful in the treatment of the ground and its medicine. He ordered for collection of all the materials of crossing. Most of them were in his stores. He added those that were not there. As was his habit, his tent was never without a water-skin and water-bag. No swordsman was without it. He blew in the water-skin as every one of them suspended it. In time, they filled them with water, attacked the fort and conquered it in the name of Allāh. He showed kindness to all residents of Akdāla on its conquest by force. He granted safety to all those who did not fight with him and offered no resistance. In the

* Original Text, p. 974.

meantime, the ground had become hollow due to stay of number of animals, and filthy air rose up. He ordered to remove the pavilion to some other place. With his transfer, voices of common people, vagabonds etc. rose up with joy due to change of the place and departure to spacious ground from narrow road with pleasant atmosphere till shouts reached Shamsud-Din and his men. In the meanwhile, they became certain about return of the Sultān from the fort. They passed with knowledge of God's acceptance of his prayers. He came out from the fort with elephants, horse and feet, crossed the river and arrayed elephants in front for war. The advance-guard, wings and the centre were arranged for review in the maidān. The Sulṭān prostrated in thanks for acceptance of his* prayers. He rode the horse and encountered him. Ḍia ud-Din said: He put him to flight at the first assault leaving behind canopy, drum, flag and elephants. There were forty-four rings viz. eight hundred and eighty elephants. (Halka or ring, according to him consisted of 20 elephants otherwise a ring means ten elephants). It was the cause of his arrogance. He carried the canopy and the sword was taken away by most of his companions. The surface of the earth was covered with them. Its number was beyond enumeration. Ḍia ud-Din said: The Sultān returned to Tarād which he had conquered at the first encampment. He was wonderstruck at this coincidence. None of his men was lost. Those who had encamped at the pavilion brought to him all the belongings left behind by Shamsud-Din along with horses of his companions who were killed and fled away. The elephants were of approbation for those who were their examiners because they were exceptionally good. There was none like them at the time with any sulṭān of Delhi. When the Sulṭān held the review, he turned to his muluk and said, "These elephants were the cause of vanity of Ilyās and impelled him to resist the ruler of Delhi. If he had no vanity, he would have been loyal. It is narrated from great sultāns that the elephants are good in the stables of those who are deserving of salṭanat. If he had gained a victory, he would have become dominant, he would have produced calamities and revolts. That would have become the cause of his ruin. On the second day of victory, men of the pavilion and turbaned persons—Muslims and Hindus got themselves ready and assembled in the expanse of the gate of the Sultān requesting permission for sack of Akdāla. Mischief-mongers responded to it but they did not touch those who had perished. People left inside the fort were weak. They were treated with kindness. Belongings of elephants were in fortification of the fort. Ilyās came out with that to us, surrendered them to us and returned with disappointment as he was a loser. In like manner, the horses were ridden by his friends and abandoned in the maidān and they perished. The most important thing was that what was mine returned to me.

* Original Text, p. 975,

Members of his family were in guarantee of power, safety and generosity. A wards, everything became easy. This victory, for example, was of ill-om efforts. It passed into a proverb. He then ordered to beat the drum, marched to Tirhut and Jakhat. He posted an amir, at every place, of stre and might. He ordered by public proclamation that he who had made a ca in Bengal or fell a Bengali slave into his hands, he should be set free from manzil. On his encampment at Tafarābād he permitted the chiefs and head to return to their places. On his encampment at Karah and Manekpur, turned to his men by section, raised their ranks, liberalised their means of hood and did good to religious leaders, distributed alms among the poor then all of them marched forward. At the manzil of Kaul, the first man to receive and congratulate him which continued and robes of honour favours also continued. A'zam-i-Humāyun Khān Jahān, officers of the D ul-Vizarat, accountants, police officer, chief justice, men of turbans assem around him for congratulations when robes of honour were distributed acco to ranks. When he crossed Kabulpur from the usual bridge and encampe the shore, Khān Jahān A'zam-i-Humāyun petitioned him for what was r for offering from property, gold and silver ornaments, jewellery, well-adc horses etc. These things were delightful for the eye and of distant report. came to Delhi on 12th Sha'bān, 755 (1353-54). Ḥusām Khān states in Tabaqāt that Malek Tājud-Din, envoy of Shamsud-Din came, on beha Shams-ud-Din's loyalty to the* Sulṭān in 756 (1355). He was pleased fo return for protection of the world. He had stated in his petition for accept of recitation of Khuṭba in his name. He granted his request and appointed in his kingdom. He permitted his ḥājib to go and companions from his such as Sayf-ud-Din, the Police Officer. When he was at Bihār he received of Shams-ud-Din's death in the year. Sayf-ud-Din returned to his Sulṭān.

Sikander b. Shams-ud-Din Bhangra

Sikander son of Shams-ud-Din ascended the throne of his kingdom in (1358-59). The Sulṭān marched to Lakhnawati. Sikander heard abou arrival. He sent his envoy to him. He was accompanied by Sayyid Rasu When the ḥājib returned, the Sulṭān sent a letter with Sayyid Rasuldār. arrival was esteemed and sent presents with him along with fifty eleph When the Sulṭān came near from Akdāla, Sikander garrisoned himself. He corresponded for loyalty and the Sulṭān met him and returned from him. he was away from him, his envoy joined him on the way along with pre There were elephants which he liked numbering three hundred and sev During the regime of the Sulṭān, they were for Ẓafar Khān son of Wa

* Original Text, p. 976.

Mulk, ruler of Gujarāt during the reign of his son Muḥammad Shāh from * Sonārgānw. Sikander son of Shams-ud-Din Ilyās Ḥāji died in his capital Akdāla in 768 (1366-67) leaving his son Ghiyāthud-Din as his heir.

Ghiyathud-Din

Ghiyāthud-Din son of Sikander sat on the throne at Akadāla. He died in 775 (1372-73).

Sulṭān us-Salāṭin

Sulṭān us-Salāṭin son of Ghiyāthud-Din sat on his throne. He died in 785 (1382-83).

Shamsud-Din II

Shamsud-Din sat on the throne after Sulṭān-us-Salāṭin and died in 790 (1388).

Kāns

Kāns conquered the kingdom. He was an unbeliever. He died in 797 (1394).

Jalālud-Din

His son succeeded him. He embraced Islām and styled himself as Sulṭān Jalālud-Din. He died in 812 (1409-10). Hāfiz Muḥammed Sakhāwi has given his account in his history "al-Ḍaw ul-Lāme'" in the history of men of 9th century. He said: Jalāl-ud-Din Abul Muzaffar was the king of Bengal. His father was known as Kāns. Shihāb mamluk of Sayf ud-Din Ḥamza son of Ghiyāthud-Din A'zam Shāh son of Sikander Shāh son of Shams-ud-Din took revenge on him. He conquered Bengal and made him a captive. He further said that his son took revenge upon Shihāb. He embraced Islām and called himself Muḥammad. He conquered cities from him and established ways and usages of Islām. He renovated what his father destroyed of masjids and such other buildings. He followed Abi Hanifa. He built a frightful madresa at Mekka. He sent a gift to Ashraf Barastari, ruler of Egypt and announced his following to him. He sent a robe of honour with Sharif. He donned it. He sent a present for the Khalifa. He sent those presents with 'Alā Bukhari to † Egypt and Damascus. He died in Rabi' II. His son succeeded him. He was fourteen years old. Our Shaik had made mention of him in his 'Anbā'. I say, he mentions about Ḥusām Khān's death at Mekka. It was a pious deed left after him. In like manner, 'Alā Bukhāri too died.

Aḥmad b. Jalāl ud-Din

His son Aḥmad succeeded him to the throne. Ḥusām Khān said that he died in 828 (1424-25). He left no successor.

* Original Text, 977.

† Original Text, p. 978.

Nāṣir

Nāṣir sat on the throne for seven days. He was killed. He was a m
of Aḥmad. He ruled after him.

Nāṣir Shāh

He was a descendant of Shamsud-Din Ilyās Bhangara. People en
comforts during his regime. He died in 862 (1457-58).

Bārik Shāh

Bārik Shāh ruled the kingdom after him. He died in 879 (1472).

Yusuf Shāh

Yusuf Shāh ruled after him. He died in 887 (1481-82).

Sikander Shāh

Sikander Shāh ruled after him. He had no worth. He was deposed.
ruled for one day and a half.

Fateh Shāh

Fateḥ Shāh ruled after him. He was a worthy king. He was fron
family of Sulṭāns of Bengal. His household had five thousand retinue of n
in palace of the Sultān as guards for lord of the palace. At rise of dawn,
Sultān showed himself from the palace. They came to him for usual bles
and returned. The eunuch clients who formed retinue of the nauba, ca
him. When the Sulṭān came out as usual, they killed him in 894 (1489).

Barik Shāh al-Ṭawāshi

Ṭawāshi sat on the throne after him. He styled himself as Bārik
The Amirs killed him. His rule lasted for two months and a half.

Firuz Shāh

Firuz Shāh sat on the throne after him. None has mentioned as to
he was. He died at the close of the year 899 (1494).

Maḥmud b. Firuz

Mahmud sat on the throne after Firuz Shāh. He was killed by Mu
Habashi in concert with the nauba in 900 (1494-95).

Muzaffar Shāh Habashi

Muzaffar Shāh Habashi sat on the throne. 'Alāud-Din 'Askari kille
in concert with the nauba in the year 903 (1497).

'Alāud-Din al-'Askari

'Alāud-Din 'Askari sat on the throne after him. He was wise. He
good to the people. He loved the muluk, amirs, courtiers and eminent m

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* Original Text, p. 979.

the kingdom and behaved with humility towards them. He removed the nauba from the palace. This custom disappeared after him. In the early part of his reign, there were salāḥdārs for certain muluk of a territory. They learnt state administration from him. Bengal prospered during his reign. He was graced to place some reciters of the Holy Qurān at the mausoleum, descent of lights, discloser of secrets, means of security, blessing of faith Mawlānā al-Shaikh Nur titled Qutb i-'Ālam, may his grave be sanctified and derived benefits from him. This sort of endowment for continued for travellers, poor men. Such places were known as Langar in Hind. Every year, the mausoleum was visited by men from the capital Akdāla on the saint's anniversary at Sirpur He died in 929 (1520).

Nasib Shāh son of 'Alāud-Din

His son Nasib Shāh succeeded him to the throne. At the time of Zahirud-Din Bābur Mughal, he gave asylum to Afghāns of the Ibrāhimiya. He gave* them refuge and ennobled their arrival. It happened in 932 (1525). Maḥmud son of Sikander son of Bahlol took refuge with him. The Ibrāhims assembled around him. He fled to Jaunpur from Bābur. Maḥmud's sister married him. It was hinted at before during the regime of Babur. During his regime Daryā Khān Nawhāni established an independent kingdom at Ḥājipur Patna. Sher Shāh was one of his amirs Muḥammad Khān Sur conquered Sasrām. He came to him in hope of help from him as stated before. Bengal was under jurisdiction of Delhi. It abandoned paramountcy of Delhi from the reign of Shams ud-Din Ilyās Bhangara to the reign of Sher Shāh. Such was the case during the regime of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār and that of 'Iwad. Then during the reign of Sher Shāh it came back to Delhi after one hundred and a fraction. After Salim Shāh b. Sher Shāh, it cast off its jurisdiction for two years. It then returned to Delhi during the salṭanat of Jalālud-Din Akbar.

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* Original Text, p. 980.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Sur Dynasty (cont.)

Humāyun and Sher Shāh

This is the substance of what Abul Faḍl says about the fortune and misfortune of Sher Shāh and Humāyun. When Humāyun returned to Mandu from Gujarāt, he liked to stay there because of water and climate being congenial to him. Tardi Beg came to him from Chāmpāner. He informed him about his brothers being united against him. He hastened to Agra from Mandu to forestall them. He came across them on the way, met them and reproached them. They deviated from passing by Mandu. He was there. They apologised him and he took a pledge from them. All of them journeyed to Agra. He received a report about Sher Shāh that he conquered Chunār and that his son Quṭb Khān son of Sher Shāh was behind him and marched to Bengal. He therefore, collected his horse and foot and marched to Chunār. It is an impregnable fort. He encamped at it. Rumi Khān Muṣtafā son of the sister of Salmān Turkomān began to prepare subterraneous passages (sābāṭ) and reached the hole (mine). One night Quṭb Khān came out and learnt as to what man was he. They sought amnesty. Mustafā sought permission which was granted to them. They came out from the fort and surrendered it. Were it not for him, the conquest would have been delayed. Mu'ayyad Beg Mughal, a favourite amir, did not like to * give them amnesty. He contented himself by cutting their hands. They were ten thousand. That happened. Rumi Khān was poisoned. He was under tutelage of Bahādur. He proved perfidious to him. It was a defect in his perfection. Other persons prevented him from so doing. He was poisoned because of instigation of jealous persons. It happened in 942 (1535). After the death of Rumi Khān, Nasib Shāh son of 'Alā ud-Din, ruler of Bengal came to Humāyun when he was camping at the plain of Chunār, running from Sher Shāh. He bore a wound outside his body and inwardly in his heart. He was received with favour and regard. Hindu Beg was appointed Amir at Jaunpur while Beg Mirak at Chunār. Humāyun then marched to Bengal. At Patna, men of judgment met him and said to him, " There is plenty of water on this side and there remains no passage except by wading through water in all seasons of the year. In monsoon, the place turns into a sea and movement becomes difficult. It is better to stop operation against Sher Shah till rise of the Canopus. It would be easy then to move for men and animals." Nasib Shāh said, " Sher

* Original Text, p. 981.

Shāh did not settle in the kingdom now but during the period of pause, it would be easy, with movement, to almost establishing his authority. It would be difficult to expel him after settlement." Humāyun sought counsel and started on the road. On his encampment in the plain of Monghyr he received news of Sher Shāh that he had sent his son Jalāl Khān to Kari in company of the amirs Khwāṣ Khān, Martad, Sarmast Khān and Pahād Khān. It is a gate to Bengal. He came out with those who were with him and with what he had, to proceed to Jhārkand. On this report, Ibrāhim Beg Khābuk, Bahram Beg, Jahāngir Quli Beg and Nihāl Beg were prepared to go against him from Bhāgalpur. When they encamped on the environs of Kari they engaged themselves to take rest when Jalāl Khān fell upon them. He cast the shade and surrounded them. They did not offer battle to him except Bahrām Khān with a small band of men. He came out from his pavilion as they came out. The pavilion remained with horses, arms and other materials as a share to one who got it and Jalāl Khān returned with spoils to Kari. Humāyun received a report of it. He marched in person and met Jalāl Khān with his father. Sher Shāh was there. He said to him, "When I sent him to Kari, he would be there. The Mughals were not prepared. When he heard about them, he joined with him. He refused to depart from his place. There was no trace of him among them. When he killed some of them and took what they had left, he did not trouble himself to return from Humāyun. On Humāyun's encampment at Kari, his brother Hindāl Mirzā * asked permission to march to the centre of the region Tirhut to prepare for war and enter Bengal from that side. Sher Shāh stationed himself at his place to get information about Humāyun's conquest of Bengal. It took place in 945 (1538). In the meanwhile, Sher Shāh marched to Rohtās and encamped at the side from its foot. There was acquaintance between him and the lord of Rohtas which led at the time to solicitation. He sent a person of sagacity to him to inform him as to what happened between him and the Mughals. He forbade him to carry the family and the treasure and to fight alone with them. He collected his mind to seek a place for them nearby in the fort. It would be an obligation from him. The envoy met the Rāja Champa b. Barahman and conveyed his request. He acceded to his request. Sher Shāh ordered six hundred litters. An armed man sat inside a litter while four men carried the litter. After entry into the gate, he advised them with sufficient haste till he knows them. Inmates of the fort saw that perfidy was played against them. Men acted according to his admonition. Sher Shāh saw them. He proclaimed amnesty and met the rāja Champa and apologised to him and requested him for stay at the foot till he pacifies himself from the Mughals. He then garrisoned the fort. Men were left behind. He descended from it. He was alone and

* Original Text, p. 982.

tried for search of the Mughals. He blockaded the passage to Bengal so much so that a bird could not pass through it.

(I say: The stratagem played by Sher Shāh in taking Rohtās is the same as adopted by Qaṣir b. Sa'ad in proverbs and maimed Qaṣir of his nose. Its account is: There lived Jazimat ul-Abrash b. Mālek b. 'Āmer al-Tanaukhi. Al-Azadi said that Abā al-Zabbā killed Malih b. al-Barā, king of Hazar and cast her in Syria. Her name was Fāra'. She drew hairs. When they spread, she covered them. For that reason, she was called al-Zabbā (a woman with luxuriant hairs). She was known by that name. She had plenty of hairs. Ibn-i-Kalabi said: she was the most beautiful woman of our age. She got attached in Rum. She spoke the Arabic language. She was very bold. He heard about boldness. She was in Rum. Men assembled around her. She spent money. She returned to the region of her father. She became the ruler. Jazima departed from her. She built two cities opposite to each other on the Euphrates. She made a fence between them below the ground and fortified* them. She had abandoned men. She was 'Azarā'. Jazima suspended hostilities for a period. She married him and sent for him to string a bow for her near him. He killed her father as said above. His companions consulted him. They advised him to go to her. Qaṣir was left behind them. He was a wise man. He said "Women guide husbands. He rebels and goes to a place, Bakka. He consults them. They said what they knew. He said to him, "Qaṣir departed. He twisted in your face. He refused and went further, saw armies and received them." He said to Qaṣir "What is wisdom?" He said, "I abandoned wisdom at Bakka. It went like this." Qaṣir rode a horse for Jazima called 'Asā, liberated and took Jazima. When he met al-Zabbā, she ordered him to cut off arteries of his hand. He eaves-dropped her till he died. This story is told in length by a last literary man, Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad b. Banana in his book "Saraḥ al-'Uyun" and "Sharḥ-i-Risala" of Ibn Zaydun. When Qaṣir parted company with Jazima and returned to his city, he was planning for her death. He maimed his nose, wounded his cheek, went to her saying that 'Adi son of the sister of Zazima did that. He took refuge with her when he fled from him and took shelter with her. He was always kind to her by way of trade: he acquired wealth till she placed confidence in him. He learnt secrets of her palace and his maintenance. He placed two men of 'Adi tribe in sacks of corn with arms on a camel like a caravan moving till he entered her city and killed her till he came to her outlay. It is a famous story which happened before the birth of Prophet Masiḥ may peace be on him. It is copied from "Saraḥ al-'Uyun". It is shortened upto the portion where he met with death by fraud. It is a very long story.

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* Original Text, p. 983.

Muhammad Awfi has narrated a similar story of the Khilafat of Zun Nurain Amir ul-Muminin Uthmān, may God be pleased with him. Its substance is: Amir 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmer b. Kariz encamped at Nishāpur. He made strenuous efforts but found no way for conquest by might. He deviated from sword to deceit. He sent a man to the ruler of Nishāpur conveying to him that he wanted to put a deposit at Nishāpur. If he promised preservation of it with him, he would bring it by travel from his city to deposit with him. It consists of household goods and baggage which are under his possession in the tents while the* camels are few due to death among them. There is no way to place them and leave them. If you write out a pledge, I may send them to you to get them when I demand them on my way from Nishapur to Sarakhs on camels. When residents of Nishāpur heard this, they got delighted and accepted to keep his goods as deposit. They wrote to him about confidence and to send those goods to him. In the meantime, he placed men in boxes and carried them to the city at the approach of evening. He beat the drum of journey, got ready to take it. They thought that he had left his goods. When the night spread to make them unconscious in sleep, men came out, surpended swords, fenced the Amir of the city, attacked it and conquered it. This is copied from Jāme' ul-Hikāyāt. In like manner, stories of victories are written from the time of Ādam, may peace be on him to our day. Such paths are adopted and destinations shortened and success obtained. Time is not without a wise man and a negligent person, a learned man and an illiterate person, intelligent and stupid, middle-aged and a child. God does with them what He wishes whether one wished or not.)

When the decrees of fate are helpful
They join helpless with the Powerful.

Hindāl Mirzā received a report of Rohtās. He secretly corres ponded with Sher Shāh. He came from Tirhut to Agra and alighted in his house under the order. Humāyun divided the kingdom after victory. He engrossed himself in ease and comfort and passed his time in negligence without caring for its consequences. He and his companions continued in the same manner when they received intelligence about Sher Shāh's attack on Jaunpur. He had gained a victory over Banāras and killed its Amir Mir Fadli. He had learnt about Hindāl Mirza's stay at Agra. He was at Jaunpur for the death of Hindu Beg Bābā Beg Jalāir father of Shāham Khān who died at Burhānpur at the time of Akbar's invasion on the fort of Asir in 1008 (1599-1600). Bābā Beg wrote to Hindāl Mirzā seeking his help againt Sher Shāh etc. He did not reply him except Yusuf Beg b. Ibrāhim Chābuk. He came out from his region of Oudh for Bengal. He found nothing on the way to prevent him from coming to Jaunpur. It was before Sher Shāh attacked it. He served as an advance-guard to the army of

* Original Text, p. 984.

Jaunpur coming in that side and intending for an opportunity for the pavilion* of Sher Shāh. Jalāl Khān heard about it. He intended to attack him. He came back running from him to Jaunpur. Jalāl Khān made an assault on Jaunpur. Bābā Beg wrote to Humāyun about the exact state of affairs. In the meantime, Mir Faqir 'Ali marched from Delhi to Agra and met Hindāl Mirzā. He gave an admonition to him. He replied that he was on a march to Jaunpur. Taking permission, he went to Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā. He was at Kālpi to join Hindāl Mirzā in his march for help to Bābā Beg. In the meanwhile, Hindāl Mirzā, in his preparation to cross the river, heard about arrival of Khusraw Beg Kokaltāsh and a party of amirs from Bengal to go to the ruler of Kanawj Mirzā Nuruddin Muhammad. Hindāl Mirzā sent a message to Khusraw Beg requesting him to come to him. His messenger was Mahammad Ghāzi Tughbāj. His reply was, " If Hindal Mirza decided upon independent Saltanat, we would come to him otherwise we go to Kāmrān Mirzā who was at Lahore". Muḥammad Ghāzi returned with the reply. He said to him " Limit judgment in their presence. If you resolve upon salṭanat, they would support you and aid you. I advise you that between you and Humāyun, they would be put in captivity." He returned to them with a reply in accordance with their demand. In the meantime, Shaikh Bahlol who had faith in the Hindi region came to him—he was a man who sat with Humāyun with a letter from him. Hindāl Mirzā received him and regarded his arrival as noble. He heard him and executed an order of Ḥumāyun when brought to him. It coincided with the arrival of Nuruddin Maḥammad Mirzā. He was an intermediary between Hindāl and Khusraw. Khusraw Beg heard about Hindāl's resolution for Salṭanat on the arrival of Shaikh Bahlol. He said to Muḥammad Ghāzi " You went in search but Shaikh Bahlol had come with a letter of his brother. How can we trust his word? Return to him and say " If you are firm on your resolution, we do not trust you or you kill Bahlol. Do not write to us. " Nuruddin approved of his killing. He ordered for it. He seized him by collar, crossed the river with him and publicly cut off his head. Khusraw Beg came to Agra. Hindāl Mirzā ascended the throne of his brother. After accession he went to his mother Dildār Begum. She forbade him to take that step. He saw her in clothes of mourning. He said to her " What is the meaning of these black clothes on this day of auspiciousness as opposed to joy? " He said, "Oh my son! you have introduced innovation which will ultimately be not praised. What I see you is nothing but killed. Hence I am in black garments out of mourning for you. There is grief for you.†

Admonition of friends is wind in my ears (futile)
It is wind which augments fire.

* Original Text, 985.

† Original Text, p. 986.

Mir Faqir 'Ali was at Kālpi. When he heard this, he went to Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā at Delhi and prepared him for its defence and forbade him against Hindāl Mirzā-Hindāl Mirzā assailed it. Mir Faqir 'Ali wrote to Kāmrān Mirzā to come. He replied to him. On his encampment at a town, Hindāl returned to Agra from Delhi. Mir Faqir 'Ali went to Kāmrān Mirzā, met him and returned to Delhi. Kāmrān Mirza marched to Agra. When he was at a distance of one manzil from it, Hindāl went to Alwar. Kāmrān Mirzā entered into the capital and met Dildār Begum. He sent her to Hindāl. She returned with him to him. When she met him—she was his mother—she placed a piece of cloth (scarf) round his neck. She felt attracted towards him. She embraced him and they forgot what had happened between them and displayed more favour. Nuruddin Muḥammad Mirzā, Khusraw Beg Kokaltāsh etc presented themselves and thus this meeting turned into a meeting of forgiveness and goodwill. Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā then arrived from Delhi. He met Kāmrān, Hindāl and his companions. On the second day after the meeting, he chanced to go towards Jaunpur. They crossed the river on the third day. Humāyun awoke from slumber of negligence. He assembled his companions and left Jahāngir Quli behind him as his Nā'ib and marched to Agra. Sher Shāh learnt about his march. He returned from Jaunpur to Rohtās on which he had designs. Humāyun turned from him to Bengal otherwise he would have pursued him and engaged him in person. During the course of movement of spies, he learnt that Humāyun had encamped at Tirhut. He marched in his wake. Humāyun crossed the river Gangā intending for Agra. It was said to him about Sher Shāh that he was in his wake and that he should not be separated. He returned to the river. His companions said to him " You see that we are in a small number. The animals have become weak. It is proper to pause at the river till the animals get refreshed and regain strength. They would wade through water. Similarly the soldiers would get breathing time and those who have lagged be-hind due to fatigue would come and the Dehalvi contingents would come to you while the Amirs of round-about places would join you. " Humāyun refused. He wanted to cross the river. He encamped on side of the river. There was a conflict between them about the place which was said to be Thatha in the district of Bhojpur and between them was the river Kanbās. Humāyun built a bridge. The advance-guards of both the armies began to come and go. Humāyun exaggerated for search of his brothers but he found none of them. Sher Shāh conveyed messages for peace due to incidents of the advance-guards and finally he wanted to plunge into war. He then resolved upon deceit. One night he came out from his pavilion and abandoned what he had. He had controlled a ditch, arrayed the cannons while such was the pavilion of Humāyun. He then walked alone without the knowledge of enemy. After a day and two nights, he

* Original Text, p. 987.

appeared with the dawn from behind the Mughals. He was in the centre, his son Jalāl Khān on the right wing and his slave Khawās Khān was in command of the left wing. When he was with the Mughals through remissness, he was in the moment of severity. He raised the shout of "Allāh-o-Akbar" with the trumpet, the pavilion was rent with shouts. Those who were outside the pavilion rose up. A small number of Mughals came out from the pavilion on horse with saddle and bridle running to the river but the armour. There was no way to it. Humāyun came out from his cupola not knowing what to do to take out his wife Ḥāji Begum. Most men of the pavilion had come out to the river side. He made no effort except to turn to Bābā Beg Jalāir, Tardi Beg and Fauj Beg and instructed for amendment before the attack. He rode and went towards the river. He impelled them and those who joined them in expelling from the tents. There was deceit among them. Those who were at the flap of the tent were killed in preventing entry of Wafā Kish and Mir Pahelwān Badakhshi. They were captured. When Humāyun terminated to the bridge, he found it broken. He dived through the river on horse. Many of his men sought precedence in diving when they were carried away by water. Those who escaped with safety and came near the shore, were overwhelmed by water. He dismounted from the saddle, played with waves, he felt that Allah was near him. He took him by the hand. He knew him, swam him to the shore with water-skin which he had. When he came out from water, he stood at the shore, calmed himself, asked him who he was and what was his name. He said, "Khidr, water-carrier and the name Nizām Awliyā." He thanked him and promised him authority as a sultān for half a day on throne of the state. He then sat on an elevation on side of the river looking for the followers and sub-ordinates who were in a submerged state in water diving hard to come to the shore. Some of them sang extempore*

Oh Almighty God ! You alone are Mighty

You give kingship to Farid Ḥasan—You surrender Humāyun's soldiers to fish. The amirs who were swept away by water were Maḥammad Zamān Mirzā b. Badi 'uz-Zamān, Mirzā b. Sultān Husain Mirzā, ruler of Khurāsān, Mawlānā Muḥammad Pir 'Ali and Mawlāna Qāsim 'Ali Sadr while 'Askari Mirza son of Bābur emerged with safety. All those who came out safely from sword and water assembled around their Sulṭān Humāyun. They journeyed with them to Agra and entered the palace in safety. This incident took place on shore of the Gangā at the crossing-place of Jausa, on 9th Safar, 946 (1539). Sher Shāh collected, after the victory, what was left by Humāyun in the pavilion and on the shore of river in shape of cannons, horses, elephants, goods and baggage and what he had brought from Bengal. He divided all those things among his

* Original Text, p. 988.

followers except cannons, and elephants. They fell to his share. From among women was Hāji Begum. All women were sent to Agra along with Hāji Begum. He left a good name for what he did even to his enemies. He then marched to Bengal. When he encamped outside Bihār, he paused while his son Jalāl Khān journeyed for expulsion of Humāyun's representatives. Great among them was Jahāngir Quli Beg. He strove to assemble the Mughals around him but he failed to do so. He then came out submissively along with those who were with him including residents. Sher Shāh wrote for his safety till he reached Agra. Bengal thus was occupied by Sher Shāh. He returned to Jaunpur and conquered it. His son Quṭb Khān made an assault on Kālpi. He sent an amir from his side to Etawah. Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and Qasim Ḥusain Khān Uzbek marched against him from Agra. Sikander Sulṭān joined them from the side of Kāmrān Mirzā. They all assembled in the maidān. It was a fierce battle wherein Quṭb Khān son of Sher Shāh was killed. As Humāyun was at Agra, he made constant efforts to make amends for what was missed. He used to win over his brothers and impel them to attack Sher Shāh as far as possible by aid in money. There would be no stability for him but there would be croockedness. He was the eldest among brothers—Askari Mirza Hindāl Mirzā, and Nāsir ud-Din Yādgār* Mirza—Kāmrān Mirzā and the capital of his kingdom was Kābul. Laḥore and its dependencies also were included in his dominion. In the north it extended to the limit of Rubah while in the south to Shamāsa. The number of those who were present with him at Agra was twenty thousand while those who were absent can be imagined similarly. Brothers, with extensiva territory and vastness of followers, were similarly noted for bravery and fame. Humāyun, therefore, made efforts in partiality and in refractoriness. When news of Jaunpur's victory spread, he was asked to come out with him. He made excuses. He granted permission to the greatest amir Khwāja Kalān to march with army to Lahore. He set out for it with Mirzā Haidar b. Muḥammad Ḥusain Gurgān and his mother-Humāyun's mother's sister. On arrival of—Humāyun to Agra, Mirzā Ḥaidar met him. Humāyun loved him much and was specially favourable to him. By nature, he was more disposed towards Kāmrān. He sought permission of Humāyun on his departure to Lahore. He permitted him to depart on his excuse of illness. Humāyun said to him, " In point of lineage, we are equal. In point of affection, I am more than he. In point of manliness, I have greater claims than he. It is departure to his house and I allowed him. I am in need of a person like you at the time of my march against an enemy. It is obligatory on you not to give preference to my brother over me just at this time. I do not know whether he is for me or against me. His supposed illness is accepted. Are you not in need of a physician for

* Original Text, p. 989.

treatment?" He further said, It is not hidden from one who is clement and how can he be severe. If the end of this war is according to the wish of the Afghāns, it was not possible for the Mughals to retire to a corner of Hind according to his desire. How Kāmrān deceived himself with. What he was enticed. He wanted to remain in the country of my enemy inspite of what he had in my regime. By no means. Man is found out whether he is noble or ignoble at the time of trial. When Humāyun did not abandon him, its cause was an excuse. He knew the consequence of his conciliation. In the rotation of time, a foreigner is meritorious with him. He is intimate with a barbarian. How can a person be equal in lineage, affection, manliness and might. A brother is a brother in adversity not in prosperity. He ordered him and wished him safety and remained with him till he prepared himself for Kashmir on his departure from Hind towards Sind. Kāmrān left behind to help Humāyun from his side, Mirzā 'Abdullāh Mughal with three thousand horse and went to* Lahore. Humāyun then prepared himself, came out of Agra, marched to Bhojpur and encamped on the Gangā. Sher Shāh came and encamped against him on a side. Humāyun built a bridge at the ford of Bhojpur. One day, the elephant of Sher Shāh destroyed it. Its name was Kardbāz. It is said that the elephant aimed it with a stone from the cannon and it gave way. After the destruction of bridge, Humāyun saw it one day when he was travelling with his baggage on shore of the river lengthwise to encamp opposite to Kanawj. Sher Shāh also marched with his baggage. He was moving and they saw each other when encamped at the river in opposition, the river intervening between them. Their halt prolonged for a period. One day, Humāyun began. He was separating amirs with a party from among the sons of Timur among whom was Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and with him were his two sons, Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā. He got an opportunity with their march and apprehended dripping. He decided for war in favour or against him. He prepared a bridge of wood, crossed the river, encamped, surrounded the pavilion with a ditch preventing his entry, distributed cannons in different directions. Sher Shāh did similarly. Such was the fashion in assault, in safety or in war to the last of the age. Advance-guards of both parties were in movement rightly or wrongly. In the meantime, the sky poured down, there was lightning, it thundered and it rained as the season had become mature. Humāyun's pavilion was on depressed ground. Water collected in it and stay became difficult at that spot. They decided to change the pavilion to an elevated place to prevent collection of water. It was 9th Muḥarram. Humāyun got ready, rode out and stood in the centre while Hindāl Mirzā was in forefront, 'Askari Mirzā on the right wing and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā on the left wing. Ḥaider Mirzā has given an account in his

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* Original Text, p. 990.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi." : Humāyun was on the left that day. The army was so arranged that the right could cause disaster to the left. Between him and the amir of the left wing, there were twenty battalions. The artillery chief, Muḥammad Khān Rumi, Ustād Aḥmad b 'Ali, Ustād of Rumi and Ḥusain Khalfāt moved and advanced with cannons. Implements of naphtha were taken to the maidān where Humāyun was stationed. They were arranged in face of the Afghans. They were bound together with chains. Wicks for being flamed waited for an order. Loads of the pavilion were brought out and collected. Humāyun ordered Amir of the Pavilion Peshraw Khān to move to the elevated place suitable for descent. He said to his companions to oppose the Afghāns, defending ourselves.* Let us move him to the destination. In the meantime, the pavilion advanced when Sher Shāh showed himself in the centre, Jalāl Khān in the forefront, Khwāṣ Khān on the left and Mubāriz Khān on the right. It was said that Bahādur Khān propped the front. Jalāl Khān assaulted. A hard battle was fought between him and Hindāl Mirzā. Jalāl Khān attacked in it without a saddle. Sher Shāh saw that he could not be firm for assault with pride of a mountain. How could he be without it. The Mughals were shaken. They separated themselves from the centre and turned back to the river. The Afghāns were in pursuit and the sword did its work. They entered the river with horses, dived through it for safety while a number of them got drowned. Humāyun came to the bridge and found it broken. He had repaired what the elephant had destroyed. He rode an elephant and the elephant driver dived through water. When he came to the shore, he dismounted and intended to rise from water to the side which was elevated. He did not speak. One who knew him saw him. He came to him, caught him with his hand and raised him from water to himself. He stood and collected himself. He asked him his name and birthplace. His name was Shamsud-Din Maḥammad and his birth-place was Ghazni. He was in entourage of Kāmrān with Mirzā 'Abdullāh Mughal. Humāyun thanked him and promised him good. During course of his conversation, one of the nobles of Kāmrān Mirzā, Muqaddam Beg recognised him. He was on horse. He got down and advanced to him. Humāyun then rode, thanked him and promised him good. His brothers, 'Askari and Hindāl assembled around him. They marched to Agra. This war took place in the early part of 947 (1540). He entered Agra. He found its outskirts in a disturbed state with flames of fire. They had become empty. He rode to the house of Mir Rafi Safavi who was a man of the world and religion. He sat with him in privacy. He laid before him merits and demerits. He asked him the consequences of that war. He said that it was misfortune of the time which would pass away. He advised him to move to Punjab and meet Kāmrān Mirzā. Perhaps the meeting might produce accord and the knot unravelled. It so happened. When he encamped on the

* Original Text, p. 991

environs of Lahore, Kāmrān Mirzā received him and made him alight in the garden of Khwāja Dost Munshi. His brothers and followers met him. Among them were Qāsim Ḥusain Uzbek, Beg Mirak Ḥaidar Mirzā, Mir Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad Ghaznawi and he looked at them with favour. Mir Faqir 'Ali who was of their path died. It was on 20th Safar of the year. A majlis of consula-* tion was held. They swore on accord. It was as it has been said: Talk of the night is erased during day. Humāyun was the last to admonish them. Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā died. He left behind eighteen males, horses, treasures and properties for which there is no end. Disunity showed itself among them. They came out from the kingdom as hair is taken out from dough. Only Badi'uz-Zamān remained. He had stood at the gate of the king of Rum. He left no heir to be remembered after him. Bābur died. He left you after him who are not in need to conquer the kingdom except to preserve it. Hence your power is united to regain what has gone out from you. If you leave behind what is in you to any one, he will reap the fruit of his opposition. He whom God misguides, there is none for him to guide.

After the victory, Sher Shāh came to Delhi. The Khuṭba was recited in his name. Qāḍi 'Abdullāh the Ṣadār came to Sher Shāh from Kāmrān Mirza with a letter requesting him for the territory which he had in his occupation to be from his party. He replied to him and sent a messenger with him from his side who met Kāmrān and gave him the mandate of territory and promised him an addition and returned. The object of Sher Shāh in its acceptance was to create disunity in their unity. Sher Shāh encamped on the river of Sultānpur. While he was there on the river, the above mentioned Ṣadr arrived a second time and induced him to cross the river. On the other side of the river was Muzaffar Turkoman. When Sher Shāh crossed the river, Muzaffar returned to Humāyun and informed him about it. He found no alternative but separation to face him. He marched at the close of Jamādi II along with his brothers, crossed the river of Lahore and took the road till he encamped on the river Jenab (Chināb). Kāmrān Mirzā and 'Askari Mirzā parted company with him at this manzil. Both of them were together as far as Kābul. Ḥaider Mirzā proceeded to Kashmir with Humayun's permission. He was worthy of it. They corresponded with Humāyun about their surrender. Humāyun journeyed from his manzil towards Sind in the month of Rajab of the year. He came to Uchch at the close of Sha'bān and a man of his party Amir Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqer Ḥusain died. He was buried there. He was an accomplished scholar, Humāyun regretted his loss. Sorrow was obligatory on him as he could not be recovered. He bore the loss with patience. He then marched and alighted in the neighbourhood of one of the resident nobles of the place. His name was Bakhshu Alanka.†

* Original Text, p. 992.

† Original Text, p. 993.

; a letter and robe of honour. He came to him in the presence when he
d him a title, a flag and a drum. He requested him to prepare caravans
'isions to send to him. He executed the order and received a robe of
in presence. He excused himself to be present. He then encamped on
'irons of Bhakkar with horses and retinue. He encamped in person at
port of Sind. Sultān Maḥmud Bhakkari lived in the Bhakkar port on
of Shāh Husain Beg Arghun. He ordered the subjects for light. He
:d the vagabonds and wood below the fort. Shāh Ḥusain Beg was the
Shāh Beg Arghun who was at Qandahār. When Humāyun conquered it,
'ched towards Thattha, played stratagem and conquered it. Humāyun
messenger to Sulṭān Maḥmud for surrender of the fort. He apologised as
: under subordination of Shāh Husain Beg. Humāyun wrote to Shāh
Beg conciliating him to a meeting with him at the hand of Ṣadr Mir
.nd Mir Samandar. Shāh Ḥusain was at Thattha. He ennobled them
.indness and sent a present with them as well as an envoy, a letter of
sion in accord. It is known as the territory of Bhakkar, of a few advantages.
;ān's land is suitable only for comfort of the retinue to remain there and
.rt. The envoy was Shaikh Mirak, a descendant of Shaikh Turān, a follower
party of Arghun. Humāyun ordered Hindāl Mirza to march against it.
s in his house on the river Chenāb. Hindāl also parted company. He
nself on the road which he had intended. He was amazed on the way.
/un was in his wake. He joined him and apologised. He remained with
Hindāl journeyed to Chāchgān while Humāyun remained at Lohory. He
Lohory in 948 (1541). He married Akbar's mother. Qandahār was for
n Mirzā. Its governor Karāja Khān wrote to Hindāl Mirzā at the instruc-
Kāmrān to come to him. He responded to it. Humāyun received in-
ıce about it. He rode to the house of Mir Abu Baqā and interchanged
ons with him in important matters. He sent message to Yādgār Nāṣir
-he was on the river of Bhakkar. He did not cross it since he had en-
d there—with him. Mir Abu Baqā met him and interchanged questions
im for his return in concord for Hindāl Mirzā. He had separated himself
.im at the manzil on Chenāb in concord with Humāyun. He accepted it.
return to Humāyun, a party of men attacked with shouts and darted
at him when one arrow hit him. He met Humāyun who got him treated.
d the next day. It was Thursday, 13th Jamādi I. Humāyun's difficulties*
ed. He said, "This hardness of heart was the result of discord among
rs and tyranny of time. If they were placed in a scale of balance and
.ties in the other, they would weigh heavier. After his death, Yādgār
Iirzā crossed the river and met Humāyun. On 17th Rajab of the year,
/un assaulted the fort of Ichwān and laid siege to it. Its cause was that

* Original Text, p. 994.

one day Fuḍail Beg brother of Mun'im Khān and Tarsan Beg brother of Shaham Khān were in a boat in a river when the residents attacked them and thronged themselves at the boat. The inmates of the boat fought with them. They returned to the fort. On Humāyun's attack upon it, Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain Beg issued forth by river from Tattha, blockaded supply of provisions and roads and so a scarcity of food took place in the camp of Humāyun whereupon Humāyun's patience was exhausted. Those who deserted to Shāh Ḥusain Beg included Mir Ṭāhir the Ṣadr, Khwāja Ghiyāthud-Din Jāmi and Mawlānā 'Abdul-Bāqi. Those who went to Naṣir Yādgār Mirzā were Mir Barka and Khwāja Muḥammad 'Ali Bakhshi. In the meanwhile, Mun'im Khān and Fuḍail Beg went away. Humāyun ordered Mun'im Khān to be put in captivity. Many a time, a band of men issued forth from the fort of Bhakkar and attacked Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā and killed his men. Their band consisted of Muḥammad 'Ali Kābuji and Sher Dil, their vakils. They were connected with Mun'im Khān. To add to their difficulties, he was released from captivity. For the third time, residents of Bhakkar fought in the maidān, row with row. There was lot of killing among them. They kept themselves within the fort and abandoned war. In the meantime, Bābur Quli Mohardār came to Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā from Shāh Ḥusain Mirzā with a letter, the contents of which were that he was old in age, verging on death and that he had no son to inherit him. Besides he had treasures and stores, income of life. He had a daughter. If he intended to marry her, the son-in-law would become his son. He would get the kingdom along with the daughter. He agreed to the proposal. When Shāh Ḥusain pressed Humāyun, he departed from him for what he had written. Humāyun wrote to Yādgār Nāṣir Mirza inducing him to march to the ruler of Tattha. He agreed to it. He ordered to go out of the verandah. Shaikh 'Abdul Ghafur met him. He was one of the great Shaikhs of Turkastān. He advised him for a movement. He opposed him. He recovered the verandah. Dahliz for the 'Arab is the front place of* the house for the Persian. Humāyun learnt what was done by the messenger. He returned from the fort and went to Lohory. It happened on 17th Ziqa'ad of the year. Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā learnt about his arrival. He was on the environs of Arā. He marched with his army for resistance to prevent him. Qasim Beg knew about it. He seized his reins and blamed him and turned with him to Lohory. The companions of Humāyun Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān and a band of men joined Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā. In the meanwhile, Humāyun turned his reins to the direction of Māldev at the suggestion of his sincere friend on 21st Muḥarram of the year 949 (1542). His passage lay on Uchch. He wrote to Māldev from his manzil on the outskirts of Bikāner on 17th Rabi'II. The envoy was Mir Samander. He met him and returned with his reply and said "He understands from it concord but his movements speak of discord. It is proper

* Original Text, p. 595.

e cautious with him." On his encampment on the side of a reservoir of Jul, enmity became clear. He turned from him to the Kasba of Bahlawi. It is ated at a distance of three miles from Jodhpur, the capital of Māldev. On way, he learnt about his arrival with horse and foot. He ordered Mun'im in and Tardi Beg Khān to get intelligence about him on his way for pre-tion of his baggage. He personally journeyed to Sātalmir. On the way, erence arose and they decided on opposition to Humāyun. Amir Shaikh 'Ali and Humāyun advanced in his wake. He attacked and the victory was his. his encampment at Jaisalmir, Tardi Beg Khān and Mun'im Khān joined him. nāyun learnt that the ruler of Jaisalmir had stopped water. Humāyun ched from his frontier to Amarkot and encamped there on 10th Jamādi I of year. It was a fort ruled by Rānā Prasād. He presented himself in attend-e according to desire. During the period of Humāyun's halt, he attended n him from the first day. He used to go out for possible causes. Humāyun ted him with favour. He left his wife behind at Amarkot for purposes of very. He marched on 1st Rajab of the year to go alone for ḥajj or renounced world. He assembled his companions and departed them for march to the of Māldev. The path was upon Uchch. On the way, he heard news of h of a son Akbar Shāh. He felt delighted thereby and firmly resolved to com-* nd his companions. Being near Arghun, he learnt what they had resolved ut war. They had assembled at the town of Jun Ābabwah. He ordered ikh 'Ali Beg Jalāir—He was from the time of Timur to his age ancestorally ed for sincerity and distinction and connected with this house. He was an famous amir—for help. He advanced for war and Humāyun supported him. fiercely assaulted them and defeated them. Humāyun encamped at a strong e. At this manzil, the litter of his son was brought. His pavilion was on k of the river. Arghun was always in movement and there was victory for retinue of Humāyun. He met with difficulty in the death of Shaikh 'Ali Beg ir and Shaikh Tājud-Din Lāri. They were favourites of Humāyun. Shaikh and Tardi Beg Khān went out one day to a side. Sulṭān Maḥmud Bhakkari them. Tardi Beg lagged behind and thus he was safe. He approached ikh and killed him. It happened in the year. In the meantime, the year (1543) had begun when Biram Khān arrived from Gujarat on 7th Muḥarram. nāyun was delighted thereby for he was a man of merit, and a relative. en he determined to move on to Qandahār he felt a risk to take a year-old ' with him in travel. Shāh Ḥusain learnt about it. He sent an envoy and t continuous presents with apologies and Humāyun from him parted in peace l friendship. He marched to Qandahār. Shāh Ḥusain Beg did not receive information about the letter which was sent with Bābur Quli Mohardār ut marriage of his daughter to Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā. He did not reject it.

* Original Text, p. 996.

He had departed with Humāyun for a war. The envoy did not come back to him a second time. When Humāyun entered the precincts of Qandahār where 'Askari Mirzā was stationed on behalf of Kāmrān as an Amir. He garrisoned the fort to prevent his entry. Humāyun learnt about it on his encampment at Shāl. He turned to Mastang from it. On his encampment at it, 'Askari Mirza decided to make a night attack on his pavilion. Qasim Ḥusain Sultān and Mahdi Qāsim Khān forbade him to do so. That might disturb him in his entry to 'Irāk and return from it with that which did not happen before. Abul Khair and others instigated for it. He came out to Mastang approximately a farsakh when he said as to who was familiar with the path. Jai Bahādur Uzbek said* that he was—He was in the army of Humāyun in Hind—but he had a weak horse who walked little. He ordered for him the horse of Tarsun Barlās. He advanced as a guide but he became negligent and deviated and hastily came to the pavilion of Humāyun and informed Birām Khān as to what happened due to his step. He saw Humāyun. He rode and ordered Khwāja Mu'azzam, Kokaltāsh Nadim, Mir Ghaznawi Shamsud-Din Muhammad and Khwāja 'Anbar to follow him and come with litter of the son and his mother. 'Askari Mirzā learnt about it. He had encamped near Mastang to see Humāyun to come out from pavilion. He ordered Abal Khair and Shāh Walad to make amends of the pavilion by coming. In the meanwhile, 'Askari rides with a band of men who were behind Humāyun with knowledge that they would come for greeting particularly Tardi Beg Khān. He was a man of elevated rank near him. He greeted him and they. Shamsud-Din Muḥammad came to him. He said to him "I have cut so much distance to see Humāyun. Show me his passage. What is the matter with him?" He then asked about the child inquiring as to where the Mirzā was. He replied that he was at the place of his encampment. He ordered apples to bring for him and promised him that he would come the next day. When he presented himself in the pavilion, he ordered most of the rich men who lagged behind to be made captive and sent Tardi Beg Khān with them to Qandahār. The auspicious child was brought to his uncle. He embraced him, and carried on shoulder and played with him for an hour. He was not pleased with play. He was amazed at it. He then said "Is he not a son whom I know?" He left him on his shoulder. He placed his hand on the chain of seal which he had round his neck. It was of gold. His uncle felt him for it. He took it out and gave it to him. He then carried him with him to Qandahār. His arrival there was on 12th Ramaḍān of the year. His uncle had alighted at a place near him and Māham Āghā (Angā), mother of Adham Khān, Jiji Anga, Mir Ghaznawi Shamsuddin Muḥammad Atkā Khān were in attendance upon him. When Humāyun travelled from Mastang, he encamped outside Chaul. It belonged to Malek Hāti Baluch. It was near it. He met and showed humility and moved

* Original Text, p. 997.

till he alighted with him. He made necessary attendance upon him, tarried , guest for some days. He then marched from it with Malek Hāti travelling ı him to the frontier of Garmsir which is within jurisdiction of Qandahār. 'Āmil was Khwāja Jalālud-Din. He met with decorum and encamped out- ; it for some days. Choli Bahādur went from his side as a messenger to 'Irāq. then marched with all in front. With exit from its frontier, every one * arated to go to his respective charge. He entered into the frontiers of the :r of 'Irāq. He crossed the famous river of Halmand and encamped on the :r Kol within the frontiers of Sistān. What God had wished, took place. An ount of his return to the capital Agra follows. He did not think of attain- ıt of his wish in his exile, with his brothers. The world is such.

Sheh Shāh in Akbar Nāma

When Sher Shāh crossed the river of Sultānpur, all the Mughals went out n Lahore to Chenāb and came to Lahore. Thence they proceeded to ushāb and tarried for some days on the environs of Bahra. He sent a ssage to Sultān Sārang Ghakkar and Sultān Ādam Ghakkar inviting them to n. They were sincere friends of the Mughals. They helped them with soldiers d war materials. Sher Shāh marched to Hathyāgar. It belonged to the Ghakkar bes. He despatched an army from it against them. After a fierce war, the ny returned defeated when many Afghāns were captured. He then streng- ıned the fort of Banāras and left there a strong army for resistance. He urned to Agra to control state matters. The Khuṭba began to be recited in name from the pulpits. Till this day, he was called Sher Khān but now he led himself as Sher Shāh. He then marched to Gwalior. Mir Abul Qasim s its lord. Due to shortage of provisions, he came out from it for amnesty. t that did not complete the matter. Birām Khān was in.... He came out to n seeking refuge and fled away. His ruler was religious minded. He did run away. Birām Khān came to Gujarāt and presented himself in the majlis Maḥmud Shāh and made his stay obligatory. He had what he wished for and re than that. He apologised and took the way to Sind and met Humāyun. er Shāh then marched to Rāisin. Rāisin and Chanderi belonged to Rāja darmal. He came out for amnesty. He occupied the fort. Similarly, he cupied many forts such as Chitod, and Ranthanbhor. He then entered into ; region of Dhandera. Thence he assaulted the fort of Kālinjar. He then :d. In the meantime, he was one day on the subterranean passage, gun- wder was lighted and his body got burnt into it. He was removed to his pola. He died after conquest of the fort. A chronogram writer composed Persian the date of his death " Az Ātash Murd " (Died of fire). It happened† he year 953 (1546).

* Original Text, p. 998. † Original Text, p. 999.

He sat on the throne of salṭanat at Delhi in 945 (1538). During his regime, he ruled over Hind and prospered it. He had assembled more than six hundred thousand horse. He gave them salary in cash. Inspite of his extensive territory, he framed state policy himself. He ruled at an advanced age. It is said that like the ruler of the Dekkan, he conquered an age and what he acquired. He paid salary and allowance in cash at his gate. His soldiers, therefore, were present. His kingdom enjoyed prosperity. When he rode out to any part, he carried bricks in nose-bags of horses over which he rode. The soldiers did the same thing. Wherever he encamped, he ordered to build a fort out of those bricks. It had four doors with a ditch from place of removal of earth for placing bricks. There was a reservoir of hide. Water for it was brought on elephants, sufficient for need of soldiers. A large quantity of it was brought in least time. He used to spend night in it in safety along with those who were with him, door-keepers of the nauba and bell-ringers. In the morning all the bricks were put in bags and they went their way. Such was his usage in travel. He built at an interval of one farsakh an enclosure containing a masjid, an attendant, mue'zzin and imām (one who leads prayer) on the road to Delhi. The enclosure was sufficiently spacious and a piece of land was dedicated for its expenses. Delhi farsakh means four farsakhs. A traveller spent his night in it. There was recreation ground attached to it. The narrator says that he attacked Kālinjar in 951 (1544). He met with martyrdom. His coffin was carried to Sahasrām Ranthanbhor. He then entered into the region of Dhandera. Thence he attacked the fort of Kālingar and came the order for conquering. In the mean while, he was one day on a subterranean passage, gunpowder was lighted and his body got burnt thereby near the tomb of his father, Ḥasan. Some found the date of his death from "Sher Māta" (Sher died). He was a lion till his death in 951.

Sulṭān Salim Shāh son of Sher Shāh Sur

Abul Faḍl narrated in his history Akbar Nāma: Sher Shāh died on 11th Rabi' I, 952 (1545), after a reign of five years, two months and thirteen days with complete independence. His son Salim Shāh succeeded him, after the* incident, within eight days. He continued to rule for eight years, two months and eight days. There was a conflict between him and his brother 'Ādil Khān son of Sher Shāh and Khwās Khān. He gained a victory. There was a struggle between him and Yati Khān Afghān. He belonged to the Afghan tribe of Niyāzi. A number of them lived in Punjab. They continued to fight. They migrated to the mountains of Kashmir. There was a war between him and the tribe of Ghakkars who came in the way of erecting fortifications at various places. Sher Shāh built the fort of Rohtas but died before it was completed.

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* Original Text, p. 1000.

Salim Shāh completed it. He built the fort of Mānkot among the Siwālik mountains and strove hard for its impregnability. Some of the Afghāns darted arrows. He resisted them for a long period. Some of them became superstitious. They lived in the fort of Gwalior. He behaved well with his subjects. It was contrary to the soldiers. He died on 22nd Ziqa'ad, 960 (1552) on account of ulcer on the lower parts of his body. Some of the Afghāns who were residents of Māhbur in Gujarat narrated that Salim Shāh was at Delhi at the time of Sher Shāh's death. 'Ādil Khān was his senior brother in age. He was with his father at Kālinjar. All the amirs of Delhi agreed upon his salṭanat and that happened. 'Ādil Khān got intelligence of it. Khwās Khān was with him. He said to him " Is it proper that the younger brother should precede the elder ? " He replied, " By all means. As my eyes see. I am now in his stirrup." He said, " Listen, I am sufficient for him." He was very much strong. After the victory, he returned to Delhi. He has decided to meet his brother and to embrace him as usual. He pressed him so hard that his breath was choked. Thus he died without a blow and without a stab. He ascended the throne. When he encamped outside Delhi Salim was perturbed. He was seized with fear from him that he might depose him. The Delhi amirs assembled. They said, " We have seized your hand. How do you become suspicious of us ? He said, " you are not pleased with me or one of you should seize my sword and suspend it to me. " The great one of them stood up and suspended the sword to him. In the meanwhile, his suspicion vanished. He went to his brother to meet him. He was greatly avoiding him. He got no opportunity. When 'Ādil Khān decided against him, he went out in search of his brother. A number of amirs of his * father deserted him and went over to the side of his brother. Suspician entered into him. Others left Delhi. Khwāṣ Khān was one of them. Salim Shāh pursued him with a party of amirs. He went in his wake. Both of them met in the maidān and 'Ādil Khān was captured. Khwāṣ Khān did not fight. He turned from him and went to some side. He gained victory over rows of treasures. He drove them in front of him. He came to Sikri. There lived that day, Shaikh of the cities, authority of instruction, Shaikh Salim. He met him and gave him the rows and requested him for prayer. He left him. He saw the army of Salim Shāh. He fought with him and defeated him and encamped as desired. A party of amirs decided upon him. They abandoned their loyalty and resolved to divest Salim of his authority. He said to them " He who sits on the throne from among you gains a victory over decrees of fate. " They said, " One who gains a victory occupies the throne." Victory was for him or one who takes his hand and we would be loyal to him. " He replied " But I have conquered fate. There is no improvement in it. I do not try therein for any one. If it is for one of you ; how am I pleased to turn it from son of Sher Shāh

* Original Text, p. 1001.

to any other person." He then seceded from them and knew them. He or one of the muluk of the mamāliks of his father Ḥāji Khān—he was famous had married Khwāṣ Khān's sister—to pause in resistance to him. He encou ed the amirs and defeated them. Khwāṣ Khān turned from Ḥāji Khān said, "I do not want to cause distress to my sister and make her wear dress." Ḥāji Khān controlled his reins and Khwāṣ Khān garrisoned hims the fort of Kamāon. Salim Shāh sent a party of amirs to win him ove they had a letter of pledge with them. He accepted and assembled his panions to bid them farewell on his personal surrender. He requested the prayer. He came out of the fort with his attendant and moved with the to Sher Shāh. On the way, he thought over their places with him. He sa some of the attendants, "I am killed with those who are with the amirs. I surrendered myself for them and not they. They move with me in anger. not know how he would kill me. I am not afraid of anything except disgr pleasure to the enemy and my eye sees you. I made my blood lawful for When I prostrate in my prayer, take my sword, sever my head from my bo He then took a bath, wore the shroud, perfumed himself and sat on his p carpet. He absorbed himself with God the Holy, sought his forgiveness, rep and said prayer. When he prostrated, the sayer of prayer confided wi Lord; his order was executed. The news got circulated. The amirs griev him, abandoned his body and made their appearance in the diwān of their su with his head. He ordered it to be suspended at the gate of Delhi. He ordered his head to be joined with his body and bury him. His tomb is v and regarded as a source of blessings. Praise for him lives even upto th of ours. He distributed alms very much. He was a friend of the pious helper of needy persons, benevolent to the fakirs and a patron of widow orphans. He fed the hungry with most delicious food and plenty of sweet who out of these sections of people went to him, he received a share of wha present with him in the camp. Every night, one hundred Qinṭārs of were distributed. A Qinṭār means one hundred ratls. On this suppos other kinds of foods should be imagined. It so happened that one night was no fire-wood. It was a night when it was raining and cold. The apologised. The fakirs inquired about halwa. It was said to them that i not solidified for want of fire-wood. He then ordered pieces of cloth c jamdārkhāna to be used in place of fire-wood. Its fire was preserved moisture in oil. It was poured upon it. By imagining a lot of one hu Qanṭārs with gaudy cloth for satiating hunger of the fakirs on such a raining, cold night informs us about his sincere intention in the matter. May the Holy accept this from him. He enjoyed fame in respect of punishme wars and his knowledge of sources and origins. People attacked in comba

* Original Text, p. 1002.

encounter, entered into perilous places and came out of them with safety, victory and nobility. Such things were regarded by Sher Shāh as auspicious. When he plunged into encounter with Humāyun, Khwāṣ Khān was away at a manzil from him to join him. He stopped fighting. He said, "Do not pause. I see him in the right and left wings. In respect of his justice, it is said with regard to 'Ādil Khān, "No, as my two eyes." In fraternal war, he receded from war taking any side. Abul Faḍl says: It was near dispersion of the treasures amassed by others with fraud and deceit. It became known to the elite and the commoners in the region that there was nothing. His intention and religion arbitrated his matters externally. There was none to approach approximately to his kingdom during his time. Māhpur was the place of residence of Bahāud-Din, a sufi of Islām and a very learned man among the Muslims. It was populated by Mawlānā Shaikh Māh, may his grave be holy. It is situated at a distance of a mile or two miles from Aḥmadābād on the side of the Quṭb. I* heard the story of Sher Shāh's death and the saltanat of Salim Shāh at Māhpur. It was told to me by a relative of the above mentioned Shaikh of pleasing character, well instructed Miyā 'Abdur Razzāq. He was in the prime of youth during the regime of Sher Shāh. He came to Gujarat during the regime of Salim Shāh. I heard him saying that when Salim Shāh was on verge of death, he said to the mother of his son that I advise you to kill your brother Mubāriz Khān for I read his eyes coveting the salṭanat of your son. He would kill him and become the Sultān." She refused and said, "How can my brother kill his sister's son." He said, "Now you deny. The salṭanat will pass away from the house of Sher Shāh. He then willed the kingdom for his son and he died.

Firuz Shāh son of Salim Shāh

Firuz Shāh b. Salim Shāh b. Sher Shāh b. Ḥasan b. Sur sat on the throne of his father with the consent of muluk and amirs. His maternal uncle Mubāriz Khān slaughtered him after three days.

Mubāriz Khān Muḥammad 'Ādil b. Nizām b. Ḥasan Sur

Mubāriz Khān ruled the kingdom after slaughtering the son of his sister. He personally styled himself as Muḥammad 'Ādil. During his regime, the kalima was neglected. Abul Fadl said: Aḥmad Khān Sur, the Amir of Punjāb rebelled and styled himself as Sikander. He was related to Sher Shāh. Muḥammad Khān Sur, the Amir of Bengal rebelled and styled himself as Muḥammad Shāh. He was also related to Sher Shāh. In like manner, Ibrāhim Khān Sur, Amir of Bayāna, Shujā'at Khān, Amir of Mālwa who was called Sajawal Khān declared independence. The Afghān vagabonds assembled together to produce chaotic condition in governmental organisation. Sikander and Ibrāhim marched

* Original Text, p. 1003.

to Agra. Mubāriz Khān also did the same. His vakil Hemu departed to the east. Abul Faḍl said : Hemu belonged to the tribe of Dosar. This is the lowest class of grain-dealers. He maintained himself by selling salt with its sack on his shoulder. He solicited entry into Salim Shāh's palace as a merchant. He had experience, deliberation, rustic nature, and cheerfulness in visits. He so manœvred by cunning that he became a servant of Salim. He then sought defects in others and pointed them out and thus he showed himself as a man of clean character. Salim cast a glance of favour at him. He served but with caution and worked as a slanderer. He was thus always up-graded. He began to meddle in state matters. He enjoyed esteem in spite of his being an unbeli-* ever. After Salim and Firuz, he advanced during the regime of Mubāriz Khān. He got confirmed as Vakil. He then was elevated to the rank of the greatest amir. He controlled the treasury and acted in his own way. He sought unanimity on it and distributed it to the amirs and soldiers in a large quantity. He was titled once as Rāi and then Rāja. He was finally called Rāja Vikramajit. He was one of the greatest men of Hind. When Mubāriz Khān devoted himself to pleasures of life, it was Hemu who used to march wth amirs and soldiers to the opponents and fight with them. He used to return with triumph. There was a war between Sikander and Ibrāhim in which Sikander gained a victory. Ghāzi Khān, father of Ibrāhim garrisoned himself in the fort of Bayāna. Sikander established his power from Agra to the river Ganga and ruled over Sind. He decided to march east-ward. In the meantime, he received news of Humāyun in march to Agra. He despatched Amir Tatār Khān to Punjab to prevent his entry. He ordered him to stay at Rohtās. Muḥammad Shāh, ruler of Bengal marched to depose Mubāriz Khān. Hemu marched against him. They met to fight on the environs of Chapargatha. Muḥammad Shāh achieved martyrdom. Hemu gained a victory over the treasures of Sher Shāh and Salim Shāh and made use of them for gaining fame. He had become famous in this battle. He then encountered Ibrahim Khān in the maidān and defeated him. He thus gained victory in all battle-fields against adversaries. Abul Faḍl said : He did not like to ride a horse. He was in a litter on an elephant on the day of war. He dared to come forward in war. It was due to his distribution of money to amirs and soldiers from treasures. He did not trouble for unity or disunity. He had sole power in his hands. The soldiers were in cheer and praised him as far as possible.

Verse

Sikander who became a world-king

Became unique among swordsmen in the world.

When Sikander established independent power in Agra and its dependencies,

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* Original Text, p. 1004

Mubāriz Khān and Hemu marched towards Bengal. Sultān Jalālud-Din Khiḍr Shāh, b. Muḥammad Shāh had firmly established his power after martyrdom of * his father. He was at Ḥājipur Patna. He marched in opposition to Mubāriz Khān. When they met in the battle-field, the amirs of Delhi deserted to Jalālud-Din and killed Mubāriz Khan in the battle-field. They became loyal to him. It happened on the last day (of the month), 961 (1553). In this war the army of Delhi was on the environs of Bengal. Humāyun got an opportunity. He moved to Agra. After Mubāriz Khān, Sikander conquered Delhi.

* Original Text, p. 1005.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Mughals (Cont.)

March of Humāyun to Tahmāsp b. Shāh Ismā'il Sulṭān of Irāq and Khurāsān

Abul Fadl said in Akbar Nāma : When Sulṭān Humāyun encamp river Kaul on the environs of 'Irāq, he travelled to Sistān in the morning amir Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāmlu met him and made him alight in his expanse did every thing essential out of regard. He was the brother of Ḥusain He came to him from Mashhad for seeking permission of his mother for tl formance of hajj. He met Humāyun. Even though, it was a region Shias, Humāyun was not afraid of a request. He questioned him abo creed. His reply was that he was engaged since long in the study of shia as well as of sunnis. He derived benefits from the Shia beliefs. Those abused the companions of the Prophet and transgressed the limit therein re rewards, and his rank was raised. I also derived benefits from the bel Sunnis. Those who used abusive language for the companions of the P were unbelievers. I made use of reason and understood that there was n of unbelief with the thought of reward. He applauded Humāyun for his liked him and used conciliatory language in his society. He apologised preparation for travel to hajj. He had come to bid farewell to his mot prayed for grace and salām. Bābā Ḥāji Kashka and Ḥasan Kuka, comp of 'Askari Mirzā joined him in his house. He welcomed them. H journeyed from Sistān on the way of Unk. In the vicinity of Farāsāda envoy of 'Irāq met him in company of his envoy with a letter of favo welcome as well as an edict in the name of Muḥammad Khān, Nā'ib of particularly and other amirs on the way, generally to show regard and de On his arrival to a well-known place of pilgrimage, Muḥammad Khān infc him about it. He went there and met with him at a place of Pul Mālān amirs who were with him included Uwais Sultan, Shāh Quli Sulṭān, Mir M Sadr and and Mir Husain Karbalāi. Sultān Maḥmud Mirza and in his Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā met him at Farāh. Humāyun alighted at famous as Bāgh-i-Jahānarāi on the 1st Ziqa'ad 950 (1543), Materials alightment were kept ready for example, everything that was good. A was convened and a royal feast was arranged. In the majlis, there was Kāk, a matchless musician of 'Irāq. He opened with a ghazal of Amir with three opening couplets:

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* Original Text, p. 1006.

Auspicious constellation for such a moon should have such a zodiac.

Blessed region for such a region should have such a king

The majlis was transported with joy for its appropriate elegance, beautiful voice and melodious tune. He then sang the following couplet

Do not grieve heart for pain and comfort of the world. Do not feel joyous

For the rule of the world is sometimes such sometimes such.

Humāyun's condition underwent a change. He could not control his feelings of delight and joy. He instantly ordered for an offering. The room was filled with gold and silver. He tarried till New Year's day at Herāt. He was with nobles of all grades. There was at the time joy, delight, society and pleasure from garden to garden. It was the season for hunting and movement from place to place. He then marched from Herāt and alighted at Jām on 5th Zilḥajj and paid a visit to the auspicious mausolem at Zinda Pil of Khwāja Aḥmad Jām, may his grave be sanctified. On his arrival at Mashhad of Imām 'Ali Redā, its amir, Quli Sulṭān Astajlu along with the nobles of Mashhad received him. It was on 15th Muḥarram, 951 (1544). He was benefited by a visit to the mausoleum of the Imām and sought spiritual aid from him. On his arrival at Nishapur, its amir, Shamsud-Din 'Ali Sulṭān saw him and stood for the essentials. He moved on thence to Sabzwār and from it to Dāmghān. One of its wonders was that when something impure fell into its famous river Bānna,* hot wind began to blow and the atmosphere became dark and dusky. It was the talisman of the ancients for defence against the enemy. Humāyun felt attracted to it. It so happened. He then went to Bistām. The mausoleum of Shaikh Bāyazid was not on his way. He turned reins towards it and received blessings by a visit to the holy saint. On his coming to Simnān, he alighted at Sufiābād and visited the blessed mausoleum of 'Alāud-Dawla, may his grave be sanctified. It was always a place of pilgrimage for local people and travellers. In the vicinity of Ray, he received news of march of Tahmāsp from Kazwin to Sulṭāniya. He then came to Kazwin and alighted outside it for some days. He then put up in the house of Khwāja 'Abdul Ghani, one of the greatest nobles of the locality. Birām Khān went with a letter. He returned with a reply. Tahmāsp had alighted at Abhar of Sulṭāniya. Humāyun went to him. The amirs of different grades came out for reception from a nearby place of Abhar. Then Bahrām Mirzā and Sām Mirzā, the two sons of the ruler of 'Irāq received him. They were followed by the ruler of 'Irāq. It happened in Jamādi I of the year. It was a day worth seeing. When the two met in the majlis of the sulṭān, there was intimate, graceful conversation between them. It has been

* Original Text, p. 1007.

truly said that the speech of the kings is the king of speech. There was exemplary sincerity in it. There was a poem of Mirzā Qāsim Gunābādi as given in the mathnawi in regard to the character of the king, his condition and events of the time. He said in regard to their meetings:

Two lords of two conjunctions in one banquet-place
Conjoined with each other like sun and moon.
Two lights of sight for eye of good fortune
Two auspicious 'Ids for month and year.
Two stars, the decoration of the sky
United each other in one plain like Pleiades
Two eyes of the world manifest together
Together like circles showing humility
Two benefics of the sky in one zodiac
Two precious jewels in one casket.

The substance of conversation of the ruler of 'Irāq was consolation for misfortune. He said, " Victories of Hind for the Baburi chain are an evidence of sword. There was no deficiency in the sword for which the kingdom was lost. It was due to the fault of brothers and precious chance. Hemistich: Well, the world can be conquered by unanimity. You paved the way with smoothness and ease and you were worthy. I will help you in recovering it. Your coming to 'Irāq has obliged our places. Your hope will be realised. You will alight in* Hind. Your friends therein will work. You will be permanent and they will not transgress. It comes near." Humāyun thanked him and composed the following line extempore

Kings of the world seek shadow of the phoenix
See that the phoenix seeks your shadow.

There were meetings of conversation and thanks between them. There was also a festive majlis. Musians had assembled in it. There was circulation of cups. In one of the meetings, Humāyun presented him a jewel which was one māsā in weight which was equivalent to eight mithkāls in weight. He knew it at the time of his conquest of Agra. Its price rose up in the èyes of jewellers upto expenditure of half a day of the world. It belonged to Vikramāditya Rāja, ruler of Gwalior. It passed on to his son after his death. It then came in possession of Sultān 'Alāud-Din Khalji when he had conquered Gwālior. It passed from one hand to another hand and to his hand.

Oh mother of Mālek, it had fulfilled needs.

The Shāh moved with him from Abhar to Sulṭāniya. They passed days in meekness which was like clemency. Through slander, they had turbid time among

* Original Text, p. 1008.

them. It passed soon. Tahmāsp then ordered for Qamragha hunting. After being free from it, one day they went to polo ground. They then went to an elevated place of archery. On the day, Birām Beg was titled as Khān. He was called Biram Khān. It was a title from the Shāh. In like manner, Hāji Muḥammad Kuki was titled as Sulṭān. On this day, Mirzā Murād son of Shāh Tahmāsp was appointed for help. There were twelve thousand horse in his stirrup including nobles. Badāgh Khān Qājār Lala Mirzā, Shāh Quli Sulṭān Afshār, governor of Kirmān, Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlu son of Muḥammad Khalifa, Sanjāb Sulṭān Afshār, governor of Farah, Sultān Quli Qurchi, Yār 'Ali Sulṭān Taklu, Sultān 'Ali Afshār Mirzā Taghāi, Sultān Muḥammad Khudā Banda, Sulṭān Ḥusain Kuli Shāmlu, Adham Mirzā son of Dev Tuhamtan, Mirzā son of Dev Sulṭān, Ḥaider Sulṭān Shaibāni, 'Ali Quli Bahādur b. Ḥaider, Maqṣud Mirzā Akhta Begi son of Zainud-Din Sulṭān Shāmlu, Muḥammadi Mirzā grandson of Jahān Shāh Mirzā alias Shāh Tardi Beg, Kajāl Astajlu, 'Ali Sulṭān Chalāq * sister's son of Muḥammad Khān, Abul Fath Sulṭān Afshār, Yādgār Sulṭān Muṣlu, Zulfiqār Kush, Ḥasan Sulṭān Shāmlu, Sulṭān Alāsh Ughli Astājlu, Ṣāfi Dili Sulṭān son of Ṣufiyān Khalifa Rumlu, 'Ali Beg, Muḥammadi Beg Kitābdār Qājar from among the nobles and three hundred men of the artillery. The Shāh was present in the festive meetings with presents and gifts. He looked to minor and major things and sent them to him. He ordered his companions to be given presents. Thus many things were collected. Humāyun also gave worthy presents. He then ordered for Qumragha hunting at a place called Aq Zamarab (?) which was the last manzil of summer quarters of Surlaq. After being free from it, Tahmāsp came to the manzil of Humāyun in the plain of Miyāna. It was a fine meeting. He came to accompany him for bidding farewell. Humāyun moved following Tahmāsp for a year in his travels to Ardabil Tabriz. From that place he sent the litter of his wife to Qandahār. The Amir Ḥāji Muḥammad Sulṭān was made to accompany with army with it.

Humayun's return to Hind with the army of 'Irāq

Abul Faḍl said: After parting company with the Shāh from the plain of Miyāna, Humayun set out for Ardabil Tabriz. Mirza Mirān Shāh and all other amirs received him. After feasts, Humāyun saw buildings built by ancient kings. Those who followed them, relied upon them. Vicissitudes of the sky raised them and lowered them, beautified and made them evil, adorned them and passed them, past followed present which those who are in the present age are negligent:

Alas! the capital passed away from hand
Many hearts bled in the hand of death.

* Original Text, p. 1009.

None remained in the world to inquire from them
The condition of travellers of the world.

Those who met him included Khwāja 'Abduṣ Samad Shirin Kalam (calligraphist). He had achieved perfection in calligraphy. He then marched towards Ardabil. On his emcampent at Shāmāsi, he tarried there for a week and then journeyed to Khalkhāl and thence to Tāram and then to Kharzabil. He then came to Sabzwār. His wife was here. She had given birth to two daughters. He paused at Mashhad waiting to meet the aid of the Shāh. He sent Mawlānā Nuruddin Muḥammad Tarkhān to summon Shaikh Abil Qāsim Jurjāni and Mawlānā Ilyās Arabeli. They were adorned with external and internal virtues. They had come from Kābul. During his stay at Mashhad, there was always the presence of scholars in his majlis such as Mawlānā* Jamshid Mu'ammāi who was a compedium of all virtues, Mullā Ḥairati. He showed a poem to him for improvement.

The heart at times burns through love of idols, sometime the liver
Love, every moment burns, with a fresh wound.
Like a moth, I have dealing with a candle
If I go ahead, it burns wings and feather.

It occurred to his intelligence that it was a criterion of fineness and subtlety. He said, "I see its meaning to be perfect" when it is said "If I go ahead, it burns my wings and feathers." Mawlānā Ḥairati applauded him and saluted him. During his stay, Mirzā Murād came up. He advanced with him to Garmsir and there Mir 'Abdul 'Ali Garmsiri came to him. He was in the fort of Laki. He had suspended a quiver round his neck. He apologised for an offence of passing by his side. He was meeting him out of regard for Mirzā 'Askari. He pardoned him, showed him favour and he became a man of his party. Abul Faḍl said: When news of his travel reached 'Irāq, it was good. An account of those who were in his stirrup. First of all Biram Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam, 'Āqil Sulṭān Uzbek b. 'Ādil Sultān—he was through his mother grandson of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā-Ḥāji Muḥammad Kuki Sulṭān Akhu Kuki, one of the great amirs who was titled by Humāyuṇ as Khān, Rawshan Kuka Kokaltāsh-i-Akbar, Ḥasan Beg brother of Maḥram Kuka Kokaltash (foster brother) of Mirzā Kāmrān, Khwāja Maqṣud Hirwi—He was always with litter of Prince Akbar for purity of his nature and relationship of foster-brother of Shah Akbar, Sayf Khān and Zain Kuka, Khwāja Ghāji Hirwi, Khwāja Amin ud-Din Hirwi titled Khwāja Jahān, Bābā Dost Bakhshi, Durwish Maqṣud Bengāli, Ḥasan 'Ali Aishak Ākā, 'Ali Dost Bārbeki, Ibrāhim Aishak Ākā, Shaikh Yusuf Chuli from the descendants of Shaikh Aḥmad Yasawi, Shaikh Bahlol Turk, Mawlānā Nur ud Din titled Tar Khān, Muḥammad Qāsim Muji Mir-i-Bahr-

* Original Text, p. 1010.

i-Jun, Haider Muḥammad Akta Begi, Syed Muḥammad Pakna, Sayyid Kāli* Hirwi, Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Rakhna, Mirzā Beg Baluch son of Hazār Baluch as he was in Khurāsān, Amir Ḥusain son of Mirzā Baig, Khwāja 'Anbar Nāzir I'tibār Khān 'Ārif Toshakji Bahār Khān, Mehtar Khān Khazanedār, Mehtar Ḥājir Toshakji, Mulla Bilāl Kitābdār, Mehtar Tamur Shirinji, Mehtar Jauhar Āftābji, Mehtar Vakila Khazaji, Mehtar Waṣil, Mehtar Sunbul, Sulṭān Muhammad Karāwal Begi, 'Abdul Wahhāb Ṣāhib-i-Ṭabāk, Khatāi Bahādur, Tolak Yātash Nawis—all these persons were firm, through their good fortune in accordance with test. Their service was on the path of examination.

Verse

I do not know why friends select
For men are faithful in service.

Report of Humāyun's return to Kābul

Abul Faḍl said: Mirzā Kāmrān received intelligence of his arrival. He was at Kābul when he learnt that Humāyun was on his way back with help of 'Irāq. He ordered Akhā Khiḍr Khān Hazāra and Qurbān Karāwal Begi to carry the auspicious son from Qandahār to him. He went to it. Mirzā 'Askari asked men of counsel who forbade to carry him to his father and solicited him for forgiveness for what had happened. There were some who permitted surrender arbitrarily for pardon. The territory should remain with Kāmrān. He sent him with those who were in company of his aunt Bakhshi Bānu Begum, Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad Ghaznawi Atka Khān, Maham Atka, mother of Adham Khān, Jiji Atka mother of Mirzā 'Aziz Kokaltāsh. All the servants of the charge marched. They spent the night in the manzil of Hazāra. Akhu Khiḍr Khān journeyed with them as far as Ghazni, and thence to Kābul. Kāmrān made him alight at Khānzada Begum sister of Humāyun. On the next day, they met him in the city of Ārāi.

Conquest of the Fort of Bust

Sulṭān Ṭaklu made an assault on it. Shāham Jalāir, father of Timur Jalāir and Mir Khalaj were in it on behalf of Kāmrān. They garrisoned themselves within the fort. 'Ali Sulṭān was killed by a gun-shot from the fort. His soldiers assembled around the son who was twelve years old. They pressed the siege and they surrendered the fort peacefully. Shāham Khān and Mir Khalaj came to Humāyun. He had encamped on a side from the fort. He forgave them.† On a report of 'Askari Mirzā's coming out from Qandahār to Kābul, the Qizilbāsh and the Mughals resolved to take it. When they reached Qandahār, they found the report false. The army of the fort came out and set fire to it whereupon a large number of Qizilbāsh perished. The army of the fort advanced in war.

* Original Text, p. 1011.

† Original Text, p. 1012.

Khwāja Mu'azzam and a party of Chaghtāis put it to rout. Jamil Beg mad effort to make 'Askari Mirzā attack for his succour. He paused till arriv Kāmrān Mirzā. Bābā-i-Sirhindi, a famous man of Kāmarān was killed.

Conquest of Qandahār Fort

Humāyun encamped at Qandahār on Saturday, 7th Muḥarram, 952 (15 He started to conquer it*. In the meantime, he learnt from Rafi' Kuka Kāmrān Mirjā was behind a mountain in the land of Dāwar on the Ghandāk with a contingent of Hazāra. He sent Biram Khān against him. an easy war, he made Rafi' Kuka a captive and pillaged his pavilion. B Khān then marched to Kābul as a messenger but in its vicinity, he met a b of men from the side of Kāmrān and they joined with him to go to Kām He was at a famous place of Chahār Majlis. Biram Khān met him. He h copy of the Holy Qurān on his head and he advanced with it. He stood ou respect for it. While he stood, he obtained the letter of his brother. He with him gifts and presents of 'Irāq. He gave him an admonition. He gra him leave for attendance upon Akbar, with Hindāl Mirza, Sulaimān M Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, Ulugh Beg Mirzā and. After a month and a half permitted Birām Khān to go with the reply. 'Askari Mirzā said to him, ' is not with me and not with my brother." Khānzāda Begum moved with to send admonition and surrender of the fort to Humāyun. This outwardly inwardly was against him. After her arrival at Qandahār, she strove har surrender but that only increased opposition. In the meantime, Ulugh Mir Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, Sher Afgan Beg, son of Fauj Beg, Fuḍail Beg bro of Mun'im Khān Mir Barka, Mirza Ḥasan Khān son of Mir 'Abdullāh Muk Sabzwāri and a party from Kābul came to Humāyun. The cause was Kāmrān had put Ulugh Mirzā in captivity. He was for the whole week charge of a party. When it was the turn of Sher Afgan to be in ch Kāmrān frightened him. He came out to him with their concord. Hum praised them and granted Dāwar to Ulugh Mirzā. Inmates of the fort pressed hard by the siege. Some persons descended from it. Khiḍr Kh Khān, Mua'yyad Beg, Ismā'il Beg, Abul Ḥasan Beg son of the brothe Karacha Khān, Munawwar Beg son of Nur Beg were the first. They got d in concert with Khiḍr Khwāja Khān. Khiḍr Khān Hazāra then got dow a mutual promise of two or three of his Hazāra companions. They carried for their appearance to the side of the mountain Lakha. In the mornin report of his spread. A party went in pursuit of him but they did not find He used to say that "he wanted to go to Sakhar and hide himself. I saw army in my wake. They did not see me till it was evening. I got up to my place of refuge. 'Askari Mirza ordered to surrender the fort to go to Kā

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* **Original Text, p. 1013.**

It was not so. On the arrival Khānzādu to him, he forbade him to go to Humāyun. When he was despaired of the fort, he solicited her for it. She went to Humāyun and interceded for him. She returned to him. On Thursday, 25th Jamādi II of the year, she went out, with 'Askari Mirzā in attendance, to Humāyun. He saw that the Chaghatāis and the Qizilbāsh had assembled in the majlis in fashion of sitting at the salṭanat and the soldiers were standing and sitting according to their ranks. Biram Khān entered the majlis under orders with 'Askari Mirza and his sword round his neck, he saluted and was pardoned with favour. Humāyun prostrated before God out of thanks. He then ordered the sword to be kept away from his neck and suggested him to sit down. Then Muḥammad Khān Jalāir, Shāham Khān, Muqim Khān, Shāh Quli Sistāni, Tulak Khān Kuchi and thirty of his companions with quivers and swords in sheath were brought to him. They saluted as usual. They paid obeisance. He ordered as to who were in captivity of Muqim Khān and Shāh Quli Sistāni. On arrival of Ulugh Mirza, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān went out with them. He lost the path at night and found himself in the midst of Hazāra. They plundered him. He came to Humāyun after great hardship. He said to him, "For my insincerity towards you, I lost my way and was put to trial. Humāyun sat in the majlis till close of the day to dawn. He was talking as to what passed on him in his travel. For an hour, he listened to music of Mir Qalandar and his companions. He then sent for with the letter of Mirzā 'Askari to the Balooch. He walked* on the road of Jul and ordered to give it to him. His time got spoiled. He then ordered to preserve it and to bring it to his majlis for benediction. When he returned, there should be customary etiquette only. His life should be as it was. On the next day of his arrival, Mirzā Murād son of Tahmāsp presented himself. He ordered the Qizilbāsh. They entered. All of them stayed for three days. Then on his acceptance, Qandahār was assigned to Tahmāsp. He surrendered Qandahār to Mirzā Murād. He went to Chahār Bāgh and encamped there. Kāmrān Mirza received a report about Qandahar. He removed Akbar from the house of Khānzāda Begum to his house and surrendered him to elderly women. He captured Atka Khān and put him in a house not worthy of him. He then sent for men of judgment and said to them, "What do you see in Sulaimān Mirzā?" Mullā 'Abdul Khālik said to him—he was his teacher—"It is proper to solace him and send him to Badakhshān as he should get profit in time. It was his good fortune that he conquered the fort of Badakhshān looking to Mir Hazār Peshgāni and Mir 'Ali Balooch and a party. They imprisoned Qāsim Khān Barlās, nobles of his companions. They wrote to Kāmrān Mirzā "If Sulaimān Mirza came to us as a governor, we would surrender the fort and the region to him, otherwise not. We would kill Qāsim and those who would be

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* Original Text, p.1014.

with him." He permitted Sulaimān Mirzā, Ibrāhim Mirzā and Ḥaram Beg to march to Badakhshān. After sending him, Kāmrān repented. Sulaimān had reached Pāi Minār. He sent some one to come back to him for a talk with him in person. He wrote in reply to him "As the permission is granted for departure at an auspicious time, it had passed. I would not return." He hastened in travel and arrived at Badakhshān and practised breach of promise. It so happened that Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā fled to Badakhshān. None remained with Kāmrān Mirzā except Hindāl Mirzā. Necessarily, I ordered him with solace and after solace I ordered him to go out in the wake of Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, and to make him recover it by force for three parts of it were in his hand and none would have got the kingdom from him after that. He will have to him from him. Hindāl Mirzā was hard pressed because of his vicious behaviour. He was ordered to go to Pāi Minār. He turned to Humāyun and met him.

*Conquest of Kābul**

Humāyun marched from Chahār Bāgh and encamped at a high place from Ḥasan Abdāl in a famous cupola famous as "Gumbad-i-Sufid". Because of long period of journey, most of the Qizilbāsh returned. They were not given permission. Those who sought permission, returned. Some remained with him after Mirzā Murād in Hind, died there. It was a well-known band. Budāgh Khān was an amir at the fort of Qandahār on behalf of Shāh Tahmāsp. Humāyun requested him for a place within the fort to keep his baggage. He refused. In the meantime, Mirzā Murād died. Men of judgement assembled for conquest of the fort as it was necessary due to approach of winter while Kābul was at a long distance. Again it was not easy due to the Hazāra on the way to move with baggage in the mountaneous region. Humāyun sent word to Budāgh Khān informing him about his departure to Kābul with a request to defending against Askari Mirzā pacify his mind from him. He accepted it. He appointed Biram Khān and Ulugh Mirzā etc. with men to be in ambush on the environs of the environs of Kandahār. They would be inside the fort with true dawn. Ḥāji Muḥammed Sulṭan was the first to come at the door, Māshur. It so happened that camels carrying fodder entered and took shelter in it when he entered through the door. The door-keeper saw him. He rebuked him. He said, "I have come to Budāgh Khān. Humāyun has sent me with 'Askari Mirzā to him. He did not allow him and extended his hand to close the door. He struck him with the sword and cut his hand. A party of Kizilbāsh assembled around him. Biram Khān entered from the side of the Kandkān gate and occupied the fort. Humāyun entered behind him. Budāgh Khān presented himself near him through Ḥaider Sultān and apologised. He permitted him to return to 'Irāk. The fort remained in charge of Biram Khān. He wrote to the Shāh to retire

* Original Text, p. 1015.

Budāgh Khān from service. He was remiss in performance of duty and that he had expelled him from the fort and surrendered it to Birām Khān on your behalf and that it belonged to him. In the wake of this, 'Askari fled away from hands of charge-men. After some days, the Afghān came to inform him that he was in his house. He therefore sent Shāh Mirzā and Khwāja 'Anbar to him. When he presented himself before him, he pardoned him, consoled him and surrendered him to Kokaltāsh. He then divided Kandahār region. Tiri was assigned to Ulugh Mirza, paraganas to Abul Ḥāji Muḥammed Sulṭān and Dāwar to Ismā'il* Beg. They were old amirs. Kilāt was assigned to Sher Afgan and Shāh to Haidar Khān, Khwāja Jalālud-Din Maḥmud, governor of 'Askari at Kandahār was surrendered to Mir Muḥammad 'Ali. He left his baggage and ḥaram behind at Kandahār and marched to Kābul. Khānzāda Begum died at the manzil. Hindāl Mirzā came, met him and gladdened him by his arrival. In wake of him, the nobles of Kābul came one after the other. Due to difference in water and climate, many persons fell ill and died including Ḥaider Sultān. Jamil Beg brother of Bālus came. He was the tutor of Āk Sulṭan, son-in-law of Kāmrān Mirzā. He was Amir at Ghazni. He asked for forgiveness of Balus's offence. He was pardoned. On his encampment at Yurat, Shaikh 'Ali ordered Kāmrān Qāsim Mukhlis Turbati, Superintendent of Artillery, to take cannons to Chalka Duri near the house of Mālus Beg and to arrange them there. He ordered Qasim Barlās to go forward with cannons in the array of advance-guard. He ordered women of the camp to enter the fort. He controlled the fort and came to where the cannons were arrayed, he alighted and arrayed the army. In the meantime, Kāsim Mirzā returned to him defeated by the contingent of Humāyun. This contingent consisted of Khwāja Mu'azzam, Ḥāji Muḥammad Sulṭān and Sher Afgan. He then requested Hindāl to go in all haste. He responded to it. Humāyun encamped in the vicinity of Arkandi. Bālus, Jamil and those who were with him and Shāh Burdi Khān came to him. Muṣāḥib Beg b. Khwāja Kalān Beg came to him with a large army. He then requested Bālus to ride for the army was to come at 'Ayn ul-Jama.' He rode and saw the two sons of Ḥaidar Sulṭān. They delayed for arrival of 'Ali Quli Safarji and Bahādur for mourning of their father. Qarācha Khān arrived. Kāmrān Mirzā took a review of what happened due to misfortune and made amends himself by sending Khwāja Khāwind and Maḥmud Khwāja 'Abdul-Khālik to Humāyun for forgiveness of his offences. He had come to a distance of half a farsakh from him. He accepted that due to his arrival. He granted them permission with what they had wished out of their glorious position and waited for their reply. They returned to Kāmrān Mirzā. Long time had passed since he sent them and now it was evening to go into concealment. He came out in darkness to the citadel

* Original Text, p. 1016.

of Kābul with his son Ibrahim and a party from his ḥaram. He sent them * from it by way of Si Ḥiṣār to Ghazni. Humāyun received news of his flight. He ordered Bālus to march to Kābul. He ordered Hindāl Mirzā to march in the wake of Kāmrān Mirzā. He marched in wake of Bālus to Kābul. The victory was gained on 12th Ramaḍān, 952 (1545). Mullā Nawidi composed half a verse for the date of victory. "Be jang girift mulki Kābul az way." He conquered Kābul without a war. Abul Faḍl said: Humāyun sat on the throne of his authority and summoned the elite and the commoners for usual benedictions. Events of the time were death of Mu'ayyad Beg and Yunus 'Ali. They were the chief men of his majlis. Muqaddam Beg was expelled to Kashmir as it was said that he had decided to go over to Kāmrān Mirzā in concord with Khwāja Mu'azzam. The Khwāja was degraded from his rank of confidence. Afterwards he was lifted up as he was related to the wife of Humāyun. He then ordered to arrange a majlis of pleasure. He had crossed from it for the festival at Artah Bāgh. During these days, Yādgar Nāṣir Mirzā came to him. He had come out from Kāmrān Mirzā to Badakhshān. He did not agree with what he had intended. He went to Qandahār but did not find Humāyun there. Biram Khān met him with regard and sufficiency. He tarried there when Humāyun wrote to him to come to him. Walad Beg, an envoy of Tahmāsp came for congratulations for victory along with Qāsim Tughāi, an envoy of Sulaimān Mirzā. Amir Sayyid 'Ali came to him. He was a notable personality on the side of the Afghans and the Balooch. He lived nearby from Doki within jurisdiction of Sind. Humāyun gave him this place. Lavanak Balooch came to see him. He was a noble of the tribe. He assigned him Shāl and Mashtang. The events which Humāyun heard were about Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā who saw that Muzaffar, the foster-brother of 'Askari Mirzā was emboldened to do to which his hand did not reach. After proof as it was verified by 'Abdul Jabbār Shaikh who was one of the reliable men. He ordered Muzaffar Kuka to be punished. After reproach of Yādgār at the speech of Qarācha Khān, Ibrāhim Aishak Āqā ordered him to put in captivity. He was carried to the citadel of Kābul near the house of 'Askari Mirzā. Chaghatāi Sultān died. He belonged to the royal † Mughal family. He was young, handsome in appearance and character. He was liked by Humāyun. He was extremely perturbed by his death. Mir Amāni composed the following lines on his death:

> Sulṭān Chaghata was a rose of the rose-garden of beauty
> Suddenly, death guided him to paradise.
> He decided to travel in the season of rose in this garden
> Hearts bud-like, through grief got immersed in blood

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* Original Text, p. 1017.

† Original Text, 1018.

I sought date of his death from mournful nightingale
It wailed and said that he went out of garden.

ıeard about the Khutba and the sikka of Sulaimān Mirzā. Humāyun en-
ɔed at Yurat Jālāk for conquest of Badakhshān in the early part of 953
5). 'Askari Mirzā presented himself. He heeded him with favour and
him in his company. On his encampment at Alnak Karābāgh he ordered
Muḥammad Ṭaghāi, Amir of the guards of Kābul to kill Yādār Nāṣir Mirzā.
'eplied, "I did not kill a sparrow in my life. How is it possible for me to
. person like him?" He refused. He ordered Muḥammad Kāsim Muji for
He finished him with a single arrow on his throat. When he encamped
he outskirts of Andarāb he learnt that Sulaimān Mirzā had made prepara-
for war at a place called Tirkar. Before Hindāl Mirza rode, chief men such
urācha Khān, Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Shaikh Bahlol,
Sirhindi, Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān and Muḥammad Jalāir rode for war.
.mān Mirzā's men consisted of Mirzā Beg Barlās. After a fierce battle, the
ıry was gained with exceptional courage of Shaikh Bahlol and afterwards
ıe above-mentioned persons. They entered into the ditch and assaulted
ı Beg Barlās. Sulaimān Mirzā fled to a narrow pass of Khust. Mirzā Beg
is and Uwais Sulṭān came—Every one of them belonged to the Mughal
l family—to Humāyun. Humāyun then marched to the valley of Khust.
mān came out of it and went to Kulāb. At this manzil, the Badakhshānis
l sections came one after the other. He then marched to Kalawkān and*
to Kasham. Sulaimān Mirzā came out from that side and crossed the river
. It was Jaxartes. The Khuṭba was recited in the name of Humāyun at
ıkhshān which was included in the region. Qunduz was assigned to Hindāl
i. He ordered Mun'im Khān to collect revenue of Khust. He decided to
.n the fort of Zafar during cold season. He then encamped at Shākhdān
ɜen Kasham and Zafar. He got indisposed and illness became serious which
ınged to two months. He had fainting feats which repeated many times.
ɔort circulated among people that it was not the disease. Hindāl Mirzā
hed from Qunduz to al-Mā' known as Āb-i-Kukcha. The companions of
mān Mirzā moved about in those places. Revolt was about to break out.
.cha transferred his tent to the expanse at the gate of the royal palace and
ıed a tent nearer the gate in concert with men and guarded the royal cupola.
id not allow any one to enter the cupola. Khwāja Khāwind Muḥmud and
āja Mu'in came to the bed of Humāyun. He was in an unconscious state
did not regain it except after five days. Mir Barka came to him for congra-
ıons. He looked at him. He offered his own self in sacrifice, prostrated
ıf thanks and said prayers on his behalf. Humāyun said addressing him,

* Original Text, p. 1019.

"Oh Mir! Forgive me for the sake of God."—Mir in Persian is equivalent to Sayyid in Arabic—that is, Oh Sayyid! Forgive me for the sake of God. He represented to him what was from men and what was from Qarācha Khān. He said prayers on his behalf and for mercy. That very time, Fuḍail Beg prepared for Kābul with a letter of health. Events of the year were: Murder of Vazir Khwāja Sulṭān Muḥammad Rashidi. Khwāja Mu'azzam and a gang of vagabonds talked about religion and fanaticism without understanding in the petition against Khwāja Muḥammad Rashidi. They assaulted him by coming to him at breakfast time and murdered him. It was on 21st night of Ramaḍān of the year. They fled to Kābul in the morning. Humāyun heard about it. He wrote to Muḥammad 'Ali Ṭagbāi and Fuḍail Beg to capture and imprison them. That was done. Mawlānā Bāyazid had proficiency in medicine. He was his grandfather. Mirzā Ulugh Beg was favourably disposed towards him. He was distinguished in preparation of almanacs, mathematics and observatory. He is to be applauded for treatment of Humāyun. He was shown exceptional favours. Humāyun marched to the fort of Ẓafar. He completely recovered. He assigned Kāh Mard, Ḍohāk and Bāmian to Sher Afgan and promised him addition of* Ghorband. He permitted him to go to his places.

Kāmrān's return to Kābul

Abul Faḍl said: On Humayun's march from Qandahār to Kābul, its citizens of different sections joined him. Kāmrān Mirzā went to Ghazni. He was pursued by Hindāl Mirzā and Mirzā Muṣāḥib Beg. They did not find him. They returned to Kābul. Kāmrān came to Ghazni but its citizens did not allow him to enter the fort. He turned to Khiḍr Khān Hazāra. He treated him as a guest. He came to Tiri with him and thence he went to Dāwar. Ḥusāmud-Din 'Ali son of Mir Khalifa prevented his entry into the fort and frequently fought with him. Humāyun heard about it. He assigned Ghazni to Hindāl Mirzā. Ulugh Mirzā was distinguished with a flag and a drum—Tuman Togh as is called among the Mughals and assigned Dāwar to him. He learnt about Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā's arrival at Qandahār. He wrote to its Amir Biram Khān to prepare and despatch Ulugh Mirzā and Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā to ward off evil of Kāmrān Mirzā. He wrote to them also to march to-gether to Dāwar. On receipt of news of their arrival, the Hazāras dispersed. Kāmrān turned to the side of Bhakkar and took refuge with Shāh Ḥasan Arghun. Ulugh Mirzā lived in the region of Dāwar and Yādgār Nāṣir went to Kābul and met Humāyun. He was killed there. Kāmrān tarried in Sind and married the daughter of the ruler of Tattha. He passed his days on that side till he heard about Humāyun's illness in Badakhshān. The nobles spread disturbing news about his illness. He sought help from the ruler of Tattha. He abandoned Qandahār because of

* Original Text, p. 1020.

ı Khān's prevention. He went to Kābul. He came across horse dealers
: environs of Kilāt. He seized them by force and distributed them among
mpanions. He attacked Ghazni in negligence of its residents. Its lord,
il was at Qunduz while its governor Zāhid Beg was in a drunken state.
ompanions solicited them for Kamand. They entered the fort and Zahid
ras informed that Kāmrān was there. He ordered him to be thrown from
all. He died. He left behind his brother-in-law Dawlat Sultān at Ghazni
narched to Kābul. He came there in the morning without any followers*
paused at the gate of Ṭākia Dozān, and made inquiries about Muḥammad
'aghāi, its governor. He was informed that he was in the bath-room. 'Ali
La'li Kurchi was seen by Kāmrān. He went out with Kāmrān. He was
osiness of negligence. He killed him and went to the fort. Pahelwān
ır Bali defended the iron-gate. There was a pledge between them. He
ed it for him and entered the city and lived there. It was an event of the
ing. Ḥāji Muḥammad, the Superintendent of the Patrols went to him.
rān said to him, "How I went and returned you return?" He replied,
u went in the evening and entered in the morning. He then alighted at the
st citadel. Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad Atka Khān was near him with
e Akbar with majesty and glory. He turned to him, surrendered him with
arty. He ordered the party to be put to death. He blinded Mehtar Wāṣil
Mehtar Vakil. They were the special mamāliks of Humāyun. He killed
m ud-Din 'Ali b. Mir Khalifa who was called by Humāyun. He put to
ı Choli Bahādur. He was a sincere servant. He ordered Khwāja Mu'azzam,
dur Khān, Atka Khān, Nadim Kuka and a party of such others to be
soned. He treated with conciliation such as Sher Afgan, Ḥusain Beg Kuka
Sulṭān Muḥammad Badakhshi. Their fortune turned into misfortune due
small mistake. It was the result of negligence on the part of Muhammad
'aghāi and Fuḍail Beg that Kāmrān lived in Kābul. This is due to differ-
and negligence among them.

Return of Humāyun from Badakhshān to Kābul

Abul Faḍl said: Humāyun learnt about the incident of Kābul. He wrote
laimān Mirzā with favour and assigned to him what belonged to him in the
He retained Kunduz and its adjacent places for Hindāl Mirzā. He turned
ābul. His passage lay over Qunduz. Hindāl Mirzā met him. He stayed
him for some days. He then passed by Kutāl Sabartu to Kutal Rikak and
nped at Khwāja Sārān. Its Amir was Sher 'Ali, one of the famous men of
rān Mirzā. He went to Mā' for seeking an opportunity. He conquered it
prevented all those who got defeated from the party of Hindāl Mirzā and
cha Khān. Humāyun crossed it and encamped in the plain of Jarikārān.

* Original Text, p. 1022.

Baggage kept him behind. He put it in charge of Sher 'Ali and returned to Kābul. At his manzil, he looked to baseless security and false promises. His* men deserted to Kāmrān Mirzā. They were Iskander Sulṭān, Mirzā Sanjar Barlās b. Sulṭān Junayd Barlās b. sister of Sulṭān Bābur. At the manzil of Damah, he tarried for some days and pacified the minds of those who remained there due to congenial climate. He assembled them and said, "Kāmrān has controlled the city, he has garrisoned himself within the fort. What place do you see for alighting at the fort?" They said, "As it is garrisoned, alight at a place where proper supplies may come without any hindrance. He advanced from Kābul to the environs of Buri and Khwāja Basta and we alight there." On this, Humāyun marched from Damah and journey a little, and paused from the way on the side. He called Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān and said to him, "I do not find this place for encampment by way of settlement because his family is in the city. He will be disturbed for being separated from them." Some imagined from this statement that his intention was to proceed to Qandahār for it is his way and that too would not be vacant. It is better for us to try to occupy the city. In case Kāmrān came out fighting from the fort, what else would be his object except that people would take shelter from fall of snow. The ground would be moist. Each will meet his family. There would be no single man amongst us." He applauded Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān. Humāyun executed it. He ordered Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān to pass by way of Kutal Minār to the direction of the city. He passed from Asfal Kutab. On arrival of Hindāl Mirzā to the village of the Afghans, Sher Afgan made his appearance with most soldiers of Kāmrān Mirzā. A hard battle was fought between them. Hindāl Mirzā had stood firm in it. Feet of most of his followers had slipped. Humāyun looked at Qarācha Khān, Mir Barka and Shāh Quli Nāranji. It so chanced that Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān came on his way to the battle-field and thus victory was gained. Sher Afgān was captured. Qarācha Khān and others requested to put him to death. Humāyun travelled by way of Khyābān to Kābul. Most of his soldiers had come after being defeated to the iron-gate. Mirzā Khiḍr Khān was in the city along with the Arghuns. They tracked the path of Hazāra. The city was conquered. Qarācha Khān encamped that day at Bostān. The captives were ordered for punishment. He then passed by Bāgh-i-Diwānkhāna and encamped on an eledated mountain at Kabul called 'Ikābain. Cannons† dominated over the fort. In the meantime, Mehdi Khān, Chalma Beg, Bābā Sa'eed Qabchāk deserted to Kāmrān Mirzā. Qarācha Khān then ordered to encamp opposite to the fort-gate as an impediment for the fort. In the meanwhile, he and Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān came out negligently in the midst of more than forty. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān encountered them and put them to rout and pursued them to near the gate. Sher 'Ali came out of the fort, and a

* Original Text, p. 1023.

† Original Text, p. 1024.

battle was fought wherein Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān was wounded in his right by a blow of Sher 'Ali. His companions made them run back to the fort. assaulted Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān in spite of his weakness at his manzil. 'eakness obliged him to remain within doors and he died. Humāyun sent on animal to a place according to his rank for people to see him and to ill-speaking of men of the fort. Mirzā Sanjar b. Sultān Junayd came out ay from the fort. The horse was fast and sharp. It carried him to Bāgh-afsha where stronger men surrounded him and pulled him to the place umāyun. He kept him imprisoned. In the wake of Sanjar's incident, ımmad Qāsim and Muḥammad Ḥusain sons of the sister of Pahelwān Dost, were great amirs and they had the honour of presence of Humāyun at in, descended upon Humāyun from wall of the fort. In the meantime, :avan with horses and plenty of goods came from Persia to Charikān. ān Mirzā ordered Sher 'Ali to go out to the caravan and bring it back with it had. Tardi Muḥammad Khing-i-Jung turned it back. He did not listen m. They went to the caravan. On their return, Humāyun learnt from . He rode his horse and controlled all suspected roads of the men. When aw the blockade, Tardi Beg Khing-i-Jang said, "It was because of this Sher Ali tried to enter the fort but found no way to it." Bāqi Ṣāleh sted Kāmrān, one of the men of the fort, to be at the iron-gate of the fort. ould thus be necessitated for Sher 'Ali to come out and go in with what he When the gate opened, he came out with a party of men, Muḥammad n Khān Muji, Qāsim Mukhlis and Jamil Beg met them. They were men nk. There was a fierce battle between them. Sunbul Khān made his arance with seventy slaves from among gun-men. Bāqi Ṣāleḥ fell down—* it was the cause of revolt—Jalāl-ud-Din was wounded. It was a deep d. He was a man of confidence of Mirzā Kāmrān. Men of the fort ated to it. Jamil Beg was killed from the party of Humāyun. Sher 'Ali despaired of entry into the fort. He marched to Ghazni and men of āyun pursued him such as Khiḍr Khwāja Jahān, Muṣāhib Beg and Isma'il Duldi. They saw him at Kutal Sajawal. He returned and fought and fled azāra and took refuge in the house of Khiḍr Khān Hazāra. Khiḍr Khwāja ned with what he had left behind. Men of the caravan had taken refuge Humāyun. When the belongings of Sher 'Ali were produced, Humāyun to men of the caravan, "Take away your horse after recognising it." They 'ered everything of their own. He then ordered to kill captives of Sher contingent in public at known places. When Kāmrān Mirzā became help- ınd learnt about deceit and opposition of the people, his imagination did vork and his reason failed. His mind got confused at the killing of children, en and servants. He surrendered the wife of Bālus to the market, killed

* Original Text, p. 1025.

his three sons, the eldest in age was seven, the middle one, five and the youngest, three. He threw them from wall of the fort outside near the battery of Qarācha Beg and Muṣāḥib Beg. He ordered Sardār Beg son of Qarācha Khān to suspend them with elevation of the fort in an inverted position from outside. Similar was the case with Khudā Dost son of Muṣaḥib Beg. Their father heard about it "Either you come to me or you give me a way or raise the siege from me. If nothing is done, the condition of your sons will be similar to that of the children of Bālus Beg." Qarāchu Beg had the rank of Vakil with him from Humāyun. Qarācha Khān echoed his words, "Surrender head of Humāyun, he ruined my son in interest of his master. Imagine him in the easiest way of imagining to sacrifice his father. You are misguided. Solicited to treat citizens with favour. I have no power over him to make efforts on your behalf. I give him to you in your coming to him. He ordered to suspend wife of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Muji with her breast. He did such abominable things. He solicited him to stop cannons for attack in the interest of the coolness of eye (son) of* the Sultan." In the meantime, Mirzā Ulugh Beg came from Dāwar, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Shaibāni from Kilāt, Khwāja Ghāzi, who was in the army of the Shāh, Shāh Quli Sulṭān, a relative of Biram Khān from Qandahār, and a party from Badakhshān. Their arrival strengthened pressure on the fort. Kāmrān Mirzā resorted to deceit. He entreated Qarācha Khān for forgiveress for the past by coming to him. It should be accepted. Hindāl Mirzā, Qarācha Khān, Muṣahib Beg, and many other similar persons, with care and caution in them were a branch of hipocrisy. They did not look to customary peace for advancement in affairs and needs for them. Difficulties of a community are advantages for the community. They sent to him saying to him, "Every one should ponder over the fort and come to the cupola with hope. Begin before time presses you hard to come out. It took place on Thursday night, 7th Rabi'I 954 (1547). He marched to Badakhshān and Humāyun sent Hāji Muhammad Khān in his pursuit and conquered the fort. Ḥāji Muhammad Khān practised slowness in taking it or he did not know it. He returned with prisoners including Kāk Sulṭān and Juzi, every one of whom was in district of his charge. He ordered to kill Sultān Quli, Tarsun Mirzā, Mirzā Ḥāfiz Maqṣud, Mawlānā Bāqi Yarghu and Mawlānā Qadam. They were main men of revolts. Kāmrān Mirzā and 'Ali Quli proceeded to Badakhshān by way of Sanjar valley. Mirzā Beg and Sher 'Ali, his confidential companions saw him in the vicinity of Ḍohāk. When he came to Ghori, he won over its governor Mirzā Beg Barlās but he failed. He decided to move further. One of his companions said to the other "What is it that he pursues without protection for him. If he had protection, he would not have walked with such disgrace from governor of Ghori." Kāmrān replied "For what thing you mock in your speech? You do not understand

* Original Text, p. 1026.

arithmetic. I am immersed in wonder with shortage of your knowledge out of care. I deem it proper with this quality to resolve what I have resolved." He then turned to the governor, fought with him and defeated him and occupied Ghori. He took what he needed from it. He left behind Sher 'Ali and moved on to Badakhshān. He wrote to Sulaimān Mirzā for help but he did not reply.* He journeyed to Balkh and requested help from its lord, Pir Muhammad Khān. Humāyun sent Qarācha Khān to Badakhshān together with Sulaimān Mirzā, and Hindāl Mirzā. All tried to capture Kāmrān. Qarācha Khān did as he was ordered. They assembled at Ghori. Sher 'Ali strove to garrrison and fight. They did the same. Sher 'Ali and his companions defeated Qarācha Khān at Ghori. On an assault on Ghori, Khwāja Nur, a famous man of Hindāl was killed. Similarly, Mullā Mirak Kitābdār was also killed. He was his favourite. In the meantime, a report got circulated about Kāmrān Mirzā's arrival at Balkh. Sulaimān Mirzā returned to Badakhshām, Hindāl to Qunduz, Qarācha Khān to Kābul. Humāyun, on report of the army of Balkh, came out from Kābul to Ghorband and pitched his pavilion there. Qarācha Khān came there. On his return to it, his baggage was looted. He granted leave to all in Kābul. Humāyun waited for him at the manzil of Gulbahār. When he came to it, he marched to Badakhshān. But heavy snow-fall impeded his advancement. He returned to Kabul.

Arrival of Pir Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Balkh to help Kāmrān Mirza to Badakhshān in the year.

Abul Faḍl said: Kāmrān Mirzā encamped at Aibak on his march to Balkh. Its amir met him on behalf of the ruler Pir Muḥammad Khān. He met him and alighted him on a side. He returned to Balkh and informed Pir Muḥammad Khān about him. He sent a party of great amirs for his reception. They met him. He came with them to Pir Muḥammad Khān. It was a good meeting. After a feast and regard, he informed him about the object of his coming. He assembled his horse and moved out with him to Badakhshān. On his arrival, Sulaimān Mirzā went to impregnable narrow passes from his frontiers and garrisoned himself with his men. Hindāl Mirzā did the same. Kāmrān conquered most of the region. Pir Muḥammad returned to Balkh. He left behind him a contingent for his help at Badakhshān. Kāmrān Mirzā came to the outskirts of Kasham and Ṭālqān and despatched Khālik Bardi and Rafiq† Kuka to Rustak. It was situated in the vicinity of Sulaimān Mirzā and Ibrāhim Mirzā. After a fierce battle between them, the victory is from God, they returned defeated to the preventive frontiers. Kāmrān conquered as much as possible. It is said in a proverb that a tall man is a fool; it so chanced from Qarācha Khān. He was Vakil of the Salṭanat. He assaulted Badakhshān with

* Original Text, p. 1027.

† Original Text, p. 1028.

three house along with the noble amirs such as Bālus, Muṣaḥib Beg, Ismā'il Beg, Ḥaider Dost Mughal, Shaikhan Khwāja Khiḍri and Qurbān Qarawal. The cause of it for the march was that he thought himself to be the prop of the state and support of the salṭanat. Besides he had the vanity of different desires in him. Khwāja Ghāzi was favoured with the Diwān of the Salṭanat. Qarācha Khān expected to send a letter to him to strike off his neck and turn the manṣab of Khwāja Qāsim to him. Humāyun did not agree upon it. The above-mentioned persons met together for fulfilment of his desire. They tracked the path of Kutal Minār to Badakhshān. Humāyun received news of his march. He sent a party in pursuit of him consisting of Tardi Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Muḥammad Quli Barlās, 'Abdullāh Sultān. He rode in wake of them. The above-mentioned persons happened to attack the amir of Ṣāka in the neighbourhood of Qarābāgh. Qarācha Khān saw them at close of the day, at Jui Muri. It was dusk. When Qarācha Khān crossed the bridge of Ghorband, he destroyed the bridge and treaded further. Tardi Beg Khān returned. Humāyun returned to Kābul on account of this move on the part of Qarācha. Qarācha passed by Kutal Hindukoh and encountered Kāmrān at Kasham. When Humāyun made good what was disturbed on the thread of organisation, he marched from Kābul to Arta Bāgh and wrote to Sulaimān Mirjā and Hindāl Mirzā ordering them to be ready with the army and to wait for the order. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān came to him from Ghazni. Humāyun met one day with sincere man of old age and youth. He questioned him in respect of the strategy of war. Those who advised with march from Qandahār were with him. Badakhshān was the most important problem. Among them were in favour of departing to Badakhshān from him. He asked Muḥammad Sulṭān about it one day. He replied that Kāmrān is puffed up with pride for those who had joined him as before. But he had seen the army of salṭanat before passing by Kutal Hindu koh which would mean victory. Humāyun said that there was no future for the proud and recited.*

Verse

Let no one be proud of his strength
For pride removes cap of the head away.

He then marched from Arta Bāgh towards Badakhshān on Monday, 5th Jamādi I, 955 (1548). He was then at Qarā Bāgh. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān arrived there from Ghazni while Qāsim Ḥusain Khān had come from Bank. Mirzā Ibrāhim came out from Badakhshān in all haste and met him there. He was distinguished with favour more than which cannot be. He was in the neighbourhood of Panjir. Tamar Shighāli petitioned him. Ibrahim Mirzā fought with him. He took the way as against him. On the second day of his arrival, he

* Original Text, p. 1029.

, to Humāyun from the side of Malek 'Ali Panjeri, his brother, with the Tamar Shighāli and apologised for what had happened from him by sending ıead. Humāyun took an omen from it. Ibrāhim Mirzā caught his son on arrival to him for some need. He granted him leave to go to Sulaimān a inducing him for the collection of army and to convey him to come in all e on hearing of him at Ṭālqān. On his encampment at Azarak of Tumān 'ir, he ordered Ḥāji Muḥammad Bābā Qashka, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Tardi Muḥammad Quli Barlās, Ali Quli Sulṭān, Mir Luṭf, and Ḥaider Muḥammad li to advance for command of the advance-guard. From the side of Kāmrān, he fort of Andarāb were Muḥammad Sulṭān, Tardi Beg, and Muḥammad 'Ali ng-i-Jang. When they heard about their passing by Kutal Hindu koh, they out of the fort and abandoned it. On his encampment in the neighbour- of Andarāb Hindāl Mirzā came from Qunduz and Sher 'Ali stood by his side hains. One of the favours shown to Hindāl Mirzā was that he met Humāyun ıorse-back without getting down for obeisance from his horse. The cause of r 'Ali's capture was that he had become proud of his status under Kāmrān ·ā. Kāmrān had established himself at Badakhshān. He asked for permis- to seize Qunduz and expel Hindāl from it. He came to Qunduz. It so pened that his manzil was surrounded by a large number of persons. He away from the house and threw himself in a pit. It was full of water. He ce his hand. He fell in a rope of his cunning. He was brought to Hindāl. ordered him to be enchained. He presented himself with him in the Diwān lumāyun. He pardoned him and appointed him an 'āmil of Ghori. Hindāl* ı was ennobled with the command of the advance-guard. His subordinates ıded Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān. Humāyun encamped at Alank Kadān in the dle of Jamādi II of the year. The Qāḍi of Andarāb came to him along with ole of Tokbāi and Sālkanchi Balooch, Imāq of Badakhshān, attendants of āḥib Beg and a contingent of soldiers. On his encampment at Ṭālkān, re Mirzā 'Abdullāh was, and who alone fled from Humāyun, and garrisone self. Hindāl Mirzā ordered to cross the river Bangi and wield the sword. e meantime, Kāmrān Mirzā arrived from the fort of Zafar post-haste to ā 'Abdullāh. A war broke out between him and Hindāl Mirzā at Jalsān alsān) situated on an elevated place on Saturday, 15th Jamādi II. The y of Humāyun did not cross water while there was a long distance between dvance-guard and the centre. The advance-guard was defeated. Kāmrān with a few followers at the place while he dispersed the rest for pillage of gage of the advance-guard. Humāyun stood at the river. In the mean- e, he crossed half a farsakh, it became easy to cross. Near by him, Shaikham āja Khidri was brought. He was chief of the people of Khwāja Khiḍriān. ordered him to be chastised. He was beaten, hit on the chest and struck

* Original Text, p. 1030.

with the fish when he cried that he was dying but was alive. Ismā'il Beg Duldi was then brought. Mun'im Khān pleaded for him. He was surrendered to him. He marched to Akma which was with Kāmrān Mirzā. He ordered Fathullāh Beg brother of Rawshan Kuka to advance with a contingent of self-sacrificing soldiers in the face of Kāmrān. It was sword by which Fathullāh separated rider from the saddle. He then saw the contingent of Humāyun. Kāmrān fled from him to the fort of Ṭalqān. It was a victory. None of Humāyun's soldiers was injured, except 'Ali uli QKhān. He only received a wound. The advance-guard of Hindāl Mirzā and Ḥāji Muhammad Khān captured on their rout Kāmrān's companions such as Isḥāq Sulṭān, Sardi Beg son of Beg Mirak Bāba Jujak. After the victory, Hindāl Mirzā presented himself with them. He pardoned most of them. He then encamped at Ṭalqān and pressed those who were in it. Mum'im Khān Mubāriz Beg died of his gun-shot. Humāyun learnt about his death. He said, " Would to God, his brother Muṣāḥib Beg should have been hit. Then out of kindness, he wrote to Kāmrān to surrender himself with loyalty with honour and admonition to everything else: "Oh ill-natured* brother, Oh war-monger! give up this work which is the cause of warfare and assassination and harm to many persons. Show mercy to civil and military people. To-day all these persons who are being killed on the day of resurrection:

> You would be held responsible for their murder
> Hands of all would be at your skirts.
> Better to come to view of peace
> Fulfil path of manliness.

As Mirzā was intoxicated with remissness and upturned from fortune and back-turned from luck, it proved of no avail. In reply to his favour and sagacity he sent the following verse:

> That one tightly embraces bride of the kingdom
> Who kisses a sharp sword.

Siege continued to the city. Ilyās assaulted Pir Muḥammad Khān Uzbek. With deceit and cunning for loyalty, he wrote a letter, tied it to an arrow and sent it towards the pavilion of Humāyun. Its contents were: I did not know the rights of favour and kindness of your Majesty. I saw what I saw. Now I repent of deeds of the past. I wish you to permit me to perambulate the Holy Ka'aba of permission so that I may become purified of sin of revolt and filth of ingratitude and make myself ready for attendance and worthy of service. I hope to be favoured that this good luck should be had through influence of Arab Mir of Mekka for that Arab Mir is a sincere traveller distinguished with purity and connected with knowledge of the philosopher's stone for Humāyun marched to him. He was with him in this travel for analysis of army of prayer

* Original Text, p. 1031.

When Humāyun read the letter, he sent for Mir 'Arab and talked with him on the contents of this letter of Kāmrān. He replied, "I am responsible to give him the reply. He wrote the reply and sent it to him to the fort: "Know oh-men of the fort! Freedom lies in sincerity and peace in surrender of the fort. Peace be to those who are guided." Kāmrān got acquainted with the contents* and wrote in reply, "There is no deviation from what Mir Arab has said. If there is manliness in nature of Humāyun, it should be acted upon. Give permission to Mir 'Arab to enter the fort." He met him and rebuked him for what he did. Kāmrān did not say more than what he had said, "Fault, fault. He said and I acted every thing that he ordered." He said to him, "Mir 'Arab, call for the remedy. You stand with me with a sincere heart in service." He replied to him and stood with him at the gate of the fort. The Mir 'Arab had fore-sight in time and knowledge of tone of period. He knew that he did not increase in his concord more than this and he did not find him transgressing the gate. He knew before he knew. He said to him, "As you have resolved upon my counsel, it is your duty to move up to the gate so that enmity may vanish and you will be delivered from transgression. I return to your majlis and send to him his amirs who have fled to you as he sent the transgressors. I tell him in the fort and seek permission from him for travel to Hijāz with support of the Invisible." He accepted from him what he said. He then requested him to be with him as an amir by sending Bālus to them. He was an old servant. He accepted that and departed him. He came to Humāyun from the fort and represented to him the exact state of affairs. He sought forgiveness from him for him. He immediately pardoned him. Kāmrān Mirzā fulfilled what he promised Mir 'Arab. He was Khaṭib Mawlānā 'Abdul Bāqi the Ṣadr. Humāyun marched from his manzil to Bostān in vicinity of the fort and alighted in it. He ordered Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān for defence of the frontier for Kāmrān to pass with what he had with caution perhaps it might be from him. He ordered 'Ali Dost Khān Bārbeki, Muḥammad Quli Shaikh Kamān and Luṭfi Sirhindi for defence of the gate for exit of disloyal amirs. On their coming to it after exit of Kāmrān with his restricted number of persons, Kāmrān came out as settled. On his way, he passed by Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān and Ibrāhim Mirzā. He saw one of his servants with a horse for him. He informed his master Ibrāhim. He sent him who alighted him and came with him. Humāyun learnt about it. Ibrāhim was affected thereby and he turned from him. Out of disgrace, Ibrāhim went to Kasham without seeking permission. Humāyun reproached Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān for what passed from him and said, "How! You see, you rewarded him for his relation with Kāmrān. He showed manners† towards him." He then wrote for apology and sent him a khil'at and a horse with Khwāja Jalālud-Din Maḥmud, Major Domo of Household Department.

*Original Text, p. 1032. † Original Text, p. 1033.

Qarācha Khān was brought with a sword round his neck for what happened at night. He was ordered to remove the sword from the neck and was pardoned. He kissed the carpet and stood. He then addressed him in Turkish language consoling him, " In military world, such faults always take place. They are forgiven." He then ordered him to stand to the left side of Tardi Beg Khān. Muṣāḥib Beg was brought with his quiver and sword round his neck. He ordered to lighten his neck and said, " Mistakes of the great are committed by the small. In this way one after another till the time comes for sacrifice of soldier at last. It is an old usage ". He said to him in the Turkish language, " If you were not afflicted, you would not have been called to this." He replied in the Turkish language, " From the hand of Nature which blackened the face except similar things will not happen from him. Ḥasan Quli Sulṭān Mohradār recited the following couplet in the majlis

Couplet

He who tries to blow the lamp
Which God kindles, burns his beard.

Beard of Karācha Qhān was the longest in the majlis. Most of them felt ashmed and disgraced at this recitation. Humāyun marched next day and encamped on the river of Talqān.

Return of Kāmrān from the way to Humāyun

Kāmrān Mirzā and Mirzā 'Abdullāh met Humāyun on Wednesday, 17th Rajab of the year. Kāmrān Mirzā and Mirzā 'Abdullāh met in the vicinity of Bādām valley. It was fraternal kindness upon him as stated above. He said to Mirzā 'Abdullāh, " If you were not in his place, your action would not have been for his interest." He replied, " With reverse of his action." He said, " To seek an opportunity for his reward of action, is now for you." He said as to what it was. He replied, " We are today at a place where the hand of Salṭanat does not reach to us. It is proper to attend upon him and seek his* forgiveness." He did. When near the manzil of Humāyun, he sent Bālus to him. Humāyun was delighted with his news. He ordered Mun'im Khān, Tardi Beg Khān, Mir Muḥammad Munshi, Ḥasan Quli Mohardār and Bālhe Beg Topchi to go for his reception. He then ordered Qasim Ḥusain Sulṭān Shaibāni, Khiḍr Khwāja, Sulṭān Iskander and Sulṭān 'Ali Kuli Khān. He then ordered Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā 'Askari whom he had set at liberty that day, He prepared a legal majlis in this order. Humāyun sat and Kāmrān Mirzā arrived. He saluted him with decorum and stood. Humāyun said to him, " This was in accordance with law. There remained the turn of fraternity. He instructed him to sit down to his right. It was a worth seeing majlis. On his encamp-

* Original Text p. 1034.

ment at 'Ayn alias Bandkushā, he ordered for arrangement of a majlis of intimacy at that 'Ayn Sulṭān Bābur had encamped at it. It was a meeting of loyalty from him from Khān Mirzā and Jahāngir Mirzā. There was a stone-inscription on which the date of meeting was inscribed "Amara behi Babur" ( ). In like manner, Humāyun convened a majlis for loyalty of Kāmrān. It was a meeting of brothers at this spot. He ordered for the date of the meeting to be inscribed on a stone-tablet "Iktedāe b. Babur." ( ) It remained as a monument at this 'Ayn. On his encampment at Nāri in Badakhshān, they decided to meet at the approach of the year for conquest of Balkh. Till now Khatlān was granted to Kāmrān. It was a tank to the side of Mok and Karātakin. He ordered Sher 'Ali to attend upon him. Kāmrān was distinguished with a standard and a drum, tuman tugh. In like manner, Sulaimān and Hindāl were ennobled with a flag and a drum. After pacts and pledges, he permitted them to go to their respective regions. He returned to Kābul on 2nd Ramaḍān of the year. He granted permission to Qaracha Khān and Muṣāḥib Beg for a travel to Hijāz. For exile cools improvement of self and one remembers bounties. They then paused at Hazāra and learnt about faults. He permitted them to turn to it. It was in this year that the incident of Mirzā Ulugh Beg son of Mirzā Muḥammad Sulṭān son of Mirzā Uwais son of Bāykara son of Manṣur son of 'Umar Shaikh took place. Its account is: He came out from Dāwar to go to Badakhshān with an intention for service. Khwāja Mu'azzam was with him. He received news of victory in the vicinity of Ghazni. Khwāja Mu'azzam went with him to the land of Hazāra. He made haste in war and thus he attained to martyrdom. There were four grand-fathers between Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā and Amir Timur Ṣāhib-i-Qarān. His mother was the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā. After his death, he was in the service of* Sulṭān Bābur and afterwards, he was in the service of Humāyun. He had two sons, Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā. Ulugh Mirzā had two sons who had become disloyal. After Humāyun, Muḥammad Sulṭān was in service of Sulṭān Akbar. The elder one was exempted from the army. He was assigned A'zampur and its adjacent places for his maintenance. In his old age, he had his sons Ibrāhim Ḥusain, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Mas'ud Ḥusain and 'Akil Ḥusain. Ibrāhim and Muḥammad proved disloyal. Their account is previously given in Daftar I, An envoy of 'Abdur Rashid Khān b. Sulṭān Sa'eed Khān, ruler of Kāshghar came with a letter and a present to Kābul in this year. 'Abbās Sulṭān from among the Uzbek Sulṭāns came to Kābul. He was looked to with an eye of favour. He married his younger sister Gulchehrah Begum. The death of Shāh Mirzā brother of Ulugh Mirzā took place in this year. He started from the region of Ushtur Kirām for Kābul with intention of service. On his arrival at Kutal Minār, Muḥammad Sulṭān was there. He killed the uncle of Ḥāji

* Original Text, p. 1035.

Muhammad Khān at Hind Kuki in negligence of Shāh Muḥammad broth Ḥāji Muhammad by hitting an arrow at head of the horse. He attaine martyrdom because of that.

Invasion of Balkh

Humāyun marched from Kabul for conquest of Balkh in the early pa 956 (1549). He sent Bābtu Beg, one of the favourites to Kāmrān Mir: inform him about the march to Balkh as decided and to meet him on the skirts of Badakhshān. He wrote to all those who were at Badakhshān. He Khāwind to Kāmrān from the manzil of Khwāja Dost impelling him to c At this manzil, he raised the rank of Khwāja Sulṭān 'Ali by conferment o title of Afḍal Khān and the manṣab of the Diwān ul-Buyutāt. He was sup tendent of the Household department. Ibrāhim Mirza came in all haste, the manzil of Astālif, he received intelligence of flight of 'Abbās Mirzā U: Mirzā Uzbek. Mirzā Hindāl, Sulaimān met him in the vicinity of Dash Birka Bahārām. Kāmrān did not come. In the neighbourhood of Baq they and Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān advanced to Aynak, a dependency of B Its Sulṭān Pir Muḥammad Khān Uzbek sent to him Māk Atalik and a ba men including Mirzā Ḥusain Sa'eedi, Muḥammad 'Ali Mirzā and Jujak I They alighted in the fort of Aybak. Humāyun assaulted it. They came tc for amnesty and surrendered the fort. He arranged a festive majlis and so counsel of Atālic for conquest of Māwarāun-Nahr. He replied, "My capal cannot attempt for it." Humāyun said, "I seet you equal for it as you steadfastness and so I consulted you for that. There is worst peril. You a observe that." He said, "Men like Pir Muḥammad Khān had ruled ove There they are. If I ordered for their death, its conquest is not possibl sword." He replied, "After amnesty, perfidy is not praiseworthy. It is \ in sulṭāns." He said, "Order for my captivity from Khalam to this side is for you. If it is not the will of God to conquer it, Humāyun paused for : days in the manzil. The greatest cause of pause was that Kāmrān did not (to him. During the pause. Uzbek help came to Balkh. Humāyun sent (who were under his amnesty to Kābul with the exception of Aṭalik who rem in attendance. He marched to Balkh by way of Khalam and encamped Astāna. He received information from amirs of the advance-guards, Wa Sulṭān and Shāh Muḥammad Ḥiṣāri about their march on that side. Hum rode, arrayed contingents and he was between the advance-guards going a distance. Humāyun returned to the manzil. On his encampment, he f Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān Ḥiṣāri. He was about to attack the camp. A stood in opposition. A war broke out between him and Kābuli Khān broth Muḥammad Kāsim Muji, Sher Muḥammad Pakna and Muḥammad F

* Original Text, p. 1036.

Turkoman. It was a fiercely fought battle of Kābuli Khān. Awmaki Aghlān, a famous Uzbek was made a captive. Shāh Muḥammad Khān returned. The Uzbeks and the Mughals assembled the next day in the maidān. The centre of the Uzbeks was commanded by 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān son of 'Ubaid Khān. Pir Muḥammad Khān was in command of the right wing while Salātin Ḥiṣār was on the left wing. The Mughal centre was commanded by Ḥumāyun. Sulaimān Mirza was in command of the right wing. Hindāl Mirzā was on the left wing while Karācha Khān, Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, Tardi Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān,* Sulṭān Ḥusain Beg Jalāir and his brother were in the vanguard. The war lasted between them from early part of the day to its close. The vanguard of the Uzbeks defeated the Mughal vanguard. They crossed water and retreated to the city fort. Humāyun intended to cross water in wake of his companions. Hypoorites played a trick with baseless cunning. Among them were those who had advised for expection of Kāmrān while others advised for pause so that Kābul may fall in hands of Kāmrān. There was wealth and families. At last, they were pleased, after efforts of Humāyun, to encamp on the side of the valley of Gaz. It was fortified. Humāyun marched to it. He sent Shaikh Bahlol to recall the vanguard to him. The valley of Gaz was on the way to Kābul. It was reported by the people that he returned to Kābul. Many persons dispersed to follow Kāmrān in the vicinity of Kābul. The Uzbeks received intelligence of it. They showed themselves at the valley of Gaz behind them. Humāyun rode and the two armies encountered. Humāyun personally fought and roamed in the battle-fied. He was on a horse. Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Herāt guided him. An arrow hit him and he fell down. Haider Muḥammad Ākhta saw him from his horse. Humāyun rode the horse and gave up the effort in doubt. He found no friend and no aider. He turned his reins from the battle-field.

Names of persons who were with him in straits

Mirzā Hindāl, Mirzā Sulaimān, Qarācha Khān, Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, Tardi Beg Khān, Mun'in Khān, Khiḍr Khwāja Sultān, Muḥammad Qāḍi Khān Jalāir, Iskander Khān, Ḥaider Muḥammed Ākhta Begi, 'Abdullā Khān Uzbek, Ḥasan Quli Khān Mohardār, Muḥib Quli Khān Mir Khalifa, Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān, Bāhtu Sulṭān, Muṣāhib Beg, Shāh Budāgh, Shāham Beg Jalāir, Shāh Quli Nāranji, Muhammad Qāsim Muji, Luṭfullāh Sirhindi, 'Abdul Wahhāb Awdaji, Bāqi Muḥammad Parwānehi, and a band of similarly persons of states were with him. On his encampment at Chahār Chashma, he wrote to Rashid Khān, ruler of Kāshghar as brother with these contents: Physical brother Kāmrān preferred hypocrisy to accord in accordance with his vicious nature. He had completely† given up affection and well-wishing. He did not encourage many of his companions to help. Hence he was not successful as desired by friends, nay, it proved

* Original Text, p. 1037. † Original Text, p. 1038.

to be an occasion of grief and turbidness of the mind. After this, he was soled with words of advice. Humayun went to Kabul. Mirza Sulaiman w Badakhshan while Hindal proceeded to Qunduz. Muni'm Khan, Mir S Bakhshi, Khwaja Nasiruddin Mustawfi (accountant), Mir Muhammed, 1 Beg, (Superintendent of Buildings) Khwaja Jalaluddin were dispatchec Uzbek captives. When he entered Kabul, he sent such of the Uzbeks, inclu Ataliq to the Chashma and others to Balkh. After their arrival, Munim and those who were with him directed the Uzbek captives to Kabul. A time of his attack on Balkh, he sent Khwaja Jalaluddin Mahmud with a l to Iraq. On his return, he was at Qandahar; he reversed to him and cam him in company of Khwaja Sa'ādat, Khwaja Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyid famous in portrait-painting. He raised the rank of Afḍal Khān to the ma of Vizarat and Diwān of expenditure. He ennobled Khwāja Mirzā Beg the Diwān of revenue collection.

An account of Kāmrān Mirzā

As stated above, he came from Ṭalqān to Humāyun. He assigned K to him. On his departure to it, Humāyun sent Jākar Beg Kulābi son of Su Uwais Beg with him. Within less than a month, he treaded the path with with which he was not pleased at the time of departure. He was appointed departure to Balkh. On his stay at Kābul, Kāmrān always induced him tc to Balkh. When he came out from Kābul for conquest of Balkh, he refra from him and decided to conquer Kābul. On account of his writing, the ar became hypocrites and many others at the manzil of Astāna, departed f Balkh to the valley of Gaz and seceded from help. He returned to Ka Kāmrān followed his brother 'Askari Mirzā to Kulāb. It was assigned to After being separated from captivity of Humāyun, he marched to Sulai Mirzā. He was at Ṭalqān. He then went to the fort of Zafar. Ishāq Sultān left there. He and Ibrāhim Mirzā went to Ḥaram. When Kāmrān assembl soldiers, he thought of going to Qunduz. He tried to win over Hindal but was not disposed towards him. He remained firm on a promise to Humā Kāmrān attacked Qunduz with the help of Uzbeks. Hindāl wrote to Humā about Kāmrān's perfidy with the Uzbeks. He said to his messenger to pla trick in taking the Uzbeks. He did it. The Uzbeks found with him a lette Kāmrān. They deserted him and went to Balkh. In the meantime, Kām learnt about 'Askari Mirza's defeat ffom Jakar Beg Kulābi. He learnt t Sulaimān Mirzā had conquered Zafar and that Ishāq Sulṭan was made a capt He was in accord with Kāmrān. Kāmrān sent Bālus to the fort of Zafar anc marched to Kulāb. Jākar Beg returned from the siege to his place of ref and Kāmrān and 'Askari marched against Sulaimān. Sulaimān [went to Kh

* Original Text, p. 1039.

from Badakhshān. On discord of amirs, he sent for them. Kāmrān marched to Kābul and wrote to Humāyun deceiving him about the information of his coming to him for apology from behind his back.

I returned to prostrate at your feet
If loyalty is preordained, I should show it

Humāyun assembled those in whom he had confidence and said, " You see in his arrival, they had unanimously decided to dispute with him for deception. It has been said : He who tried the experienced, repentance is lawful for him. It is proper to oppose him with preparation of war for he has verified it. Or he has proved falsehood to be true. We are on caution and determination." Humāyun made preparations and marched to Ghorband. He was on the way of Mirza in middle of the year, 957 (1550). He left behind Muḥammad Khān Qāsim Barlās at Kābul and encamped at Qarābāgh. He then proceeded to Jarigān. He was then at the river of Bāran. At this place, there was a spring of water to go over. Humāyun rode and thus he was separated from those who walked at the time of crossing in search of a bridge or fordable place. His passage became easy. Humāyun did not like separation from him. He said, " Where are you, the self-sacrificing soldiers of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawi ? He was on a lofty mountain. A handkerchief fell down from his hand. His men fell down upon it and ruined themselves. Their name remained after them to be remembered. You separated yourselves from me at the crossing." Qarācha Khān and Muṣāḥib Khān referred to him those who were on accord in their disunity. He said, " There are ravines and mountains on our road. Kāmrān is in a number with his men.* He has several roads. He does not know what to tread. He called his men on these different roads none passed over them. He relied upon them and dispersed his men in search of him towards Ḍohāk and Bāmiān. These persons were Ḥāji Muhammad Khān Kuki, Mir Barka, Mirzā Ḥasan Khān, Bahādur Khān, Khwāja Jalālud-Din Maḥmud, Chalpi Beg, Muḥammad Khān Beg Turkoman, Shaikh Bahlol, Ḥaider Qasim Kohbar and Shāh Quli Nāranji. He ordered many of the attendants to pass by Awlank, and by this Qarācha Khān, Muṣāhib Khān, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān and such other persons remained in attendance. He separated them in search of those who were not homogeneous. Qarācha Khān used to write to Kāmrān from day today. It is reliably known that he deviated from Ḍohāk and Bāmiān towards the valley of Kabchāk and at mid-day, he met local cultivators who informed him about his meeting Kāmrān. Qarācha Khān who was the chief of disloyal persons, said, on the report of the narrator, " Do not be easy with him and on his sincerity when Kāmrān made preparation for war that he would separate himself from service through fear. In the meanwhile, he was in the midst of stratagems, there was a continuous report which

* Original Text, p. 1040.

vanished doubt. Humāyun rode and stood on an elevated place lookii men of accord. They were diving depths while the hypocrites were safe him. He then descended with boldness from the hillock to the battle-fielc plunged in war personally. His horse was wounded by an arrow on a side Bābāi Beg Kulābi deliberately beat him from behind or through mistake. turned towards him and looked with an angry glance. He was on the g with it. Mehtar Sakāhi Farḥat Khān saw him. He fled from him. Ii meantime, 'Abdul Wahhāb Shāwash was near him. He was a man of reli He informed him about the amirs being joined with Kāmrān. He seizec by reins and took him out of the battle-field. He ordered Muḥammad Amii 'Abdul Wahhāb to move after him. Farhāt Khān, Sabdal Khān and a were moving in time from those sides. Delay meant death with a wou horse. He removed his armour for lightness. Sabdal Khān carried it, nay always suspended his clothes. He then took counsel about time Ḥāji Muḥan Khān, ruler of Ghazni suggested to march towards Qandahār. He was ch men of discord. Others who were full of accord advised to march tow Badakhshān. Sulaimān Mirzā and Hindāl Mirzā and Ibrāhim Mirzā decid make good by proceeding towards Kābul. The swordsmen said that there sl be good manners for such a day. If we do not take advantage today, we meet with death. We are upon hand and heart in your hand, then in the of God, let us go to Kābul. Who is Kāmrān? His scales are heavy hypocrites and perfidious persons. He would not be successful. On wor loyal persons, Humāyun deviated from Qandahār to Badakhshān and ma to it by way of Yak Awlang and thence to Kahmar. On the way, many followers separated themselves from him. After a night, he encamped oi shore of Bangi river. He had come across merchants of 'Irāq at Kahm way to Hind. Most of them were dealers in horses. They assembled ai him and spent the night with him at that manzil. When a part of nigh passed, there were shouts from the other side of the river saying "Oh pa by do you know about Humāyun, please tell us." One of them asked "Who are you? For whom are you? What news have you about him?' replied, "Our information is that he left the battle-field with a wound. that time, there is no information about him. His armour was on his in the war but it was brought to Kāmrān. He recognised it and was deli thereby." Humāyun called him in his presence and said to him "Do you me?" He said, "Does the moon hide? He departed. He crossed the in the morning and encamped at a place.....—Hindāl Mirzā met him a manzil. He then encamped at Andarāb and Sulaimān Mirza and Ibrāhim met him here. Those who died in the war from among Humāyun's men inc Pir Muḥammad Ākhta Mirzā Quli, Dost Muḥammad, Waqa' Husain Quli S

* Original Text, p. 1041.

in battle-field at the hand of Bābā Dost Yasāwal. He stood near Kāmrān. He killed him by his hand and ordered his body to be cut into pieces. He saw that. In like manner, Tāghji Beg was done to death. Beg Bābāi Kulābi came to him and informed him about wound of Humāyun. He passed by him and Kāmrān left the place of war and went to Charigān where he encamped. The armour of Humāyun was brought to him at this manzil. It was said that it was his 'jaib' collar. He then alighted on Kābul and began its siege. Qasim Khān Barlās was always on his feet for defence of the fort. He paid no heed to threats of Kāmrān. News of Humāyun's death floated about. He sent his armour to him. On seeing it, he surrendered the fort to him. He started to* array the army. Mirzā 'Askari had Jalālābād while Ghazni was assigned to Qarācha and nearby adjacent places. Yāsin Dawlat got Ghorband. Khwāja Sultān 'Ali was put in captivity. He seized wealth of people for food and fodder of the army. Qarācha Khān firmly established his authority and became the pivot of state matters. Similarly, Khwāja Qāsim Mir continued in this state for three months. In the meantime, Humāyun marched to Kābul. Kāmrān came out for resistance leaving Bābā Jujak and Mullā Shafāi as his nā'ib at Kābul. Coolness of eye of the Salṭanat (Akber) was with him. On Humāyun's emcampment in the vicinity of Ushtur Kirām, Kāmrān marched against him. When they came near the manzil, Humāyun sent Mirzā Shāh to him, a relative of Mir Buzurg, one of the most glorious Sayyids of Tirmiḍh and ordered him to give admonition. He said, "Convey him from me with regret that our quarrel is based on Kābul and Hindustān between us. They would finish us." These words had their desired effect on him. He replied that there should be concord for Hindustān provided Kāmrān had Kābul and Humāyun Qandahār. Humayun repeated to him in company of 'Abdul Bāqi the Sadr and said, "Convey him. If you are sincere in union with me, marry your daughter with my son. Kābul would be for them. I and you unite for conquest of Hind. Thus Kābul would be for both of us." Kāmrān liked to respond to it but Qaracha Khān paused to accept it and said, "My head and Kābul. He was to the side of Kāmrān. He lauded him for knowledge of astrology. He said to him "Do not fight to-day for ultimately, there would be war one day with subtle tricks. Soldiers of Humāyun are not pleased with pause of Humāyun for deceitful cunning of Kāmrān and from among them Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān. In the meantime, a party came to Humāyun from the army of Humāyun. They had seceded from him in the war of Kabchāk including Khwāja 'Abduṣ Ṣamad. They informed him about vaccilation of attitude of the enemy's army. Humāyun rode and the Sun had declined and he ordered for array of rows and stood in the centre with Mirzā Sulaiman on the right and Mirzā Hindāl on the left. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān was in command of the vanguard. In like manner, Kāmrān stood in the

* Original Text, p. 1042.

centre with 'Askari on the right and Su'ṭān on the left. Qarācha Khān was in the fore front. Both the armies faced each other. Mehtar Bhaka who was left behind after Kabchāk rushed in resistance from the army of Kāmrān against* the army of Humāyun. The war began with Ibrahim Mirzā near the fountain of Muri. The other contingents followed. In the midst of stabs and blows, Qarācha Khān's head was brought and thrown before Humāyun's horse. He ordered for suspension of his head at the Kābul gate called the Iron Gate for creating confidence among hypocrites. It was an omen in itself as he had said "My head and Kābul." His word was in accord with deed. Abul Faḍl said: I heard from reliable persons the story of his murder. It was said that some abandoned men of Kāmrān captured him and drove him to the station of Humāyun. Qanbar 'Ali Bihāri, a man of Mirzā Hindāl's party saw him. Qarācha had killed his brother at Qandahār. He struck his sword on his head and carried his head to Humāyun. In short, Kāmrān did not stand firm in encounter. He came towards Afghānistān from Kutal Bādpach. 'Askari Mirzā was captured. It was a victory. The mind of Humāyun was disturbed for his son (Akbar). During the dispersion, Ḥasan Akhta came to him with him. He thanked God the Almighty. He embraced him. In the meantime, he was engaged in consoling a party when he saw camels with their boxes without any driver. He said, "Every one, rob a thing. I rob this." He went to them. He carried them and opened the boxes. They contained his books which were placed in war of Kabchāk. His thanks increased. He ordered that day to kill Khwāja Mir-i-Buyutāt. He was an arch mischief-monger. He spent the night at Chārigān. In the morning, he marched to Kābul and lived there. He ordered hypocrites to be put to death such as Bedār Beg, Haider Dost, Mughal Kānji, Mast 'Ali Kurchi. They were more than once ungrateful. After ennobling with favour, he permitted Mirzā Sulaimān to go to Badakhshān. His favour to Mirzā Ibrāhim lasted many days. He granted him leave and marched to Badakhshān. He fixed up marrige of his daughter Bakhshi Bānu Begum with Mirza Ibrahim. It would be at its time. Abul Faḍl said: On Humayun's march to Kābul, he halted at the maidān of Andarāb when Sulaimān Mirzā etc came and decided to pass by the way of Kutal Hindukuh. There was a party of hypocrites in his army. He assembled them for oath and pact and resolved to keep behind every section on the right particularly with him. He said, "He who had a pen of† art in his hand, was free from what was and to be. Whenever he cast a glance at the world of causes, he intended adornment to satisfy minds of people of time from tying loyalty with the right. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān said, "Every one of us takes an oath in a way you order but there should be from the side of the salṭanat also. Sincere servants look to welfare of the state." Mirzā Hindāl said to him, "What is this talk? How is the method of this oath? None of

* Original Text, p. 1043.

† Original Text. 1044.

the servants said that to his master nor a slave to his owner." He said to him, "Humāyun is that and he did everything what Ḥāji Muḥammad said to him was in confirmity with state welfare.

Return of Kāmrān

Abul Fādl said: Mirza Kāmrān came out of the battle-field to Ushtur Kirām with eight men—Āk sultān brother of Khiḍr Khwāja Jahān, Bābā Sa'eḍd Kabchāk Tamar Tāsh Atka, Kaṭlak Qadam, 'Ali Muḥammad Juki Khān, Abdāl Kuka and Maksud Kurchi. They entered the frontier of the Afghāns from the side of Deh Dār. It was under jurisdiction of Mirzā Hindāl, Ḥāji Muhammad Khān and Khiḍr Khwāja Khān. They controlled the reins till they were allowed to go. It so chanced to them with the Afghāns that they surrounded him and his companions on the road and seized what they had and upon them. Kāmrān was in the guise of a Qalandar for fear of being recognised. They all treaded to Malek Muḥammad, one of the eminent men of Lamghānāt. He gave them as much as he could during their stay by way of regard for his rights. When they improved themselves, they returned to their original nature. He collected an army. Humāyun learnt about it and he suspected mischief out it. The hypocrites strengthened him. They came to him in an hour of need Ḥāji Muhammad Khan marched to Ghazni, Humāyun was unaware of it. He sent a party of amirs in the face of Kāmrān. He designed to go to the side of the Afghāns and sought refuge with Khalil and Mahmand (tribes). They were from among their men. The amirs returned from him. After suppression of revolt, Humāyun sent Khwāja Jalālud-Din Maḥmud and his wife Bibi Fatama to Badakhshān for the marriage of Khānam daughter of Mirzā Sulaimān for himself. Sulaimān accepted. The marriage was to be celebrated on arrival of the begums, the vakils and eminent elderly persons. It was on this settlement, Fatima and Jalālud-Din Mahmud returned.*

Death of A'skari

As stated above, Mirzā 'Askari was left behind by Kāmrān in captivity and Humāyun had turned him towards himself. He felt ashamed to stay in the region. He went for ḥajj. He went to Badakhsān with a party and wrote to Mirzā Sulaimān in his dignity. He went to Balkh and thence proceeded to his destination. Death overtook him between Syria and Diārbiqr in the year.

Kāmrān's return to Kābul

Mirzā Kāmrān had sought refuge with the Khalil of the Afghāns and Mahmand. But his nature stirred him on for revolt. He assembled the Afghāns of the frontiers in a large number and showed himself on the boundary. Humāyun received intelligence of it. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān was at Ghazni. He

* Original Text, p. 1045.

sent Khwāja Ikhtiyār and Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy in search of him. They almost enjoyed similar high rank. In the meantime, he learnt about encampment of Kāmrān at a fort near Jalālābad. Humāyun marched to Jalālābād. Kāmrān returned to mountaneous region and thence he treaded his way to Bangash to meet Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān on the way. Just then, Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān had granted leave to Humāyun's messengers to return and wrote to Kāmrān : How long would you roam about among mountains? Come soon to this side and we will see what to do afterwards. It coincided with arrival of Biram Khān from Qandahār to Ghazni for attendance upon the Sulṭān. Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān received information about him. He went out for his reception. After meeting him, he resolved upon a feast in the fort and prevented him from going. Biram Khān accepted it on ground of his sincere faith. On the way to the fort, he understood perfidy from the gesture of Mir Habash to him. He was with Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān. He apologised to Ḥāji Muhammad Khān and encamped outside the city on side of the river. He did not divulge any thing to him. He moved on with grace to Kābul. He wrote to Humāyun informing him* about arrival to Ḥaji Muḥammad Khān who was at Jalālābād. He learnt that Kāmrān was on march to Kābul. He returned to Kābul. Kāmrān learnt about Biram Khān and Ḥāji Muhammad Khān's departure to Kābul. He returned to Lamghān. On the encampment of Humāyun at a place Siyāh Sang, Biram Khān came and Humāyun stopped army's entry into Kābul for the affair of Kāmrān. It so chanced one day that Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān intended entry but Jalālud-Din Maḥamud forbade him. He became suspicious for being forbidden and immediately went to Qarābāgh declaring for hunting but with a decision for Ghazni. Humāyun came to know about it. He entered Kābul followed by Biram Khān. He graced him with kindness. He returned with him and Biram Khān gave him what he had from him. He gave it to him. Humāyun went out in search of Kāmrān to Lamghānāt. On his encampment at Jalālābād, he learnt that Kāmrān was at (illegible). Biram Khān marched against him. He returned from it on receipt of news of his march to Nilāb. In the meantime, Humāyun ordered captivity of Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān and his brother Shāh Muhammad. He then ordered to write out what services he had rendered without any repugnance as well as his offences to expode in the world their truthfulness. Abul Faḍl said: The book of his deeds was good. He did not write anything therein but their evil deeds number one hundred and two, every one of which was the cause of blinding, punishment and assassination. In the meanwhile, he issued an order for capital punishment. It was executed. I say: He who saw the offence and delayed punishment for such a long time, should have done it at the time of committal. The tradition of the prophet, may peace and benediction of God be on him states: Verily God acts

* Original Text, p. 1046

slowly and He does not neglect." He transferred the office of Ghazni to Bahādur Khān. Humāyun returned to Kābul in the early part of spring. He permitted Biṛam Khān to return to Qandahār and sent a letter to 'Irāq with Khwāja Ghāzi. The charge of Ghazni was then given to Mirzā Hindāl including Gardiz and Bangash. Qunduz was assigned to Mir Barka and Mirzā Ḥasan while Jui Shāhi was given to Khwāja Khān. It so happened that before Mir Barka's arrival at Qunduz—Mirā Jahir Muḥammad Khān was there—Mirzā Ibrāhim was there. gracefully relieved him of it. Mir Barka returned to Kābul Humāyun came to know about it. He had issued that order in consideration of his previous services. In the meantime, Shāh Abul Ma'āli found a way to* Humāyun's majlis through influence of Khwāja 'Abdus Sami'. He was connected with the Sayyids of Tirmidh. He wus extremely handsome as well as brave. He looked at him with an eye of encouragement.

Martyrdom of Hindāl Mirzā

In the meantime, a report of Kāmrān's return from Nilāb to Jui Shāhi got circulated. Humāyun sent for Hindāl Mirzā from Ghazni as well as the amirs who were in adjacent places. On their arrival, Humāyun marched from Kābul. Kāmrān turned to Koth. On Humāyun's encampment near Surkhāb, he distinguished Ḥaider Muḥammad Ākhta with the manṣab of vanguard—it was an advance-guard. He advanced the encamped on the shore Siyāh Āli situated between Surkḥāb and Gandanak. Kāmṛān made a night attack on him. He remained steadfast. He received a wound. He gave away his sword and yet stood firm till Kāmrān returned from him. A few days after his encampment at the place of Harbār—it was from Tumān Nang Nahār—he ordered to surround his pavilion with a small wall, a ditch and nauba. Two Afghāns learnt about Kāmrān. He had decided to make a night-attack on the pavilion. Humāyun ordered the nauba to distribute themselves in different places and spend the night with caution. On Sunday night, 21st Ziqa'd 958 (1551), when one-fourth of the night had passed, Kāmrān made a night-attack on the pavilion—it was a place of encampment of the army according to the Arab. It is called Urdu by the Persians. Humāyun stood out of the pavilion on an elevated place with Akbar on his side. It implied victory for him. Akbar was with Kāmrān whenever he marched. Humāyun looked between Kāmrān and the nauba from a perch. He continued to stay there till rise of the moon. Kāmrān then returned. On this night, Humāyun's man 'Abdul Wahhāb Yasawal (captain of the guard) died with an arrow-shot. In the meanwhile, Humāyun collected his mind with rout of the adversary. News of martyrdom of his brother Mirzā Hindāl was brought to him. Its account : He had heard a report of Kāmrān's decision of a night-attack. He arrayed the nauba (guards) and a bed to sleep. He woke up with

* Original Text, p. 1047.

night-attack and shouts and stood up. A party of Afghans had entered the place of nauba from different sides. A sufficient number of them came to his bed. Night was dark. Faces could not be recognised in it. When he came* upon him, he personally warded off with what lay within his power. His companions assembled around him for defence of the horse-stable. In the meantime, Mirzā Hindāl faced the Afghāns. A war broke out with arrows and then with swords and with personal combat. He seized Hindāl and threw him on the ground. He felt it to be blow of his brother called Jarida (?) from the tribe of Muhammad; Hindāl Mirzā achieved martyrdom. He did not know him. Some one of his party informed Kāmrān that he combated with Hindāl. On his return to Kāmrān, he gave him his belongings of bow strings which were specially of Mirzā Hindāl. He found him there and informed him that he killed him in negligence. When Kāmrān saw the suspender, he recognised as to whose it was and who was the killed. He struck the ground with his turban and said "Hindāl was killed." During his martyrdom, Ibrāhim Badakhshi saw the maniac. He had a black armour for the darkness of the night. Voices got mingled and crossed upon him. He failed to identify him. It crossed his mind that he was Hindāl for he had a black armour., He returned and saw and got convinced that it was he. He silently carried him to his tent and ordered the door-keeper to guard the door. He did not inform any one. With the rise of dawn, he carried his coffin to Jui Shāhi and consigned the deposit. He then carried it to Kābul. His munshi Mullā Khurd Zargar wrote an elegy, the opening line of which is

> On night, blood of the heart made a night-atlack on pupils of my eyes
> Sepoys of the eyes pitched a tent outside due to coming and going of blood.
>
> He also composed the following chronogram
>
> Hindāl Muḥammad king of auspicious title
> Suddenly became a martyr through fate in heart of night.
> When they made a night-attack for his martyrdom
> Seek date of his martyrdom from "Shabikhun" (night-attack).

Mir Amāni composed date of his martyrdom by way of an enigma: A cypress departed from garden of state (or fate). Mirzā Hindāl was born in 924 (1518). Some one has stated in respect of his date: A star of Imperial zodiac was date of year. Humāyun then marched from the manzil of night-attack to the manzil of Bahsud. Everything that Mirzā Hindāl had of Ghazni etc. was assigned to Jalālud-Din Akbar Bādshāh. In like manner, those who were in his service, were retained. He was ten years of age. It so chanced†

* Original Text, 1048.

† Original Text, p. 1049.

that before Hindāl Mirzā's martyrdom, he was in the cavalcade of Humāyun. In a crowd, the turban of Jalālud-Din got displaced from its centre. Hindāl raised his crown from his head and placed it on his head. Those who had foresight in future events, understood something out of this move as to what came to the amirs from him. Hindāl's service was the best. They returned to service of Jalālud Din as ordered. They were: Muḥib 'Ali Khān, Nāṣir Kuli, Khwāja Ibrāhim, Mawlānā 'Abdullāh, Ādina Takbāj, Samānji, Targhuji Khān, Muḥammad Takbāy, Tājud-Din Maḥmud Bārbeki, Timurtāsh, Mawlānā Thāni titled later on as Thāni Khān, Mawlānā Bābā Dost Ṣadr—he perfectly enjoyed favour of Hindāl. Mir Jamāl,—he was his favourite. Khāledy Dost Sahbāri and Bābā Dost. He was a servant of maligned mentality. He was not counted among them. Muḥammad Ṭaher Khān was an old servant but he got condemned for surrender of Qunduz. Humāyun stayed at Bahsud for nearly six months. He built a very strong fort there. It became clear to him in regard to Kāmrān that he was with a few individuals from among the Afghān tribes. He rode to that side at night. He halted on the way due to cold weather. He was then with Māham 'Ali Quli Khān and Bābā Khazāri from the side of Kāmrān to Malek Muḥammad Maḥandrawari. He went with them and they put questions to him. Bābā Khazāri guided them to him. Humāyun was in the Afghān tribe in the morning. He met men in the tent which was the sleeping-place of Kāmrān. They were two. He captured one of them and let go the other. The captive Beg Muluk was a favourite of Kāmrān. Kāmrān moved on to Hind. Humāyun returned to Bahsud and then to Kābul. Humāyun marched to Bangash at the close of 959 (1551). He received a letter of Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar. He was the head of the Ghakkar amirs. Its contents were: It contained information about Kāmrān. He entered into his frontiers in a bad condition. I did not see him involved in such a condition. If you would like to be in this frontier, the royal pavilion originated at this place for kissing the royal carpet. He forgave his offences and distinguished him with service. It coincided with a letter received by Juki Khān from Kāmrān. He was his favourite. Abul Faḍl said: Kāmrān set out for Hind after the incident of Beg Muluk to seek aid from Salim Shāh b. Sher Shāh He sent Shāh Budāgh to Salim Shāh from the vicinity of Khaibar. He was in Ban, a town in Punjāb Shāh Budāgh met him and* handed over his letter. His reply to Kāmrān was in consistency with his status that he had come for his aid. He sent expenditure with him. Before the coming of Shāh Budāgh to Kāmrān, 'Ali Muḥammad came to Salim Shāh from his side informing him about his arrival at a distance of some farsakhs. Salim Shāh sent his son Āwāz Khān and Mawlānā 'Abdullah Sultānpuri to receive him. Kāmrān presented himself and met him in an unpleasing manner. His party consisted of Bābā Kuchak, Mulla Shafāi', Bābā Sa'eed Kubchāk, Shāh Budāgh,

* Original Text, 1050.

'Ālam Shāh, Rahmān Quli Khān, Tumartāsh, Ghālib Khān, Ṣāleh Dīwāna, Hāji Yusuf, 'Ali Muḥammad and Abdāl Kuka. Kāmrān saw in his party that there was none of intelligence among them. He repented and rebuked his companions. Severest in rebuke and reproach he was to Shāh Budāgh. He was the cause of it. Salim Shāh returned from Punjab to Delhi. Kāmrān was watchful upon him. Whenever he asked him leave for return, he delayed to help him from time to time. He intended to conquer one fort after another. Kāmrān understood that from him. He understood flight from him. He sent Juki Khān to Rāja Makte for his freedom. He was at a distance of twelve farsakhs from Machiwāra. He replied and said, " If Salim oppresses Māchiwāra he comes to unite with him with what he has." Kāmrān then changed his dress, wore an armour, left Yusuf Āftābchi in his bed and came out one night by opening the screen to the Raja. The Rāja met him and conveyed to him that an army had come in search of him. He sent him to Raja Kalurka. He sent towards Jammu. When the Rāja of Jammu heard about him, he forbade his entry into limit of his region. Kāmrān got perturbed and marched towards Mankot. He was about to fall in captivity, he followed the Afghāns intending for Kābul in guise of women. He tried to make good by coming to Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar. He gave him asylum. He wrote to Humāyun to send for him. He marched towards him. He nominated Jalālud-Din Maḥmud as the governor of Kābul. He took Akbar as his companion, treaded the path and came to Sind. He sent a man to Sulṭān Ādam in search of him. When he crossed the river of Sind, he found no trace of him. He was in doubt for anxiety to come across him according to usages of the land. He sent Mun'im Khān for consoling him. He communicated Kāmrān also as to what was his advice therein. Mun'im Khān returned to Sultān Ādam and Kāmrān was with him. The meeting took* place in the vicinity of Parhāla. Kāmrān was treated with favour but the amirs had decided to kill him. They said, " Since long, he is engaged in creating disturbance yet he does not bring it to an end even with forgiveness and liberal behaviour. Humāyun does not regard it as proper. " When the amirs saw that they were on the side of safety, they sought a religious decree under these circumstances. Eminent scholars prepared a united petition and submitted it to Humāyun. It was sent to Kāmrān. When he saw the petition with the writings of the amirs, he said, " These are those who wrote upon the petition. They are the persons who have brought about my fall to-day. " He was moved by kindness. He did not permit his death. He waited for an hour putting his head down in meditating and pondering. He then raised his head and with counsel of all, he ordered to extricate his eyes. He nominated 'Ali Dost Bārbeki, Sayyid Muḥammad Makka (?), and Ghulām 'Ali Shash-angusht to execute the order. When they entered upon him in his tent, he imagined that

* Original text, p. 1051.

they had come to kill him. He stood up, wore his armour, gathered his hands and moved on to them. 'Ali Dost said to him, "We are not ordered to kill you. What is the meaning of this move? We have come with requisites of justice. What you had done to Sayyid 'Ali and party, we are here to extricate your eyes for some other reason. It is a reward of similar action. The order is to be executed. Kāmrān stood in front of him and stretched himself on the ground. They blinded his eyes with the rod. Out of caution, they beat him with roots also. It was preordained by destiny. This happened at the close of 960 (1552). Khwāja Muḥammad Farankhurdi found the date from the word "Nishtar". Humāyun was overwhelmed with pity. He interpreted the event with the tongue of reality and was much affected. That day, Kāmrān sent to Mun'im Khān questions with a request for Humāyun's service for Beg Muluk. He issued an instant order for that. With perfect regard, Kāmrān seized his hand and placed it on his eyes.

> However much my eyes have drawn a curtain over them to see your face
> They see with eyes which saw your face many times.

When Humāyun was free from these frontiers, he assembled the amirs for* assault on Kashmir They did not deem it advisable but Humāyun was firmly resolved for it. He permitted Jalālud-Din Akbar a march to Kābul. During the course of march, most of the amirs and soldiers, nay, all of them got ready for Kābul. Those rejected should follow them even by laying the sword. They sought an omen from the Holy Qurān. It opened with the story of Yusuf may peace be upon him. He who is able to interpret should speak what occurs to him. Meditation in that. Ḥusain Marawi said that they are for Kashmir for that is right in respect of pit and prison for the story of Joseph gives information about them. The amirs who were for stay, returned to Kabul. On his encampment on the river of Sind, Kāmrān requested permission for Hijāz. Out of regard for him, he was permitted for voyage. On the night which passes to morning, Humāyun marched to his manzil with a party of his special favourites. Kāmrān sang

> Corner of cap of a derwish rubs the sky
> For a shadow of a king like thee falls over his head.

He again recited a verse

> Whatever comes to my soul from thee is an obligation
> May it be an arrow of tyranny or a dagger of oppression.

Abul Faḍl said: The second verse comprises thanks but in the opinion of a knower, it smacks of a complaint. In spite of that Humāyun said nothing; he

* Original Text, p. 1052.

was overwhelmed by kindness and pity and said, " For his solace, the world of secrets bears evidence for me for there is no order within my control. I am much ashamed because of him. I had managed the government before him. Kāmrān then looked to his faults, and humbled himself for mercy of his brother and he feels ashamed before him. He said to Ḥāji Yusuf who was most respectable in the majlis. He said to Tardi Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Bābus Beg, Khwāja Ḥusain Marawi, Mirzā 'Abdul Ḥayy, Mir 'Abdullāh, Khanjar Beg and 'Ārif Beg. Kāmrān said to them: " Oh party of brothers bear witness upon me. I am not a sinner for such time as this wherein are present before whom I am for solution of my difficulties. How and with deservation of death, he has obliged me and given me life and permitted me for ḥajj. It is his excellence and obligation. I thank him a thousand thanks. He had power* over retribution for what I deserved. He did not do that. He then willed him for his sons. Humāyun accepted and showed favours to them. I bid him farewell for the sake of God. Kāmrān wept on his departure and raised his voice, " Alas ! Alas ! " On the morning of his travel, Humāyun said to him, " I have no objection if you take with you any person for your attendance. He did not select any one. He then chose 'Ālam Khān who was in attendance upon Humāyun. He said, " For such a time as this, it occurred to him as to who was worthy of service for me. He granted him permission. Everything that he needed in cash and kind was put in his charge with greetings. Beg Muluk, with that relation and rank, moved with him upto several manzils and then separated himself. None applauded him. He was condemned inspite of good appearance. Kāmrān crossed the river of Sind at Tattha. He came to Hijāz. He stood at 'Arafāt for three pauses and on 11th Zilhajj, 964 (1556), died at Minā. He used to cry, " I am ready, Oh God ! I am ready. "

On Humāyun's encampment at Kirām alias Peshāwar, he ordered to repair the fort demolished by the Afghans. After its completion, Sikander Uzbek was appointed its Amir. He marched to Kābul and entered it in the early part of 961 (1553). The Begums blessed him on his arrival. He said: It is good for the meeting. In regard to Kāmrān, it is not blessedness. I intended his eyes with my hands. On Wednesday night, 5th Jamādi of the year, he got a son through Māh Chuchak Begum and named him Muḥammad Ḥakim. They found his date of birth from " Abul Mafākhir " and " Abul Faḍāil. "

Humāyun's march to Qandahār

In the early part of winter of the year, Humāyun marched to Qandahār. At Shor-Andām, Biram Khān came from Qandahār and had the honour of paying obeisance. Some one slandered Birām Khān on Humāyun's arrival. 'Ali Quli Khān Andrābi was appointed an amir in place of Birām Khān.*

* Original Text p. 1053.

Humāyun was convinced of Birām Khan's innocence from guilt. He was re-instated as an Amir and ennobled with favours. During his stay in the whole of winter, Biram Khān managed state affairs with efficiency. Arrival of Humāyun was in wake of the arrival of Khwāja Ghāzi to it with a letter from 'Irāq. The contents of the letter were stability with dues of service. His rank was raised to the manṣab of Diwān. Mu'azzam Sulṭān came from Dāwar. Mehtar Karā arrived as an envoy from the ruler of Herāt, Muḥammad Khān. The events of the year were : Shāh Abul Ma'āli killed Sher 'Ali Beg. Its account is: He was a servant of the ruler of 'Irāq. He was the father of Beqarā Beg, Mir-i-Shikār. He went to Humāyun without his permission. He was a Shia. Shāh Abul Ma'āli had in him vanity and arrogance and arbitrariness, handsome appearance, lofty rank, ditinction of being near the ruler, continuous drinking, perfect rashness in valour and exaggerated religious fanaticism: It was said, "Do not be afraid, I will kill this shia." Humāyun endured his boast. One night he designed and killed him. His blood began to flow. Humāyun returned to Kābul. He ordered Biram Khân to get ready for march to Hind and to join him. Arrival of Humāyun at Kābul' was at the close of the year. He appointed Mun'im Khān to the manṣab of Akbar Shāh's Atāliq (tutor) in the year. Ulugh Beg b. Bulbul Sulṭān came as an envoy from the Sulṭān of 'Irāq. Humāyun was making preparations for traval to Hind. In the meantime, some of the derwishes foretold him that he would be famous in the region of concealment. Humāyun took this as an omen for conquest of Hind. A rumour floated among the common folk that Turkastān was like the head, Khurāsān chest and Hind feet. He said, "This omen is similar to the omen of Amir Timur, Sāḥib-i-Qirān. Its account is: when he marched from Māwarū un-Nahr for conquest of Khurāsan and came to Andakhud, there lived Shanki Atā. He was noted for purity of mind and supernatural powers. Amir Timur went to see him for blessings. When he presented himself before him, he placed a tray before him. It contained what was present with him—chest of a sheep. He turned to that was near him and said, "Omen from chest of the sheep is conquest of Khurāsān for it is said that chest is the face of the earth." On 8th Shawwāl of the year he came from Qanḍahār to Kābul. Humāyun resolved upon conquest of Hind. Anarchical condition prevailed in Hind after Salim* Shāh and murder of Mubāriz Khān, chief of mischief by ṣlaughtering the son of Salim. He strengthened his affairs and appointed Mun'im Khān in Kābul. Shāh Wali Bakāwal Begi was nominated to the manṣab of Atka for his son Muḥammad Hakim. He left the begums behind at Kābul. He marched to Hind with Akbar Shāh.

* Original Text, p. 1054.

March of Humāyun for recovery of Hind

In the middle of Zilhajj of 961, his manzil was at Jalālābād. Abul Faḍl said: On that day, he took an omen from the Diwān of "Tongue of the Invisible" Mawlānā Khwāja Ḥāfiz Shirāzi. The following couplet was the first line opened:

Seek fortune from the auspicious bird and his shadow
Because there are no wings of courage with crow and kite.

On the last day of Muḥarram of 962 (1554), his manzil was at Kirām. Sikander came there and titled him as Khān. He encamped on Sindhu on 5th Ṣafar of the year. Biram Khān came there from Kābul. There also the news of Tātār Khān Kāsi, the Amir of Rohtās was received. He had left the centre on receipt of news of Humāyun's encampment on the Sindhu. Humāyun had written to Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar to come to him. He replied, "There is a pact between me and Sikander from the time of my son called Lashkari who was in his service. He was afraid to be killed for breach of promise. Formerly, he was in his service; he had no claim before his excuse. He crossed Sindhu and dispersed the Afghāns from Rohtās. Abul Faḍl said: He had in his stirrup the most glorious from amongst his companions; Biram Khān, Shāh Abul Ma'āli, Khwāja Khān Tardi Beg Khān, Sikander Khān, Khiḍr Khān Hazāra, 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek, Mirzā 'Abdullāh, Muṣāḥib Beg Khān, 'Ali Quli Khān Shaibāni, Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās, Khwāja Mu'azzam, 'Ali Quli Khān Andarābi, Ḥaider Muḥammad Ākhta Begi, Bābus Beg, Ismā'il Beg Duldi, Mirzā Ḥasan Khān, Mirzā Najāt, Muḥammad Khān Jalāir, Khwāja Husain Marawi, Mir 'Abdul Ḥayy, Mir 'Abdullāh Kāni, Khanjar Beg, 'Adad Beg, Khwāja 'Abduṣ Ṣamad, Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Mullā 'Abdul Kader, Mullā Ilyās Ardabeli, Mulla Kā im Jurjāni, Mullā 'Abdul Bāki, Afḍal Khān Mir Bakhshi, Khwaja Kāsim Mukhlis,* Khwāja 'Atāullāh, Diwan-i-Buyutāt, Khwāja Abul Qāsim, Shihābuddin Aḥmad Khān, Mu'in Khān Farankhudin, Khwājā Amin ud-Din Maḥmud, Malek Mukhtār. Sayyid Shihāb ud-Din Aḥmad Khān, Ashraf Khān and Farḥat Khān were equal to them. They were permitted to go from the manzil of Kalanaur. They marched to Lahore. There was a prestige war between Biram Khān and Nasib Khān Afghān near Harharna (Hariyāna). It was a victory for Biram Khān. Humāyun acted according to his vow for conquest of Hind for fear of captivity. Captives were released and they were sent to Humāyun. On Humāyun's encampment in the vicinity of Jālandhar, all the Afghāns fled away. Tardi Beg Khān resolved to go in their pursuit. Biram Khān forbade him to do so. He sent Bāltu Khān to him to call him. He talked to him and he replied to him. Khwāja Mu'azzam Sultān replied in a bad manner. Bāltu Khān replied in the same manner. Khwāja Mu'azzam gave him a blow. He

* Original Text, p. 1055.

held up the sword in his hand. Humāyun came to know about this behaviour on part of the amirs. He sent Afḍal Khān to admonish the amirs and to improve their own conduct. Biram Khān stayed at Jalandhar and divided the region among the amirs. Māchiwāra was assigned to Sikander Khān. He waited for an opportunity and journeyed to Sirhind and established his authority over it. At his place, he heard about Tātār Khān, Habib Khān, Nasib Khān and Mubārak Khān that they were at Delhi and that they had come to the outskirts of Sirhind. He marched to Jālandhar from it. Biram Khān reproached him for this step. Biram Khān marched from Jālandhar and on his encampment at Māchiwāra did not find Tardi Beg Khān. It was not proper on his part to cross the river. Biram Khān found him and a party consisting of Mullā Pir Muḥammad, Muḥammad Qasim Khān Nishāpuri, Ḥaider Beg Shāmlu and Wali Beg had tried to cross the river. Biram Khān crossed it. He was followed by Tardi Beg Khān. All of them assembled to fight with the Afghāns. Biram Khān stood in the centre while Khiḍr Khān was to his right, Tardi Beg Khān to the left and Sikander Khān in the vanguard. The Afghāns received intelligence of it. They hastened for opposition. At evening, both the armies assembled with swords at a place near the river. Night fell and the war stood. Every one of them separated at the end and went to a side and alighted there to pass night.* It so happened that a village in the expanse of which the Afghāns had encamped caught fire. It was due to accumulated rubbish. The flames rose up. The Mughals and the Afghāns saw them. The Afghāns did not see the Mughals through blazing flames. They were surrounded by the Mughals on every side. They darted arrows aimlessly while the Mughals aimed them accurately. The Mughals gained a victory. Their elephants and baggage fell in the hands of the Mughals. Biram wrote a report of victory to Humāyun. In the morning of the night, the soldiers were sought. They marched to Sirhind and encamped there. 'Ali Quli Khān Shaibāni joined it. He ordered him to go ahead with his contingent. Abul Faḍl said: There was a long distance between Humāyun and Biram Khān. Humāyun received a report of Tātār Khān's march from Delhi to the direction of Biram Khān. He said to his associates, " There is a distance between us otherwise we would have made good by help of men. God does what He wishes. It is proper to make it good by aid of prayers. Humāyun got absorbed in prayer to God and invoked an opening from him and help for him. He continued it for nights till he received a letter of victory. When God helps you, there is no victor for you. When the Afghān Sikander got a report of it, he marched with eighty thousand horse against Humāyun. Humāyun came to Sirhind on 7th Rajab of the year, and encamped in the garden near the city. He then divided the army into four divisions. He was in command of one division. One division was in command of his son Jalālud-Din. Abul

* Original Text, p. 1056.

Ma'āli was in command of the third division. The fourth division was under Biram Khān. He resolved upon the fort war. Every division was allotted a day for war. Sikander alighted for resistance. Commander of division every day rode out for war for forty days. He remained engaged for a day allotted to him and returned at night. It was the forty-first turn of Jalālud-Din Akbar Bādshāh. He issued forth with his amirs to the battle-field. Khwāja Mu'azzam, Atka Khān and a thick contingent advanced. Kālā Pahād, brother of Sikander encountered them. It was a fierce encounter between them. It was the war of rows. None obtained a victory on theirday from both the contestants. The war had dragged on to its fullest swing. Every side was reinforced with help. It increased and increased till Sikander and Humāyun stepped forth in the battle-field. There did not remain a single swordsman who did not come out in the battle-field.*

Poem

Iron mountain moved from its place
You might say, the earth quaked from top to toe
Two armies drew daggers face to face
Rent asunder rows of wings and centre
Buzz of arrow and clash of sword
Broke asunder brain of an elephant and bladder of a lion.

It was a victory for Humāyun. The booty was beyond enumeration. Sikander fled from battle-field to mountains of Punjab. Humāyun sat to receive congratulations for victory. The elite and the commoners assembled. He heeded to every one of them according to their stations. He promised them good. Men of speech debated as to in whose name the victory should be recorded. Shāh Abul Ma'ali liked to get his name recorded while Biram Khān wished his name should be inscribed as it was he at whose efforts they made entry into Hind, till time of victory, Humāyun's view was contrary to all people. Every one was careful for victory and to uproot the enemy and similarly the whole army. Humāyun ordered that the victory should be written in the name of Jalāl ud-Din Akbar. The events of the time were : captivity of Khwāja Mu'azzam. He corresponded with Sikander. Humāyun then marched by way of Sāmāna to Delhi. From his encampment of Samana, he sent Shāh Abul Ma'āli, Muhammad Quli Khān Barlās, Ismāil Beg Duldi, Muṣāḥib Beg and Ibrāhim Khān Uzbek to Lahore in the face of Sikandār. Sikandār Khān Uzbek entered Delhi. In the meantime, Humāyun had decided his residence at Sāmāna for its climate and heavy downpour. A letter of Sikandār Khān come to him informing him about victory and requesting his arrival. He rejoiced and marched from his manzil. On Thursday, 1st Ramaḍān of the year, he alighted in Salimghar built ih the direction of Delhi on the river Jamna.

* Original Text, p. 1057.

Entry of Humāyun into Delhi, centre of the kingdom of Hind and departure to Irāq

He entered Delhi and alighted in the capital on 4th Ramaḍān 962 (1554). Abul Faḍl said: From the beginning of his travel to its end, Humāyun was in favour of transfer of the capital by giving up meat-eating for absorption in spirituality in the early part. When he settled down in the palace, he prostrated in thanks to God and displayed perfect rejoicings and ordered for nilgāo (antelope pietu), and said, "They are content with their limbs and preserve them for the evening meal." He then raised the ranks of friends of victory* and distinguished them with high manṣabs. They included members of his house such as Abil Ma'āli who was assigned the region of Punjab while Biram Khān received Sirhind and its dependencies and Mewāt granted to Tardi Beg Khān. He marched to it. Agra was given to Sikander Khān Uzbek who went to it. 'Ali Quli Khān was assigned Sanbal while Bayāna came to the share of Haider Khān Atka Begi. Ḥiṣar-i-Firuza was conferred upon Jalālud-Din Akbar Shāh with its adjacent territory. Shāh Wali Atka came from Kābul to inform him about health and welfare of the son whom he showed. He was delighted by his arrival and titled him Shāh Wali Sulṭān and named the son Farrukh Fāl. He permitted Shāh Wali Sulṭān Atka to depart to Kābul with presents. Events: Arrival of Rustam Khān Afghan. When Ḥiṣār was assigned to Akbar Shāh, Atka Khān went there. When he was at a distance of two farsakhs, Rustam Khān, Tātār Khān, Aḥmad Khān, Pir Muḥammad Rashki, Bijli Khān, Shibāb Khān, Tāj Khān, Ādam Khān and Qiyām Khān emerged for war with two thousand horse. Atka Khān had only four hundred horse. It was a fierce battle with their retreat to the fort of Ḥiṣār. Atka Khān encamped at it. Ultimately, peace was concluded. Rustam Khān met him. He sent him in company of 'Ali Quli, Luṭf Khwāja and Qāsim Mukhliṣ to Delhi. Rustam presented himself in the Diwān. He ordered a proper place for him on condition of keeping his son in the royal presence (as a hostage). He paused. He was made a captive. Humāyun engaged himself in matters of organisation of the kingdom and worthy persons for its administration. He divided people into three categories: Brothers and relatives; Amirs and Vazirs; Army personnel; men of fortune were called Ahl-i-Dawlat; wise men, learned scholars, justices, Sayyids, Mashāikh, Qāḍis, Poets, all Scholars, lords, nobles, felicitous persons. They were honcureed and associated with. They were named Arbāb-i-Buyutāt (domestics), men of physical beauty, singers, instrument-players, men of desires, that is, desires of all. He divided days of the week—Saturday and Thursday were reserved for men of felicity. It was engagement and association with them. Saturday was for Saturn which fosters the maṣhāikh

* Original Text, p. 1058.

(spiritual guides), and men of ancient houses. Thursday is connected with Jupiter. It is a planet concerned with nobility. Sunday and Tuesday were reserved for Ahl-i-Dawlat. There was engagement with people of the world and its affairs and wisdom. Sunday is for the sun and its light. It fosters salṭanat* and those matters concerned with the world; while Tuesday is for Mars. It is a patron of army. Monday and Wednesday are concerned with men of desires. There should be delight and rejoicing and wisdom on these days. Monday is concerned with the moon and Wednesday with Mercury. Every one of them has relation with Ahl-i-Buyutāt. Friday as its name implies is a compendium for the abovementioned ranks. There should be public beneficence for all sections of people.

March of Jalālud-Din Akbar to Punjab

As Sikander Afghān was in the narrow passes of mountains of Punjab, an order was issued for march of Jalālud-Din Akbar Shāh towards Punjab. Atka Khān came from Ḥiṣār-i-Firuza and met him on the way. On his encampment at Sirhind, those who were appointed for help to Shāh Abul Ma'āli came to him. Among them was Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās. They were annoyed at his character. On arrival of Jalālud-Din they deserted him for him without seeking his permission. Sikander came out from midst of mountains but for Jalālud-Din's arrival, he retreated to them. Shāh Abul Ma'āli came to the shore of river of Sultānpur for recommendation of Humāyun's favour towards him for sitting and showing kindness towards him. After his withdrawal to the tent, two men saw him in drink from the cup of fortune and water-skin from mind of his father. He sent Ḥāji Muhammad Sistāni with a letter contents of which were: My relation with Sulṭān of the time is not hidden from any one. It may be in your noble mind that I spent my time in your presence and I spread the royal table at Jui Shāhi and I ate from one side at one table with him. You were in the majlis, the rod of salṭanat was brought for you. Today when I was present with you, you ordered me for travel. I expected regard as usual from the Sulṭān. It was contrary to that men of the felt should sit and individuals should enjoy table. I represented what occurred to me. When he heard his speech, he smiled and said to the messenger, "Tell him. It is the rule of the Sulṭān from me other than the rule of love. That relation with you is of the Sulṭān. It is not with you for me. It is a wonder from you. Do not differentiate these two relations and be troubled." Abul Ma'āli felt ashamed by the reply. Events: the story of Qanbar Diwāna. Qanbar was from among illiterate men of Humāyun's camp. When he conquered Delhi, Qanbar assembled vagabonds who stretched their hands to pillage Afghān localities and distribute spoils among his men. He always used to write to Humāyun for his†

* Original Text, 1059.

† Original Text, p. 1060.

service. He sacked Sirhind, and established authority over Sanbal. He had a son whose name was 'Ārifullāh. He sent him to Badāun. Rāi Ḥusain Jalwāni, an Afghān amir was there. He came out from it but did not fight. Qanbar then marched to Gola and pillaged. it. Rukn Khān defeated him in his jurisdiction. He withdrew to Badāun. He always used to write but his deed was contrary to his word. He transgressed the limit of his importance by grant of titles and award of flag and drum. He had a tinge of lunacy in him relating to intoxication of world. Many a time, he gave nothing to people from that which he owned. Humāyun wrote to 'Ali Quli Shaibāni to send him to him. In the meantime, he retreated to Badāun in a broken state. 'Ali Quli Khān was free from the campaign of Meerat. He came to Sanbal. He then went to Badāun. 'Ali Quli Khān summoned him but he did not respond to him and said, "I am servant of the Sulṭān as you are. I had conquered this region by means of sword." 'Ali Quli Khān came to fight with him. When he was about to be defeated along with Rukn Khān, he garrisoned himself within the fort. He wrote to Humāyun to send to him Qāsim Mukhlis to win him over and that he would come with him. 'Ali Quli Khān killed him before he came to him. About a report of his being killed—he had garrisoned himself—it should be stated that he sent Muḥammadi Beg Turkoman and Mullā Ghiyāthud-Din to him. They captured him. Tney conciliated him very much. They then resorted to a stratagem. Some inmates of the fort accorded with them. Qanbar thus fell into captivity. 'Ali Quli Khān cut off his head and sent it to Delhi. Humāyun was much affected by his being killed. He reproached 'Ali Quli Khān and said, "He was outwardly submissive. He wanted to come. What pressed him for war that he garrisoned himself? After he fell in your hand, what led you to kill him without order?" Many a time, Humāyun used to say. "My mind was disposed to see him. I noticed signs of truthfulness on his forehead. I reared him up. I lifted his importance." Other events were the murder of Ḥaider Muḥammad Khān Akhta Begi and Ghāzi Khān. When Ḥaider marched to Bayāna, 'Adil Khān came out from the outskirts and garrisioned himself within the fort of Bayāna. Then he came out to him on a pledge of Ḥaider and met him. He killed Ḥaider out of greed for his wealth. Humāyun was much* affected by his murder. It was distant from him. It was the initial stage of his entry into Hind. He had stopped punishment at a later stage. He said in regard to him that he would be happy after that. He sent Shihābud Din Aḥmad Khān, Mir-i-Buyutāt for investigation of this matter and estimation of wealth. In the meantime, Humāyun received intelligence that Abil Ma'āli was not praised because of his harm to people. He then learnt that Farḥat Khān was expelled from government of Lahore. Some of the men established control over royal treasury. Punjab was the largest portion of Hind. It was assigned to his

* Original Text, p. 1061.

son, Jalālud-Din Akbar Shāh. In the early part of the year 963 (1555), Jalālud-Din devoted himself to establishment of order in the salṭanat from Delhi to Punjab. He distinguished Biram Khān with the manṣab of Atāliq. He marched to Punjab mountains from the manzil of Sultānpur as stated above. Sikander garrisoned himself within the fort of Mānkot. On Jalālud-Din's encampment in the vicinity of Barhāna, the post came with a report of Humāyun's fall from ladder of the palace and he died. Biram Khān paused from advancement. Jalālud-Din marched to Kalānaur. Just then, Nazar Shaikh Juli came. He had attacked Masṭura during life time of Humāyun. In the meantime, Jalālud-Din learnt about the great incident. He was much affected thereby. He then returned with patience.

Abul Faḍl said in Akbar Nama: Naṣir ud-Din Muḥammad Humāyun was born on Tuesday night, 4th Zika'ad 913 (1507) in the citadel of Kābul. His mother Māhani Begum belonged to the house of nobles of Khurāsān and related to Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā. It is reliably reported that she was related to His Holiness Shaikh Jām, may his grave be sanctified. She was married to Sulṭan Bābur at the time of his arrival at Herāt after the death of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā in the affair of his sons. They had assembled for war with the Uzbeks. Mawlānā Masnadi composed the date of his birth. He said, "Dates of Sulṭān Humāyun Khān," "Shāh-i-Firuz Qadr; Bādshāh-i-Ṣab-shikan; Khush Bād." Khwāja Kalān Sāmāni composed a quatrain

It is a year of his auspicious (Humāyun) birth*
May God the Great increase his importance
I have taken away one alif from his date
So that I may draw a rod in two eyes of his enemy

He sat on the throne of Salṭanat on 9th Jamādi I, 937 (1530) at the capital of Agra. The chronogram was "Khair ul-Muluk" (Best among Kings). Some one else wrote in praise:

Every man does not become exalted
He became chief who cherished people
Lion became king of animals and beasts
For he is hospitable in hunting-ground

The cause of composition of these couplets was that one day he embarked in a boat in river Jamna. There are gold and silver coins around him. Lords of manṣabs and turbans and musicians were in other boats. He was enjoying on the river in moving boats. He ordered those coins to be scattered over them by way of offering. The props of Salṭanat rested on gold. He whom God made a sulṭān, he should have two qualities out of thanks for his bounties—

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* Original Text, p. 1062.

justice and generosity. The poet whereupon composed these two verses. A scholar found its date in "Kishti-e-Zar" (a gold-boat). Kāmrān had Kābul and Qandahār out of the kingdom. 'Askari had Sanbal, Hindāl Kalanaur and Sulaimān Badakhshān. After two months, he marched for conquest of the for of Kālinjar. It was peace on payment of two thousands of gold coins. He then went to the Fort of Chunār. It was a sky-scraper fort under Sultān Ibrahim. Jamāl Khān a muluk from mamālik ruled over it on behalf on Sulṭan Ibrahim and Sārang Khān. After the death of Jamāl Khān, Sher Shāh played a trick by marrying his wife. Name of his ancestors was Malek and therefore the fort came under his control. On Humāyun's arrival to it, he came out of it and his son Salim Shāh left it in charge of somebody. Humāyun corresponded with him through an envoy. Humāyun then acted according to requirements of time. Before correspondence, he sent his son 'Abdur Rashid to Humāyun. He was in his service under order of his father. On Humāyun's arrival to Mālva, 'Abdur Rashid left it without permission. In the year 935 (1528), there was a war between Pani and Bāyazid Afghāns. Humāyun had then gone towards the east. Bāyazid died in the war. Sword was in full swing after that. Sulṭān Junyad Barlās became Amir of Jaunpur. He returned to the centre of Khilāfat. Wars broke out as said in date of his death by Mawlānā Qāsim Kāhi*

Humāyun king of the kingdom of reality
No emperor is remembered like him
He suddenly fell from terrace of palace
His precious life passed to wind
Kāhi wrote for date of his death
Humāyun Bādshāh fell from terrace.

Abul Faḍl had made no mention of it. On his getting down from the palace, he heard a call to sun-set prayer. He reclined upon his staff. His head was on place of his palm from it. He was overwhelmed with a drowsy state. He fell down on his face and came down several steps. The attendants hastened to carry him to the cot: Physicians assembled and treated him but to no avail as marrow flowed from auditory canals. Tardi Beg Khān took charge of the affairs of the capital of Delhi. All the insignia and emblems of salṭanat were gathered around him. He sent them to the heir of the kingdom in company of Ghulām 'Ali Shash-angusht (six-fingered). He established control over Delhi. He also sent Mirzā Abul Qāsim b. Mirzā Kāmrān with him to him.

Jalālud-Din Akbar Shāh's accession to the throne took place on 2nd Rabi'II, 963 (1555) at Kalānaur. Biram Khān was titled Khān-i-Khānān. From his post of Atāliq he was transferred to the post of Vakil-i-Muṭliq. Shāh Abul Ma'āli was put in captivity according to exigency of time. He travelled with

* Original Text, p. 1063.

Pahelwān Gulgiz, Police Officer to Lāhore. He marched from Kalānaur t Siwālik mounts. Sikander Afghān was in vicinity of it. Pir Muḥammad Khāı went ahead with advance-guard. Sikander emerged from a side. Jalālud-Dii encamped in the vicinity of Dhamri for nearly three months. Rāja Dharam chand, ruler of Nagarkot came to him. Someone came from Narnaul to inforn about encampment of Ḥāji Khān Sher Shāhi at it. Majnun Khān was in it He then marched to Delhi. Tardi Beg Khān turned to him. He took the for from him and followed him towards Mewāt and returned to Delhi. During thes days Mirzā Sharafud-Din Ḥusain came from Kāshghar. Shaikh Gadāi arrive from Gujarat. He then marched from Dhamri to Jālandhar and tarried ther for nearly five months due to monsoon. Kamāl Khān Ghakkar son of Sulṭāı Sārang came here. In the meantime, he received a report of Hemu's arrival from Banāras to Agra where Sikander Khān Uzbek was. He marched fron Agra to Delhi without war. He was followed by Hemu to it. It so happene that Tardi Beg Khān and Sikander Khān were in war with him. Both came t him but were defeated by him in war. They fled to Jālandhar. Hemu entere Delhi and ruled over it. Jalālud-Din Akbar marched to Delhi appointin Khwāja Khiḍr Khān Amir of Punjab. On his encampment at Sirhind, Tard Beg Khān and Sikander Khān joined him. They were Khān-i-Khānāns bu there was unpleasantness between them. He invited him as a guest and kille him and fabricated an excuse for his murder. It was the first offence from him He connived at it under exigency of time. He directed amirs against Hem from Thānesar. These amirs were Khan Zamān Uzbek, Sikander Khān Uzbek 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek, Muḥammad Khān Jalāir, Majnun Khān Qāqshāl There was a report that Hemu despatched cannons in advance in command c Bahādur Khān and Mubārak Khān Afghans. He went in wake of them. O arrival at Bayāna, it fell in the hands of Khān Zamān. Hemu received a repor of his artillery. He arranged his contingents. He put Shādi Khān Kākar o the right wing. The left wing was in command of his sister's son named Ramiy and he himself posted in the centre. He was on an elephant called Hawāi. I the army of salṭanat, the commander-in-chief Khān Zamān was in command o the centre, Sikander Khān was on the right wing; 'Abdullāh Khān was on th left wing. Khān Jahān and Shāh Quli Khān were in command of advance guard. After the war, the Mughals gained a victory. Hemu was captured. H was produced before the Royal presence with his hands tied to his neck. Khān-i-Khānān stood by his side. He cut him off by his hands. He ordered his head to be sent to Kābul while his body was brought to Delhi. This victory wa gained on 2nd Muḥarram 964 (1555) Fifteen hundred elephants were caught i spoils. 'Ali Khān Uzlek was amir of the army. After the war, the victory wa registered in his name. He was titled Khān Zamān; Sanbal and middle part o

* Original Text, p. 1064.

Doāb were assigned to his name 'Abdullāh Khān was titled Shujā'at Khān with Kālpi as his assignment. Sikander Khān was titled Khān 'Ālam. Pir Muḥammad Khān was titled Nāṣir ul-Mulk. Qayā Khān was nominated to the government of Agra. In the meantime, a report was received that Ḥāji Khān* Sher Shāhi was on the side of Alwar and Mewāt. Naṣir ul-Mulk marched against him. He went to Boni from Alwar and Nahāri. Father of Hemu was here. Nāṣir ul-Mulk pursued him and captured him. He had fifty elephants and baggage. Ḥāji Khān fled to Ajmer. He fought with the Rānā, defeated him and conquered Ajmer, Nāgor and those sides. Muḥammad Qasim Khān Nishāpuri, Sayyid Maḥmud Badah and Shāh Quli Khān Muharram were sent against him. In the meantime, a report arrived about the defeat of Khwāja Khiḍr Khān, governor of Punjab against Sikander after a war at Lāhore. Sikander Khan-i-'Ālam was appointed to go to his succour. Sultān 'Ali marched in wake of him. Delhi was put in charge of Mahdi Qāsim Khān. On arrival of the Sultān to vicinity of Jalandhar, Sikander retreated to Siwalik and pursued him to Mānkot and attacked the fort.

Bahādur Khān brother of Khān Zamān came from Qandahar in 964 (1556). He was younger than Khān Zamān. He was appointed in the region of Multān. Muḥammad Quli Khān was transferred from it to Nagor. There was a war in the vicinity of Saṇbal between Khān Zamān and Rukn Khān Nuhāni and between him and Ḥasan Khān and Jalāl Khān Bajkuni. He had gained a victory. The elephant Sabdaliyā and another Rāstkār overpowered many elephants. In the meantime, an envoy of Sikander Afghan came with a request for pardon. He was a reliable man to be in the royal presence. Atka Khān went under order. After the meeting, Sikander sent his son 'Abdur Rahmān and Ghāzi Khān Shorbakht in his company to the Sultān's Diwān and requested himself for a region to be there, to remain ready for service. An edict for Harid and Bihār was sent with him. On 27th Ramaḍan, he marched from Gwalior to Bihār and sent him with the fort-key. Abul Qāsim, brother of Qāsim Khān Muji was appointed Amir of Mānkot. The Sultān marched to Lahore. During these days, news of victory from Ḥākim of Bengal arrived. News of 'Ādali's murder came. Sulṭān Adam Ghakkar saw him at Lahore. He marched to Delhi. At Jalandhar, marriage of Salima Sulṭān Begum was celebrated with Khān-i-Khānān. He received a report of his army's clash with Ḥāji Khān so he marched to Ḥiṣār Firuza. Ḥāji Khān fled to Gujarāt. Qāsim Khān Nishapuri was appointed Amir of Ajmer. The Sulṭān moved from Ḥiṣār to Sāmāna and thence to Delhi. He arrived there on 25th Jamādi II, 965 (1557).

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* Original Text, p. 1065.

APPENDIX I

Notes :—

P. 6 *Ḥusām ud-Din* : His name is Shaykh Ụthmān. His designation is Ḥusām ud-Din. His title was Parwāna. He is the son of Shaykh Dawood. His pedigree reached the second Pious Khalifa Haḍrat 'Umar may God be pleased with him. He was born in Multān in 639 H (1241). He was a very learned man. He was the disciple of Shaykh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā. He came to Pattan with permission of his spiritual guide in 695 H (1295) and resided in Jame 'Masjid. He maintained himself by selling cloth. He died in 736 H (1335) and buried at Pattan.

P. 6 *Bibi Ārām* :—She was the sister of Sayyid Ḥusain Khing-Sawār. She came along with Ḥusam ud-Din from Ghiyāthpur, Delhi to Dabhoi and then to Pattan. She was a great saintess. She lived with her brother Sayyid Ḥusain at Kuduri for some time and then at Pattan. She died at Pattan in 790 (1388) and buried on the bank of Sahashra-ling tank. Mirat-i-Ahmadi states her death to have taken place in 855.

P. 7 *Khing-Sawār* :—Sayyid Ḥusain better known as Khing-sawār (rider of a grey horse) was the son of Uraizi Sayyid Maḥmud. He was born at Ghiyāthpur, Delhi in 663 (1264). He was a disciple of Khwāja Nizām ud-Din Awliyā. He came to Pattan in 730 (1329) at an advanced age of 67. He died in 792 H. (1390) at the ripe age of 130. His tomb is situated on the western side of Sahashraling tank and visited by many persons.

P. 43 *Fidāis* :— Fidāis are the followers of Hamdan Qarmaṭ. They are also known as Karmathians and assassins. They were very powerful in the 13th century and had a kingdom of their own. They were a terror and menace to the people in that period.

P. 59 *Khalifa Mutawakkal* :—An 'Abbaside Khalifa (847-861).

P. 60 *Sakhāvi* :—Historian and traditionist.

P. 86 *Ganj-Shakar* :—It is a title of a great saint Shaykh Farid ud-Din who was born in 569 H (1134) at Khotwal in Multān District. It is said that he belonged to the royal family of Kābul. At the time of Tatar invasion, his ancestors migrated to Lāhore. He was a disciple of Khwāja Bakhtiyār Kāki. He died at Ajodhun in 664 H. (1265).

P. 110 *Mamun* :—An Abbasid Khalifa.

P. 115 *Mutanabbi* :—An Arab poet died in 965.

P. 145 *Sakhāwi* :—Traditionist and historian.

P. 179 *Ḥabib us-Siyar* :—A Persian history by Khwāndmir.

P. 179 *Ḥāfiz Abru* :—A Persian historian.

P. 189 *Bal'ami* :—Abu 'Ali Muḥammad, the minister of Manṣur I, the Sāmānid and translator of the great history of Ṭabári in Persian.

P. 245 *Najm ud-Din Kubra* :—A great saint martyred by the Tartars in 618 H. (1221).

P. 408 *Mu'tazalites* :—The Mu'tazalites are also known as the Qadariyya, " Partisans of Free Will," or Mu'tazila " seceders. Their leading idea is " best characterised as the enduring protest of sound human understanding against the tyrannical demands which the orthodox teaching imposed upon it." They called themselves Ahl ul-'Adl wat-Tawhid or Partisans of the Divine Justice and Divine Unity. The founder is Wāsil b. 'Atā al-Ghazzāl, a Persian disciple of the celebrated theologian Ḥasan of Baṣra, differed from his master as to the question whether a believer, after he had committed a grievous sin, still deserved to be called by that appellation. Wāṣil held that such an one could neither be called a believer nor an unbeliever, but must be regarded as occupying a middle position between the two, and withdrew to a different part of the masjid to expound his view to those of his fellow-students who followed him ; whereupon Ḥasan of Baṣra observed to those who stood round him, 'I'tazala 'an-nā (He had seceded from us), in consequence of which saying Wāṣil's party were called by their opponents " al-Mu'tazila " (separatists or seceders).

P. 408 *Harut-Mārut* :—Among the Jewish traditions in the Midrash was a story of two angels who asked God's permission to come down to earth but succumbed to temptation and were hung up by their feet at Babylon for punishment. They are believed to teach magic to those who want to learn it.

P. 979 *Imām Abu Ḥanifa* :—Imām i-A'zam Abu Ḥanifa Nu'mān born in 80 A.H. and died in 150 A.H. (767). One of the four pious Imāms of the Sunnis, the founder of the Ḥanafi school of thought.

P. 979 *Nizāmud-Din Awliyā* :—A great saint who lies buried at Nizām ud-Din, Delhi. His ancestors came from Bukhārā and settled at Lāhore and then at Badāun. He flourished during the regime of the Afghans and Turks and exercised great influence upon the people in bringing them to the right path of Islam. He was the disciple of Bābā Farid Ganj-shakar. The historian Barani says that he was Junayd Baghdādi and Bāyazid Bistāmi of the age.

P. 980 *Bakhtiyār Kāki* :—Quṭb ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki was born in Ush in the province of Transoxiana. He became a disciple of Khwāja Mu'in ud-Din Chishti of Ajmer. He travelled a lot and met many great saints including Shaykh Shihāb ud-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi. He came to India and settled at Delhi during the regime of Sultān Shams ud-Din Il-tutmush. He died while hearing a qawwāli.

P. 980 *Bahā ud-Din Zakariyā* :—Bahā ud-Din Zakariyā was the son of Mawlāna Shaykh Wajih ud-Din. He belonged to the Quraish family. His ancestors came from Mekka to Khwārazm and thence to Multān. He acquired learning at different Muslim centres and finally settled down at Multān during the regime of Naṣir ud-Din Qubācha. He died at an advanced age of one hundred years in 666 (1267).

P. 982 *Burhān ud-Din Gharib* :—Shaykh Burhān ud-Din was born at Hānsi in 654 (1256). His family was noted for religious and sufistic knowledge. He acquired knowledge of theology, tradition and commentary of the Holy Qurān. He came from Hansi to Delhi and became the disciple of Shaykh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā, the most celebrated saint of the age. He went to Dawlatabad and stayed there for thirty years. During this period, many non-Muslims became Muslims at his hand. He died in 738 H (1337).

P. 1041 *Chirāgh-i-Delhi* :—Nasir ud-Din Maḥmud was the son of Sayyid Yāhyā. His ancestors came from Khurāsān and settled in Lāhore. They then migrated to Oudh. Naṣir ud-Din was born in Ouḍh. He was a man of great austerity even before adolescence. He used to fast and wander in forests. He then presented himself before Khwāja Nizām ud-Din Awliyā who then lived at Kilokhari and became his disciple. He was very much attached to his murshid. He died in 757 H. (1356.)

APPENDIX II

Amirs, Saints and Scholars.

The amirs of the Sultans of Gujarat were props of the State and pillars of the governmental structure and vital parts of the administrative machinery. They were men of martial vigour and administrative efficiency. When the Sultans led an expedition against an enemy, they fought with utmost valour and prowess and brought laurels to their sovereigns. They chopped off heads of one another as if they were mowing grass. In times of peace, they carried out works of public utility and extended patronage, like their masters, to men of learning and knowledge and performed deeds of lavish generosity and charity and won applause of their people. 'Imād ul-Mulk Sha'bān, the minister of Sultan Mahmud I laid out a beautiful garden called Bagh-i-Sha'bān in the suburb of Ahmedābād during a famine solely to help the poor and the needy. Bāgh-i-Sha'bān is none other than the famous Kānkariya Talāv of Ahmedābād. Jamāluddin Muhāfiz Khān was an able administrator and a shrewd statesman who established law and order in Ahmedābād. Tājkhan Narpāli built the mausoleum of the saint Shāh 'Ālam and founded Tājpur. Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk Siddiqi was a scholar-administrator and statesman. Bijli Khān Habashi and Jawhar Muhammadi Muhsin-ul-Mulk respected learned men and scholars and held them in great esteem. They invited them from distant places to share their lavish generosity. Sherwān Khān Habashi was a boon to his community-men, the Habashis. He was a charming conversationalist and a fascinating artist in music. Sandal Ghālib Khān was a skilful horseman and a good administrator. He was very hospitable. A party of Arab Sayyids and theologians of Yaman were always in his house as his guests Abul Khair Raihān Badruddin Jahāngir Khāni was a cultured and charitable man. The Habashis played a very important role in the history of Gujarat Saltanat.

After the death of Sultan Bahādur, the Saltanat became weak as the Sultans were mere puppets in the hands of powerful amirs. Lust of power generated jealousy and rancour among them. This led to mutual feuds and discords among them. The Sultān passed from one amir to another while the amirs themselves carried them from one place to another to display them as show-boys and continue to wield power in the state. Daryā Khān moved with Sultān Mahmud III. When the Sultān deserted him, he seated Ahmad Khān as Sultān Muzaffar on the throne. When Sultan Mahmud went over to 'Ālam Khān, a war ensued between 'Ālam Khan and Daryā Khān who defeated the former. Sometime a triangular war broke out between the Habashis, the Rumis and the Afghans. They also divided the kingdom among themselves. Inspite

of a large army and artillery, they became an easy prey to the Mughals under Akbar the Great.

'Imād ul-Mulk Malek Sha'bān

On his accession to the throne, Sulṭān Maḥmud I, Begadha continued 'Imād ul-Mulk Malek Sha'bān as his Wazir. He had held the same post during the regime of his brother Quṭb ud-Din. He was a man of sound intellect and vigorous intelligence. During the early part of Maḥmud's reign, 'Imād ul-Mulk Malek Sha'bān was put into prison due to slander of certain amirs and maleks. A clique of these amirs and maleks such as Aḍal ul-Mulk Kabir Sultāni, Ṣafi ul-Mulk Khiḍr, Burhān ul-Mulk Ismā'il and Ḥusām ul-Mulk Chhaju wanted to seat Ḥasan Khān son of Muḥammad Shāh son of Muzaffar Shāh on the throne. They knew that they would be frustrated in their plot because of 'Imad ul-Mulk Malek Sha'bān. They, therefore, unitedly poisoned the ears of Maḥmud by saying that 'Imād ul-Mulk had designed to seat his son Shihāb ud-Din on the throne. Maḥmud was much perturbed. They all counselled him to incarcerate the wazir in the citadel of Aḥmadābād. Being satisfied from the Sulṭān's side, they made efforts to implement their decision. One night, Malek 'Abdullāh, the Superintendent of the elephant-stable saw the Sultān. He gave evidence of 'Imād ul-Mulk's innocence in the guilt they attributed to him. They were unanimous in making Ḥasan Khān, the Sulṭān. They were only afraid of 'Imād ul-Mulk's onslaught and so they tried for his incarceration. Malek 'Abdullāh asserted that the truth of what he said would become manifest in early morning the next day. Sulṭān Maḥmud saw his mother and apprised her with what the Superintendent of the elephant-stable had conveyed to him. She sent for Malek 'Abdullāh, the superintendent and questioned him about the matter. He repeated what he had said to Maḥmud and confirmed it on oath. She sought his advice to frustrate their plot. He said that 'Imād ul-Mulk should be immediately released. The Queen Mother issued an order for his immediate release. Sulṭān Maḥmud summoned the amirs of the state, particularly, Ḥājji Kālu and Bahā ud-Din, placed facts before them and sought their advice. They all gave their consent to release 'Imād ul-Mulk. The Sulṭān personally went up to the turret and sent Sharaf ul-Mulk to bring out 'Imād ul-Mulk from prison. Sharaf ul-Mulk brought him out of prison in spite of prevention of the guards. Maḥmud ordered chains to be cut down from his hands and feet and apologised himself for it. The Sulṭān then sought his counsel in connection with those disloyal amirs. He requested the Sulṭān to watch the situation by sitting in the balcony of the palace opposite to the capital's gate. The Sulṭān acted accordingly. 'Imād ul-Mulk then ordered the elephants to be brought. Malek 'Abdullāh brought them and made them stand on both the sides in a row of thirty on each side. The amirs of the State were made to stand along with their retinue in the plain which was attached to the inside gate. 'Imād ul-Mulk

made his soldiers stand breadth-wise on both sides of the gate. He himself sat opposite to Sulṭān Maḥmud on balcony of gate of the parapet. He was thus in a position to have a full view of the situation. At dawn, the insurgents came completely armed with Ḥasan Khān. They found 'Imād ul-Mulk ready with elephants and regiments. They remarked with regret that the secret was divulged during the night. They were thus pondering over the matter when they were attacked from all sides. Aḍad ul-Mulk fled towards the river-bank but was killed. Burhān ul-Mulk and Ṣafi ul-Mulk were made captives. Ḥusām ul-Mulk fled to his brother Rukn ud-Din, the 'Āmil of Luwāni, a village nearby. The rest retreated with regret. The plot was thus suppressed.

'Imād ul-Mulk became a wazir with full authority. He was a good wazir, peace-loving and well disposed towards needy and poor people. He laid out a garden in Aḥmadābād which came to be known as Bāgh-i-Sha'bān. He personally planted most of the plants of this garden. It is said that the cause of laying out the garden was a famine. He wanted to help and show sympathy to the needy without their begging on this pretext. He had instructed the labourers that none should go back even if one is not in a position to give full work. They should neither be forced to work, nor they should be coerced to come earlier. It is sufficient that they should come for work. It does not matter whether they work or not. He personally paid a visit to the place of work every evening and paid wages to the labourers. It so happened that one day he came out of his house in the evening with insufficient amount of money to the garden to pay wages to the workers. Some persons approached him to get help in money from him. He told them that as the labourers had worked for the whole day, they must be paid the wages otherwise their wives and children would sleep without food. He promised them to help the next day. Those persons told him that if they came the next day, they would not be allowed by policemen to approach him. 'Imād ul-Mulk took an oath for the fulfilment of promise. They then allowed 'Imād ul-Mulk to go home. Next day, he came with the amount he had promised. Policemen were with him. Those persons stood at a distance through fear. He removed the policemen approached those persons and paid each of them the promised amount by shouting out their names. He then inquired from them about their means of subsistence. They stated that their monetary condition was bad and that they needed help. He ordered them to come to his audience-hall. He then went towards the garden. When those persons presented themselves in the audience-hall, he gave each one he deserved. Because of unemployment, they had formed predatory habits. They renounced these habits and reformed themselves.

Sulṭān Quṭbuddin had marched against Rana Kumbha when the Raja of Sirohi paid him obeisance and requested him to get him back Abu which was forcibly occupied by the Rana; whereupon the Sulṭān ordered 'Imād ul-Mulk

to lead a campaign against the Rana to win back Ābu to give it to its rightful owner. The Malek was not experienced in military campaigns. He suffered a defeat when many of his soldiers were killed.

The Rana had signed a pact with Sulṭān Quṭb ud-Din but he broke it within three months and invaded Nāgor. 'Imād ul-Mulk received intelligence of it. He went to the Sulṭān at mid-night, woke him up, caught hold of his hand and advised him to march then and then, in his night-dress. The Rāna's secret agents conveyed the report of the Sulṭāns march whereupon he withdrew to his kingdom.

Malek Sha'bān was the second son of Malek Muhammed Ikhtiyār. He was witty and of generous disposition. He kept all sections of population happy and comfortable. No wazir, in the opinion of Manjhu Sikandar, author of Mirat i-Sikandari, was like him in east and west in that age. He resigned his post as a wazir at the close of life. The Sulṭān intended to continue him in service but he refused. He led a retired life in the corner of Bāgh-i-Sha'bān situated to the east of the city. He used to say, " The tranquillity which I enjoyed in one day by retirement in the garden, was never obtained by me throughout my life. " He did not come out from corner of the garden and spent the rest of his life there. He died there and was buried in the campus of the masjid in the garden.

Malek Ayāz

Malek Ayāz-i-Khāṣṣ-i-Sulṭāni was the governor of Junagadh and Div. In 913 (1507), the Firangis, that is, the Portuguese played their role as pirates on the shores of Gujarat. Sulṭān Maḥmud started from Champaner for their suppression and expulsion. He travelled on the sea coast and halted at Daman. He wrote to Malek Ayāz, the governor of Junagadh and Div port to wage war with the Firangis from the sea side. It so happened that when Ayāz was about to start with his army from Div, the king of Egypt Kansu al-Ghori sent Amir Ḥusain al-Miṣri with two big ships and three boats to drive away the Firangis from the Indian ocean and the port of Hormuz. Ayāz allied himself with Amir Ḥusain and supplied him with provisions more than he needed. Both of them fought with the Firangis at Chewal and inflicted a severe defeat upon them by foundering their boats, capturing and killing them. He informed Sulṭān Maḥmud about this victory and went to Bassein to pay respects to the Sulṭān who received him as well as Amir Ḥusain with elation and ennobled them with favours.

When the Sulṭān marched from Chāmpaner for an invasion of Chitor, he came to Aḥmadābād and summoned all the amirs to rally round them. The great amir, lion in majesty and might, the old faithful servant of his father, Malek Ayāz Turki arrived from Junagadh with one lac horses and one hundred

elephants along with one hundred cannons, six thousand cannoneers, eight thousand musketeers and four thousand archers. All his troopers were fully armed and wore uniforms of different colours. He paid obeisance to the Sulṭān and said " Sāngā and the conquest of Chitor! It is not necessary for the Sulṭān in person to march for this purpose. His servants were sufficient for this task." The Sulṭān acceded to his request. Qiwān ul-Mulk was made to accompany him. On the way to Chitor, he raided Kālyākot, Dungerpur, Sāgwada and Bānswāda. He clashed with Purabiya Agarsen and Rāy Udaisingh and defeated them. He then marched to Sarkob and climbed up the valley of Kurjhin and encamped at Mandsur. The Rana sent his emissary to Malek Ayāz for submission and payment of tribute with a request to accept his proposals. Ayāz waited for completion of the mine. Silhadi, the ruler of Raisin made efforts to patch up a peace. In the meantime, 'Alā ud-Din Khalji of Mandu came and encamped with Malek Ayāz. Qiwām ul-Mulk exploded the mine but Ayāz wanted the victory to be in his name. He, therefore, made peace with the Rana when Chitor was within reach of conquest. The Sulṭān received intelligence of it. When he presented himself before the Sulṭān, the Sulṭān heeded him not and ordered him to go to Junagadh. After his departure, the Sulṭān sent a letter of rebukes to him, asking him to pay attention to his territory.

Malek Ayāz-i-Sulṭāni died in 1520 at Junagadh. His dead body was removed to Unāo and buried by the side of his spiritual guide Shāh Shamsud-Din. When the Sulṭān heard about his death, he remarked that he lived happily. Had he exercised patience, he would have died as a martyr. He felt aggrieved for his death and prayed to God to shower His mercy on him.

He lived in pomp and grandeur. He owned many buildings, gardens and the sea coast as his jagir. The port of Div was never without merchants. He obtained a considerable income from the port. More than one hundred ships sailed from it throughout the year. The shore had more than one thousand importers and exporters. Travelling boats were more than one thousand. Similarly, war-ships were more than two hundred. The sea coast of Gujarat was adjacent to Sind. Its termination was Konkan in neighbouṛhood of the Deccan port of Chewal. The Portuguese plied this sea-coast. They were also at Dāwool as well as Junair. The authority of Malek Ayāz extended on the coast of Gujarat. He did not allow the Portuguese boats to come to Gujarat except for trade. He was admiral (lord of the sea—Amir ul-Baḥr) in his time. He was very kind. He was so just in administrative matters that there was nothing unlawful in his treasury. He never made use of governmental money for his person and family. He did not permit a single boat which was not in good condition and which was not loaded with cargo. There was perfect safety on sea and business flourished with profit. The travellers said prayers for his welfare. He was very generous and charitable. Every one enjoyed his hospitality.

He conciliated his servants by presents and bounties. There was none like him in this respect. Every needy person knew him by his generosity. (Zafar ul-Wālih).

Even though Malek Ayāz was Ghulām-i-Sulṭāni, a purchased slave, he was worth a region in government. He had rare articles with him. One thousand water-carriers fetched water under his government. He had made a hide-reservoir. It was filled with water at the time of a military campaign. Soldiers and their animals drank water out of it. Malek Ayāz has left his name in Gujarat. He built the fort of Div which was later on demolished by the Portuguese, but he built another in its place. A turret was constructed in the midst of sea. It was called "Sānkalkot" (a chain-fort). From the turret to the shore, there was an iron-chain so that the Portuguese ship may not cross that way. It still stands. After the death of Sulṭān Bahādur, the fort, city and port were in occupation of the Portuguese. He laid out gardens in the island of Div. Two branches of the sea which are on two sides of the island of Div appear like an intersection in the north. Over this, a stone-bridge was built. It has been destroyed by the Portuguese. It is judged from the map of island put there. During his regime, the Portuguese dared not enter the ports of Gujarat. But now it is reverse of it except at Surat and Rander which is due to powerful port-officers.

At the time of laying out food, a bugle was blown. Door-keepers shouted out to the people that the table was laid out with food. They should come to take their meals. All grades of people from the lowest to the highest partook of the same kind of food. The Malek cast his glance on all sides of the table just to see that different kinds of food was not served to different persons. Persian, Indian and Turkish varieties of food were served. This reminded one of the dainty viands of paradise. After the meals were over, pāns (betel-leaves) and perfumes were served.

All his soldiers were dressed in gold-embroidered and velvet uniforms. His sweepers wore scarlet chikan clothes. Their swords, quivers and daggers had gold and silver covers and knots.

During the regime of Muzaffar II, son of Maḥmud, Malek Ayāz pursued the Rana Sanga who had come to the border of Gujarat. At this time, he fed all commanders and soldiers. He sent food to those who failed to attend his mass-dinner. Some of the amirs did not like that food should be sent to them. In order that this may be stopped, they did not return the china-wares in which food was sent to them. But he continued to send food in spite of it for full one month.

He had three sons—Isḥāq titled Changiz Khān, Tughān and Ilyās (Ḥājji Dabir says that he had two sons). Isḥāq was fat and bulky. He used to ride a camel because a horse could not bear his weight. He was a proficient wrestler

well acquainted with all tricks of wrestling. No wrestler could grapple with him. It is reported that he had one hundred (it is said three hundred also) wives, legally married and concubines. He satisfied every one of them on account of his uncommon potency. After his death, all of them rent asunder their stomach and killed themselves. Sulṭān Bahādur killed all the three at the instigation of Rumi Khān. (Mirat-i-Sikandari).

Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri

Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri was one of the five hundred Bukhāri Sayyids who had migrated from Bukhāra to Gujarat during Timur's invasion. He was one of Sulṭān Bahādur's nobles in 941 (1534). He bore the honourable title of al-Majlis ul-Ashraf. In 942 (1535), he was one of the amirs who had accompanied Sulṭān Bahādur against the Firangis. He took part in the battle against the Mughals at Maḥmudābād. He was in command of the vanguard. Sulṭān Bahādur defeated the Mughals in this battle. In 956 (1549), he requested 'Imād-ul-Mulk to accompany him for jihād against Idar. He then held the rank of an amir which was elevated. The Sulṭān behaved with him with honour and humbleness. He showed favour to him and promised him increased salary after the war of Idar. He further said to him that it would be a difficult war and so advised him not to take part in it. He would be raised to a higher rank than that of an amir. He replied, "I want an Amirship but I also want the pleasure of God." 'Imād ul-Mulk was present when this conversation took place between him and the Sulṭān. 'Imād ul-Mulk said that the great amir wanted to join the campaign out of his desire for jihād and that he had permitted him to take part in the campaign. He would remain loyal to the Sulṭān.

After assassination of Maḥmud III, he was one of the amirs who met together for counsel under the leadership of I'timād Khān. He knew that a conflagration would take place and that the stability of the kingdom had to be maintained. He, therefore, made hard efforts to suppress insurrection. Ḥājji Dabir remarks "The great amir Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri tried to subside the dust of barbarity and to extinguish the fire of insurrection. He carried a water-bag over his shoulder to pour water over it. He sprinkled it over its places of possibility for avoidance. He prepared himself to meet any situation in the open field in case it arose. How remarkable was it from one who was the amir, the Sayyid and whose name and tradition both were mubārak (blessed)." After enthronement of Sulṭān Aḥmad he came and resided at Maḥmudābād at ease. During the regime of Maḥmud, he had built houses on the bank of river Vatrak from the direction of Ahmadābād. He populated the place and named it Sayyidpur. He spent a considerable portion of his life there.

In a clash with I'timād Khān and 'Imād ul-Mulk, Sayyid Mubarak acted as a mediator. The Sulṭān one day went over to Sayyid Mubārak and took

shelter with him. 'Imād ul-Mulk waged war with Sayyid Mubārak but with no result. Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk wanted to seat Shāhu on the throne; he wrote to I'timād Khān that Sulṭān Aḥmad would not give any benefit to him as he was the spiritual disciple of Sayyid Mubārak. At this juncture, Ḥājji Dabir criticises the author of Mirat-i-Sikandari saying " His method of narration is indicative of preference for his patron, the great amir Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri due to the favour his father had enjoyed under him in execution of state affairs and pleasure of the public due to partnership of Musnad-i-'Āli I'timād Khān and Majlis-i-'Āli 'Imād ul-Mulk who were the pivot and sole representatives of the kingdom. If it were so as his method shows but it was not so in keeping with their nature and character." He took an active part in suppression of revolts which took place during the regime of Sulṭān Aḥmad who remained with him. He brought about reconciliation between I'timād Khān and 'Imād ul-Mulk. In 963 (1555), he advised the Sulṭān to nominate 'Imād ul-Mulk as his Prime Minister.

Maḥmud Shāh wanted to keep members of the family of 'Ālam Khān as hostages. But 'Ālam Khān approached Sayyid Mubārak with a request to plead before the Sulṭān to keep his brother Ṣafdar Khān in prison in place of members of his family. He arranged for this but the Sayyid felt much ashamed when Ṣafdar Khān secretly managed to come out of prison with the help of a man called Sādhu who threw a rope at the balcony at night by means of which he descended from it and escaped.

Mubārak Shāh of Asir and Burhānpur invaded Gujarat thinking himself to be a rightful claimant to its throne. Sayyid Mubārak tried to conciliate him by means of peace but Mubārak Shāh, under instigation of Nāṣir ul-Mulk refused to make peace. Ultimately, sanity prevailed over Mubārak Shāh and he concluded peace with the Sayyid.

Mutual feuds to seize power were order of the day. The amirs had divided themselves into two camps—one of I'timād Khān and the other of Nāṣir ul-Mulk. Atal Khān, the wazir of Nāṣir ul-Mulk entered the tent of the Sayyid, caught hold of him and was about to stab him with jamdhar when those who sat around the Sayyid held him back and wanted to kill him but the Sayyid forbade them saying that it would happen in the battle-field.

After his departure, Nāṣir ul-Mulk waged war with the Sayyid who had to run away to Kapadwanj. I'timād Khān and other amirs deserted him. The Sulṭān himself fell into the hands of Nāṣir ul-Mulk who marched to Ahmadābād with all pomp and grandeur and established himself as an absolute ruler. He then intended to expel the Sayyid and I'timād Khān from Gujarat. He marched with all his army against Kapadwanj and halted at Kamaid of Haveli. All the Sayyids and some of the amirs decided to side with the Sayyid while others

decided to kill Nāṣir ul-Mulk. In the meantime, the Sayyid marched from Kapadwanj, entered the tent of the Nāṣir ul-Mulk who fled away in whatever condition he was.

At the close of life, the Sayyid had lost his eye-sight. Some of the amirs took advantage of his blindness. They wanted to take possession of the Sulṭān and so invaded Sayyidpur. The Sayyid rode out to the battle-field being led by his groom. His men deserted him. He was hit by an arrow. Sa'eed naubi, a slave of I'timād Khān killed him. It was Friday, 27th Ramḍān, 965 (1557).

Sayyid Mubārak Bukhari was a man of keen observation, far-reaching foresight and sound judgment. He was a lover of peace and always tried to settle disputes by peaceful means. He had a band of loyal and devoted Sayyids who held fast to him through thick and thin. Besides, the Fulādi Afghans were his spiritual disciples. Their leaders were Musā Khān and Sher Khān who were noted for power and valour. They attained to high positions in the kingdom because of the kind favour of the Sayyid. The Ludi and Sherwāni Afghans were his recruits. His regiment consisted of all sections of people numbering ten thousand. I'timād Khān, 'Imād ul-Mulk, Ulugh Khān, Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk etc. sought his counsel on important state matters.

Ārām Kashmiri, the author of Tuḥfat-us-Sādāl wrote his history and dedicated it to him. On the division of territory and treasure among the nobles, his share consisted of Patan, Khambhayat, Dholka, Ghogha, Dhandhuka, Chāmpāner, Kapadwanj, Sarmāl and Bālāsinor. He gave away Patan to Musā Khān Fulādi. His share from the treasure was twenty-two crores of current coins which he distributed among poor and needy persons. The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari assigns miraculous powers to him. He was a pious man with religious zeal in him. He always kept himself in a purified state with wuḍu (ablutions).

Jamāl ud-Din Muhāfiz Khān

In 1470, Sulṭān Maḥmud received intelligence that Rāy Jaysingh (Champak) (Mirat-i-Sikandari) son of Gangādās Rāwal of Chāmpāner gave shelter to miscreants of Baroda and Dabhoi and instigated them to commit acts of lawlessness and atrocities. They also resorted to raids and depredations, plunder and pillage. He had, further, secretly allied himself with the Sulṭān of Mandu. The Sulṭān appointed his salāh-dār (armour-bearer) as Faujdār of the metropolis of Aḥmadābād and round-about places. His name was Jamāl ud-Din Muhammad son of Malek Shaykh. He elevated his rank and conferred upon him the title of Muḥāfiz Khān. He was granted the favour of an ensign and a drum. He assigned to him the duty of looking after the well-being and welfare of his subjects and enjoined upon him to treat them with favour and kindness. Muhāfiz Khān was a God-fearing man. He was conscientious of his duty. He

performed it with loyalty and devotion. In no time, he suppressed brigandage and halted theft. The roads became safe and secure for travellers and people slept soundly in their houses keeping doors open. He proved himself an efficient administrator, a shrewd statesman and an able general. He had earned a good name as an expert rider. He administered the region with efficiency and established justice and equity. He rooted out bribery and corruption. Being a pious and religious-minded man, he abhored every deed that was abominable and stamped it out. He adopted measures tending to welfare of people in general. He established law and order in the region and ushered in an era of peace and plenty. The Sulṭān was so much pleased that he raised him to the rank of a mustawfi (accountant-general). He then ennobled him with the status of Nāib (Deputy) and later on, made him his wazir after the death of Khudāwand Khān. The Sulṭān had reposed full confidence in him. He lived in pomp and grandeur. He had seventeen hundred horses in his stable. He is grand-father of the historian Ḥusām Khān, historian of Tārikh-i-Bahādurshāhi. It became the source-book of some historians.

During Sulṭān Maḥmud's siege of Chāmpāner, Muḥāfiz Khān remained with the army during day time and minded his administrative work also. Rānā Patai of Champaner was put in his charge as a state prisoner.

Taj Khān Narpāli

Soon after the assassination of Sulṭān Sikandar, Tāj Khān Narpāli or Tarpāli wrote to Sulṭān Bahādur who was away at Jaunpur to come to Gujarat to occupy the throne of his ancestors. Sulṭān Bahādur started from Jaunpur and came to Naharwala where Tāj Khān Sālār greeted him with a canopy and other regal paraphernalia. Bahādur set out for Chāmpāner paying visits on the way to the shrines of saints such as Shaikh Aḥmad Khattu, Quṭub-i-Ālam, Shāh 'Ālam etc. and mausoleums of Sulṭāns such as Sulṭān Aḥmad, Sulṭān Sikandar etc. He ordered Tāj Khān to proceed to Chāmpāner with three hundred horses to guard the house of 'Imād ul-Mulk lest he might abscond. Soon after Sulṭān Bahādur's enthronement, Tāj Khān tendered resignation of his post as Wazir with a request to grant him a village for his means of maintenance. Sulṭān Bahādur satisfied him as far as possibie by giving him in addition to what was granted to him by his father.

Tāj Khān was the wisest and most perfect man. His authority in the kingdom was very extensive. He enjoyed such glory and worth which were not enjoyed by others. Sulṭān Bahādur intended to retain him in service but he apologised and refused because he wanted to lead the life of piety. He renounced the world, came out from his house with his family and lived in a village he had demanded with safety, security and nobility. He was a man of charitable inclination and generous disposition. His name was other word for charity and

generosity. No one was so much renowned as he in this respect. He built the mausoleum of His Holiness Shāh 'Ālam during the regime of Sulṭān Muzaffar. He populated Tājpur to the south within the city-fort.

Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddiqi

Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddiqi belonged to the Kāḍi family of Nadiad. He was born and bred up in it. He entered the state service. He served it with distinction and efficiency. By dint of his qualifications, he rose to the rank of a favourite of the Sulṭān. He was distinguished for intellectual attainments, shrewdness and sagacity. He was well-versed in intellectual, narrative, mathematical and astronomical sciences as well as in poetry, enigma, logic and philsosophy. He laid a detached life. He had combined in himself world and faith (din-o-dunyā). It was his manifest virtue. During the regime of Sulṭān Muzaffar b. Sulṭān Maḥmud, he was sent as an emissary to the Sulṭān of Lād. He performed his mission with success.

When Sulṭān Bahādur intended to invade Silhadi, he ordered Ikhtiyār Khān Wazir, who was second to Mir 'Ali Shir in excellence and efficiency and who was the Ḥākim of the capital city of the Sulṭān, to move to Na'lcha with an army, treasure and war-carts in all haste. The Sulṭān had left him in charge of the siege of Raisin. He then appointed him to conquer Mandsur along with 'Imād ul-Mulk. When the Sulṭān returned from Mandu to Chāmpāner, he placed Chāmpāner in charge of Ikhtiyār Khān and Narsingh Dev titled Khān Jahān.

When Humāyun invaded Muhammadābād-Chāmpāner, he was wazir of Sulṭān Bahādur who commanded him to set fire to the city. Humāyun granted amnesty to its residents. Ikhtiyār Khān met Humāyun on the next day after grant of amnesty. Humāyun had heard about Ikhtiyār Khān's abilities as a scholar. When he saw him, he found him to be deserving more praise than what he had heard about him. He received him well and made him his associate and raised his rank to that of his close courtiers. Intellectual debates and graceful conversation took place between them on intellectual and descriptive sciences as well as on mathematics, astronomy and literature both in verse and prose. Humāyun found him a proficient scholar in various branches of learning. He held him in great esteem and kept a soft corner in his heart for him.

He was also one of the nobles who had accompanied Bahādur in a campaign against Div in 941 (1534).

After the death of Bahādur, 'Imād ul-Mulk and Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddiqi decided to nominate Muḥammad Shāh (Bahādur's sister's son), ruler of Asir as Sulṭān of Gujarat and invited him by continual messages.

On the accession of Maḥmud Shāh b. Laṭif Shāh in 1537, Ikhtiyār Khān was appointed as guardian along with his brother Muqbil Khān and his son Lād

Khān. They did not allow any one to approach the Sulṭān. They alone served him with food and drink. One day, Lād Khān son of Muqbil Khān said to the Sulṭān that if he ordered, he would kill 'Imād ul-Mulk and Daryā Khān. The Sulṭān, knowingly or unknowingly, conveyed these words to 'Imād ul-Mulk who in his turn conveyed them to Daryā Khān. Whereupan, 'Imād ul-Mulk and Daryā Khān came to the Sulṭān and summoned Ikhtiyār Khān, Muqbil Khān and Lād Khān to their presence and ordered them to be strangled to death in 944 (1537). When the rope was placed round the throat of Ikhtiyār Khān, he raised his hands in prayer to God and said, "Oh God! You know that I am innocent. What they know, I do not know. They kill me through tyranny". He began to recite the kalima and uttered the words 'Lā Ilāha (there is no god) when the executioner pulled the rope. He was brought down when he became cold. The rope was removed from his throat but his eyes were as they were before strangulation. His tongue recited, "except God and Muḥammad is His Messenger." So saying, he gave up life. Mirat-i-Sikandari remarks that it is not strange from a man of Ikhtiyār Khān's piety, religious-mindedness, purity of soul and innocence. 'Imād ul-Mulk said to Daryā Khān that the man was innocent and that the retribution thereof would come to them. Consequently, both of them suffered.

He left a son whose name was Dāwood Khān. He did not inherit any of the qualities of his father on account of which he had attained to fame. He was noble in character and proficient in the art of music. When he died in 970 (1562), he was buried in the mausoleum of his father and grand-father. One of his discendants Farid became famous. He was the son of his patron's daughter 'Abdul 'Aziz Masnad-i-'Āli Āṣaf Khān

Daryā Khān

Husain was Daryā Khān's original name. He was the son of Sayf ul-Mulk Shir Dil who was one of the nobles of Sultān Bahādur in 941 (1534). He was conferred the title of Daryā Khān. He was formerly in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmud Khalji, ruler of Malwa. He sent him as his emissary to Sulṭān Bahādur to convey to him his intention to meet him. Sultān Bahādur assigned the fief of Ujjain to Daryā Khān Manduwāli.

At the time of his accession, Sultān Maḥmud conferred upon him the title of Majlis-i-Girāmi (Mirat-i-Sikandari), Majlis-i-Sāmi (Zafar ul-Wālih) and appointed him a co-Wazir with Malek Jiv, son of Tawakkul, titled 'Imad ul-Mulk. He hanged Ikhtiyār Khān Ṣiddiqi, his brother Muqbil Khān and his son Lād Khān because the Sulṭān had reported to him that Lād Khān had told him that he would kill Daryā Khān and 'Imad ul-Mulk on receiving the Sulṭān's order. Later on, Daryā Khān did repent for Ikhtiyār Khān's innocent murder.

After some time, he harboured jealousy and evil designs against 'Imad ul-Mulk whom he wanted to overthrow and seize regal persons and power in his hands. He then sought counsel from his confidential friend Fatu Jiv titled Muhāfiz Khān in this matter. Muhāfiz Khān took the Sultān out of Ahmadābād for hunting. At the hunting-ground, he said to 'Imād-ul-Mulk that he should proceed to his jagir of Jhālāwār under royal order. 'Imad uḷ-Mulk suspected him of an intrigue. He tried to seize the personality of the Sulṭān. He spent lavishly on recruitment of mercenaries. But powerful amirs did not give their accord to him and so he went to his jagir of Jhālāwār.

After five or six months, Darya Khān marched with the Sulṭān against 'Imad ul-Mulk whom he defeated at Pātri Bajana in the district of Viramgām. 'Imad ul-Mulk fled to Mubārak Shāh at Burhānpur. Daryā Khān pursued him thither with the Sulṭān and fought with Mubārak Shāh on his refusal to surrender him and inflicted a defeat upon him.

When he returned to Gujarat, Daryā Khān exercised absolute power in the kingdom with the Sulṭān as his puppet. He behaved so well with all sections of people that they remained pleased with him and thanked him by invoking prayers on his behalf. People remarked that the regime of Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh I had come back. Every one felt happy and led a comfortable life according to his means. It was the year 945 (1538) which is found from the word "Khush-ḥāl" according to Abjad system. He lavishly practised alms and charity. No durwish was left out without a stipend and allowance. Most of the soldiers with families got a jagir in addition to their regular salary. They were granted farmāns with royal seal wherein the name of the grantee, fixation of his jagir etc. were recorded. Copies of such farmāns were kept ready so that people might not have to wait for what they deserved and bear harassment of the clerks. Poor and needy persons of every nook and corner of the state were supplied with such documents at their respective places.

Once it so happened that a wrong man bearing the same name as the grantee received the allowance. When the rightful claimant made his appearance for demand of his allowance, Daryā Khān did not like to take back the amount from the wrong man.

Daryā Khān was a pleasure-loving man. He entrusted management of administrative matters to 'Ālam Khān Ludi while he himself indulged in music and dance of Pātri girls. During his regime, every house in every lane and bazar emitted songs, tunes and melodies. Noted Kalāwants of his time were Nāyak Abhu, Nāyak Jiti son of Nāyak Bakhshu, Rang Khān and Bahli sons of Nāyak Chatr, Khim and Raman. Every one of them was renowned in his art. To quote Mirat-i-Sikandari every one of them was so proficient in art that he brought down by his enchanting songs and miraculous tunes even the planet

'enus from the sky to his captivity on earth. Other famous Pātri dancers were Iohanrāo, Rangrāo, Desi Rāo and Kunwar who were unequal led in dancing and natchless in personal beauty. His maḥfil was extremely perfumed and profusely cented as well as profoundly well furnished with costly carpets and gaudy :urtains. Daryā Khān spent his time in such pleasures and joys. The Sulṭān emained indifferent to his pleasure-loving life. However much he tried to get :ent of his view with regard to his indulgence in pleasures, he did not succeed : it.

Once he invited his intimate friends, 'Ālam Khān Ludi, Ulugh Khān, 'ajih ul-Mulk Tānk and Alap Khān Khatri to a party before they proceeded to ieir respective jagirs. Laṭif ul-Mulk secretly informed them that Daryā Khān vould kill all of them when in drinking bouts. All of them attended the party ith fear of life. They attended the party with no rejoicing in them like life-less ersons. Daryā Khān inquired from them the cause of it. He assured them hat there was no such intention on his part with the Holy Book in hand. In he morning, the amirs departed for their respective jagirs. He paraded Laṭif il-Mulk on a donkey with shaven head and beard in every lane of the city and mprisoned him.

'Imād ul-Mulk proceeded to Mallu Khān, ruler of Malwa from Burhānpur. Ie wrote to Mallu Khān alias Qādir Shāh to surrender him but he refused. He, herefore, decided to march on Mandu. He assembled his army for the purpose : Kānkariya tank. At night, he held a party and left the room with a girl eaving the Sulṭān alone. The Sulṭān felt insulted. He whispered to Sayyid Iubārak Bukhāri, "Did you notice the insolence of this slave? He left me lone in his drunken state and enjoys tranquillity." He left Daryā Khān and vent over to 'Ālam Khān. Daryā Khān received intelligence of his flight in he morning. He seated Aḥmad Khān as Sulṭān Muzaffar on the throne on the dvice of Fatu Jiv and marched against 'Ālam Khān whom he defeated. In he meantime, his troops deserted him. He returned to Aḥmadābād but the itizens refused him admission whereupon he entered it through a Virampur hirki. He sent away his family members to Chāmpāner while he himself pro:eeded to Burhānpur in 950 (1543). The Sulṭān occupied the city and conscated his treasures. He passed through difficult days in roaming about and ltimately went over to Sher Shāh Sur, the ruler of Delhi.

'Ālam Khān Ludi

'Ālam Khān Ludi was the son of Mir Muhammad 'Ālam Khān. He was ord of Dholka. Before departure of 'Ālam Khān and other amirs to their reective jagirs, Daryā Khān had arranged a night party for them. But Laṭif l-Mulk informed these amirs that Daryā Khān had evil designs to kill all of hem in the party. They all attended the party like life-less beings with no

cheer on their faces. Daryā Khān noticed that they did not rejoice in the party and that their faces were pale through fear of life. On Daryā Khān's inquiry as to why there was no cheer on their faces, they told him what Laṭif ul-Mulk had reported to them whereupon he took an oath with the Holy Book in hand assuring them about his sincere intentions. They then departed to their respective places in the morning. He punished Laṭif ul-Mulk by parading him on a donkey with clean shaven head and beard in the whole city.

Sulṭān Maḥmud got displeased with Daryā Khān when he left him alone in the party. The Sulṭān left his asylum and went over to 'Ālam Khān when he invited him to Dholka. Daryā Khān invaded Dholka and fought with 'Ālam Khān who suffered a defeat and fled away to Sayādara on the bank of Sābarmati. He recruited soldiers and won over the Sulṭān to his side. When the Sulṭān felt himself safe and secure at Chāmpāner, he appointed 'Ālam Khān as Amir ul-Umarā and Sipāhsālār. When he found that he had won the confidence of the Sulṭān, he requested the Sulṭān to permit him to summon 'Imād ul-Mulk who was expelled from Gujarat by Daryā Khān. In the meantime, 'Imād ul-Mulk arrived who was received with due honour and Broach was assigned to him as jagir.

The Sulṭān encouraged base and low persons and bestowed titles upon them. A sparrow-hunter Chir Jiv was titled as Muhāfiz Khān and assigned a proximate place to him to the resentment of other amirs. Chir Jiv had become bold enough to kill two prominent amirs who fought on the side of Daryā Khān in the Battle of Dholka. One of the amirs was 'Alāud-Din Ludi, brother of Sikandar Ludi of Delhi. 'Ālam Khān got their bodies burried after three days.

'Ālam Khān, Wajih ul-Mulk, Alp Khān Khatri and Burhān ul-Mulk Wazir along with other soldiers decided to kill Chir Jiv and came completely armed and sat on a big masjid situated at the Sulṭān's Darbār. The Sulṭān was practically besieged for nearly three days. The Sulṭān became helpless. The Sulṭān sent Burhān ul-Mulk to inquire as to what was their object. They all said that Chir Jiv should be surrendered to them but the Sulṭān refused to surrender him at any cost. When they attended majlis of the Sulṭān they caught hold of Chir Jiv and tore him to pieces near the throne of the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān stabbed his stomach with a dagger but Alp Khān caught hold of the Sulṭān's hand. He was slightly injured. The Sulṭān was kept under strict surveillance. 'Ālam Khān had refused to see the Sulṭān till Chir Jiv was killed.

'Ālam Khān, Wajih ul-Mulk, Mujāhid Khān and Mujāhid ul-Mulk were cream among the nobles. They guarded the Sulṭān by terms.

Mujahid Khān Behlim was a powerful noble. He was very bulky with a pot belly. 'Ālam Khān's brother, Shujā'ul-Mulk used to cut jokes with him.

His wazir Tatār ul-Mulk resented jokes against his master. He poisoned ears of the Sulṭān against 'Ālam Khān and suggested to him a plan to bring about his fall. The joke of Shujā'ul-Mulk became costly for 'Ālam Khān. The Sulṭān ordered 'Ālam Khān's house to be plundered. He was taken aback on account of this sudden step on part of the Sulṭān. He fled away to Pethapur and wrote to Daryā Khān that he was in sad plight and that he repented of his deed. He invited him to meet him to do something together. Daryā Khān himself was in monetary difficulties. He sold precious stones at low prices and maintained himself. Both of them met at Triparah. Both of them were penniless. They decided to see Alp Khān as well as 'Imād ul-Mulk to get some monetary help from them. 'Ālam Khān came to Alp Khān with five hundred horses but the latter gave him a cold reception because he had incurred displeasure of the Sulṭān. Any how, he and 'Imād ul-Mulk gave him some expense money and turned him out. 'Imād ul-Mulk requested the Sulṭān to summon these two old servants but the Sulṭān did not accede to his request. 'Ālam Khān went to Sher Shāh who assigned Malwa to him. But he returned to Gujarat during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh when he was granted Chāmpāner and Broach. He failed to suppress his revolting nature and fought with prominent amirs such as Ulugh Khān, Sayyid Mubārak etc. got defeated and fled to the hilly tract of Pāl. Ultimately, he came to Sher Khān Ludi of Pātaṇ, entered into a pact with him and seized Kadi which formed part of the jagir of I'timād Khān. I'timād Khān wrote to Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk and Daryā Khān Habshi who were at Aḥmadnagar to expel him from Kadi. A war ensued in which 'Ālam Khān was killed by an elephant.

He was brave, intrepid, tyrannical, unjust, blood-shedding assassin, evil-minded, of haughty temperament and lofty courage.

Imād ul-Mulk Malek Jiv b. Tawakkal

Sultān Bahādur sent Imād ul-Mulk against the son of Silhadi while he himself marched towards Ujjain where 'Imād ul-Mulk paid obeisance to him and informed him that the son of Silhadi fled away before arrival of the royal army.

Muḥammad Shāh Asiri and 'Imād ul-Mulk were appointed to march against the Rānā. They set out march on march and came to Purria where they learnt that the Rānā was advancing with a large army and reported to the Sultān about strength of the army. The Sultān marched in person and left Muḥammad Shāh and 'Imād ul-Mulk at Pursia. The Sulṭān sent Malek 'Imād ul-Mulk to Mandsur from Kākrun. Rānā Neku fled away on 'Imād ul-Mulk's approach. He occupied Mandsur. 'Imād ul-Mulk went to Mandu and paid respects to the Sultān. Afterwards, he fought bravely with steadfastness against Mughals under Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā at Maḥmudābad.

At the time of Bahādur's death, 'Imād ul-Mulk Malik Jiv son of Tawakkal was Sar Khil-i-Khās-i-Khilān-i-Dargāh-i-Sultāni, (Commander-in-chief of the

Royal Cavalry). He was foremost in point of valour and prowess and lived in Baroda. On hearing about Bahādur's death, he came to Aḥmadābād.

As the Sulṭān had no issue, Mirzā Muḥammad Zamān said that the Sulṭān had addressed him as brother and so if all the amirs decided in his favour, he would rule the kingdom well. The amirs at Aḥmadābād thought it advisable that Malek 'Imād ul-Mulk was the only person who would repulse Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā and so he should march against him. Wazir Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk approved of this proposal saying " We are men of pen while 'Imād ul-Mulk was a man of sword. At present, there was none equal to him in Gujarat ". Afḍal Khān also remarked that there was no match for him in bravery. 'Imād ul-Mulk marched against the Mirzā and defeated him. When Humāyun heard about Bahādur's death, he remarked that Maḥammad Zamān Mirzā would not succeed so long as the negro 'Imād ul-Mulk was alive.

'Imād ul-Mulk returned to Aḥmadābād victorious and triumphant in all pomp and grandeur.

When Sulṭān Maḥmud ascended the throne in 943 (1536), he appointed Malek Jiv 'Imād ul-Mulk as his Wazir. He and Daryā Khān conducted the government in collaboration. Both of them hanged Ikhtiyār Khān, Muqbil Khān and Lād Khān. Later on, Daryā Khān desired to bring about the downfall of 'Imād ul-Mulk and rule with autocracy. He, therefore, devised to send 'Imād ul-Mulk to his jagir at Jhālāwār. He spent lavishly on recruitment of soldiers to seize the personality of the Sulṭān from Daryā Khān but the other amirs did not side with him. He proceeded to Jhālāwār. Daryā Khān then led an army against him and defeated him whereupon he fled to Mubārak Shāh at Burhānpur. He then fled to Qādir Shāh of Malwa.

When 'Ālam Khān became Amir ul-Umarā and Sipahsālār, he advised the Sultān to summon him back from Mandu to Ahmadābād. On his return he was assigned Broach and the port of Surat and ordered to proceed there. He helped 'Ālam Khān with money when he saw him after his fall.

The Sultān suspected that the four amirs—'Ālam Khān, Daryā Khān, 'Imād ul-Mulk and Alp Khān might coalesce and create disturbance in the state. He therefore sent word to 'Imād ul-Mulk, " We consider you in place of uncle. It is not proper that 'Ālam Khān and Daryā Khān should revolt in the kingdom when you are there. Come soon so that we may ponder over the problem of their repulse." 'Imād ul-Mulk excused himself saying that he would come to pay obeisance after recruitment of an army. The Sultān sent another farmān to summon him. He clearly wrote to him, " I committed a great offence by meeting 'Ālam Khān but my object was to admonish him for welfare of the Sulṭān. I am an offender as I met him without your order. " The Sulṭān sent Sayyid 'Arisha to bring him to his presence. Malek went to the Sultān with

ten or twelve thousand horses completely armed to Chāmpaner and waited on the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān was much pleased and showed him great favour. At night, some one shouted that the Sulṭān had ordered to plunder the pavilion of 'Imād ul-Mulk. His pavilion was raided. Inspite of his courage and power, he had no strength to ride a horse and run away to the fort of Broach. He caught hold of a palanquin-carrier and told him to carry him to the pavilion of Sayyid Mubārak. He carried him in darkness of night. There was a pit on the road and the Malek fell into it. In the morning, a man went to fetch water, he found a man in the pit, he took him out and recognised him to be 'Imād ul-Mulk. He was half dead and so he said to the man to take him to the pavilion of Sayyid Mubarak. The Sayyid received him with due honour. He requested the Sayyid to go to the Sulṭān and secure permission for him to go to ḥajj. The Sulṭān was wonderstruck at what happened to him. The Sulṭān granted him permission and accompained him with two slaves of Jhujhar Khān to escort him to Surat port. He sent instruction to the port-officer Khudāwand Khān Rumi to send him to Makka in season. Khudāwand Khān killed the Malek on 27th Ramaḍān, 952 (1545).

'Imād ul-Mulk was one of the most valiant men in Gujarat. He was the only person to face the Mughals. It was he who collected revenue from cultivators when there was no man's rule in Gujarat.

'Imād ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam

Khush-Qadam was a purchased slave of Bibi Rāni. He became a favourite with Muzaffar because of his mother Bibi Rāni and of his good looks. Later on, Sulṭān Muzaffar appointed him a tutor of Sikandar.

In 923 (1517), Sultān Muzaffar invaded Mandu against Medni Rāo, came to Dhār and laid siege to it. Ḥājji Dabir says that just at this time, an unknown person, probably Prophet Khiḍr met Khush-Qadam and advised him to attack Mandu when the garrisoned celebrated Holi festival. He got emboldened and charged the enemy severely who fled away. He displayed great bravery in this battle.

Once Bibi Rāni caught hold of Sikandar and placed his hand in the hand of Khush-Qadam. From that day, he cherished a desire to become Sikandar's Wazir. When Sultān Sikandar ascended the throne, he bypassed him and continued Ḥājji Muḥammad Khudāwand Khān as Wazir as he was during the regime of his father. He wanted the robes of honour to be given to those whom he wished but the Sultān said that it would be done by Khudāwand Khān. All these acts excited jealousy in his heart. The Sultān rebuked him when he bestowed a title on Kotwāl of the city without his permission and consultation of the Wazir. The Sultān plunged himself in pleasures of the youth and so he was unaware of his nefarious activities.

The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari says on the report of Sayyid Jalāi Munawwar ul-Mulk that when the Sulṭān returned from polo-playing, he and his brother Sayyid Burhān-ud-Din had stood in the bazar. They saw that all men and women came out to see the Sulṭān who was very handsome. He passed through the bazar in all pomp and grandeur and retired to his palace. Amirs and others also went to their respective places after saluting the Sulṭān.

After some time, 'Imād ul-Mulk, having covered his head and ears proceeded towards the palace with forty valiant, blood-thirsty horsemen. All persons thought that the Malek went to salute the Sulṭān. An hour had not passed when an uproar arose that 'Imād ul-Mulk assassinated the Sulṭān. All persons were taken aback. They wept and grieved. It was the first assassination of the Sulṭān of Gujarat. He finished every one to death who came in his way. Afterwards, he entered the ḥarem of the Sulṭān Muzaffar, brought out Naṣir Khān, a five, six year old son of Sulṭān Muzaffar, seated him in his lap when all those amirs who were with him saluted him. Three amirs abstained from taking an oath of allegiance to the new Sulṭān. They were Khudāwand Khān Masnad-i-Āli, the Wazir of Sulṭān Muzaffar. Another person was Majlis-i-Sāmi Fateh Khān, Prince of Sind who was son-in-law of Sulṭān Muzaffar and had married the blood-sister of Sulṭān Sikandar. The third one was Tāj Khān Narpāli.

On the day of Naṣir Khān's accession, 'Imād ul-Mulk gave robes of honour and bestowed titles upon amirs. The amirs were disgusted with his deeds but they were helpless as they had no leader.

'Imād ul-Mulk wrote letters to 'Imād ul-Mulk Ilichpuri, Rānā Sangā and Bābur for help. Loyal amirs of Gujarat including Ḥusām Khān, the historian of Bahādur Shāh were afraid that the Gujarat salṭanat would pass away to foreigners. They corresponded with Bahādur Shāh who was away at Jaunpur and informed him of every event that took place under 'Imād ul-Mulk Khush-Qadam. 'Imād ul-Mulk tried to stop his entry into Gujarat. All the amirs deserted him on receipt of news of Bahādur's arrival. He persuaded Laṭif Khān Prince of Sind to try for the throne. He spent money extravagantly to collect soldiers. He succeeded in enlisting five thousand soldiers but they all deserted him.

On his arrival, Bahādur Shāh ordered his house to be guarded by Tāj Khān Narpāli to prevent his escape. He hid himself in another house. His own house was sacked. Bahādur ordered him to be arrested and shut up in the Dilkushā palace. Tāj Khān reproached him for his murder of Sikandar. According to Ḥusām Khān, he was hanged. According to others, he was blown up from a cannon.

Yāqut Ulugh Khān Habshi

Ulugh Khān Habshi was head of the nauba as his father Mandal Ulugh Khān was during the regime of Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh. On getting news of

assassination of Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh, Ulugh Khān came to the palace of the Sulṭān. All sections of people assembled around Sayyid Mubārak Bukhari. Umdat us-Saltanat Ulugh Khān Habshi came to him with a party of Habshis.

During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh II when Mubārak Shāh invaded Gujarat Ulugh Khān Habshi moved with the stirrup of the Sulṭān with his own regiment.

On behalf of Naṣir ul-Mulk, Ulugh Khān was one of the captors of the Sulṭān. When Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri sacked pavilion of Naṣir ul-Mulk, 'Imād ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān deserted Naṣir ul-Mulk and came over to the Sayyid with the Sulṭān.

When the principal amirs made a division of Gujarat, I'timād Khān gave a part of Jhālāwar to Ulugh Khān. Sayyid Mubārak also gave a portion of Jhālāwar to him. He went to Jhālāwar, assembled all its jagirdars and brought the whole of Jhālāwar under his control and occupation. He paid no attention to opposition of I'timād Khān. I'timād Khān and 'Ālam Khān, therefore marched against Ulugh Khān taking the Sulṭān with them. They did not inform the Sayyid about it. Ulugh Khān fought with them near Viramgām but was defeated. He fled and sought shelter of the Sayyid. The Sayyid and 'Imād ul-Mulk interceded on behalf of Ulugh Khān, took Bahiwal from I'timād Khān and assigned it to Ulugh Khān.

When Changiz Khān attacked Ulugh Khān and Jhujhar Khān Habshi who were at Baroda, the Habshis fought but got defeated. The elephant Uday Mangal, ensign and drum fell into the hands of Changiz Khān. During this time Ulugh Khān fell ill. He died in the neighbourhood of Baroda on 17th Rabi 'I 965 (1557). His son Sa'eed Muḥammad Khayrat Khān was at Broach. His funeral was attended by all including the Sulṭān.

Bilal Falah Khāni titled Khayrat Khān

Bilal Falah Khāni Khayrat Khān was the wazir of Ulugh Khān. He had stabbed Tughluq Khān to death. Ulugh Khān had conferred upon him the title of Khayrat Khān. It was I'timād Khān who made him an amir. He was a man noted for sincerity in work, loyalty in service and honesty of purpose. He performed memorable deeds of valour. He assassinated Tughluq Khān, Ārāish Khān and Malek Akhi. He also fought battles with Mansingh, ruler of Halwad. He was in captivity of 'Imād ul-Mulk. The cause of it was his amirship and that he rode with an ensign and a drum. He was a favourite of I'timād Khān. He wept for him and mourned for his loss. The cause of his death was that he, in accordance with the Hindi custom, sat in a pond with application of oil as is done in a bath-room sitting in a water-tub. It so happened that there he suffered from severe cold after eating harisa (a kind of meat dish). He then sat in oily tub. His leg slipped and he dived into it and drank some water out of it. While making him vomit in water, he felt nausea

due to oil. He was given immediate treatment but the illness overpowered him and it prolonged for some months. He then died in 970 (1562).

Bijli Khān Habshi

Bijli Khān was distinguished with many things. He was disposed towards men of the sword. If they belonged to his community, that is the Habshi, he tried his utmost to collect them in his Diwān to please them with cash, grant of villages and property. They became extremely rich through him. His other quality was attraction to outward beauty to follow him. He was inclined to service of scholars and particularly, the Arabs. He gave them liberal rewards and showed sympathy to them. When he heard that there was a proficient man in arts or that he was exceptional in the art of singing and playing upon a musical instrument, he would send gold to him even if he were in a distant place like Yaman or Hijāz and invite him to himself. He was very fond of attendance upon the nobles. The Tarim tribesmen stayed for a period with him. He ordered them to lead pure lives and marry who failed to do so. Those who were inclined to return to their native land were given sufficient provisions so that they lived comfortably in their places. It was his habit to distribute them to nobles on their arrival. They lived with comfort with them. They were supplied with provisions and conveyance in travel. This was his habit.

Jauhar Muḥamonadi Muḥsin-ul-Mulk

Jauhar Muhammadi Muḥsin ul-Mulk was an assemblage of friends and a rendezvous of companions. His assembly was not without literary men. He was always in joy and delight. He was disposed to spend dirhams and dinars and made offering of them. He had faith in pious men as well as in the sweet creed of Sufism, practice of continuous charity, attendance on congregational prayers, recitation of the Holy Qurān and permanent conversation with men of religion.

Sherwān Khān Habshi

Sherwān Khān Habshi was in the service of Bijli Khān. He was an amir of the army. He was very free with him and moved in his house. He received two hundred thousand Maḥmudis annually for his personal expenses. He did not ask for horses with that amount. He was in a position to purchase them. He was lavish in expenditure during the regime of Changiz Khān. He came to Baroda with Bijli Khān. He was his benefactor. He obtained from him as much as he was destined. He did not part from him during the course of his life except on rare occasions. It was said about him that he was addicted to wine. He used to remain in a drunken state to such an extent that he did not see the crescent once in a month in a sober state. He kept a gold chain suspended with a ring in the ceiling of his lavatory. When he sat down for evacuation, he held it in his hand at the time of standing to come out of it

to balance his posture in intoxication. He made holes in the wall of lavatory to put perfume-holders on four sides to be free from the harmful effect of stink and stench. He displayed his thanks for the bounties he received from God. He provided poor and needy men of his community with money. Those who had old horses, were given young horses, belts, daggers, swords, gilded with gold and thin gaudy dressess. He founded a society of friends for his community-men. This society made him eternally glorious and famous. He was particularly favourable to *'Abdullāh Sa'eed al-Haḍrami, al-Yamini* of perfect glory, unique of the age. He was a conversationalist and charmed hearers by his refined and polished conversation. He was expert in the play of a bow-like musical instrument. It moved minds and souls with transport of joy and hilarity. He revived what was noblest in education. He served as polish to cleanse minds and hearts of impurity. He occupied a high status in state and religion. He was an intimate associate of persons of elevated rank. He stirred up righteous feelings in the heart. He received more from him than he desired. He always enjoyed his company inspite of the fact that he was an Arab. He was more proficient and skilful than a Persian in play of the instrument of joy. Something extraordinary happened in the early part of his life for which, he mourned, later in the year. He belonged to 'Irāq-i-'Ajam which suffered a loss on account of his absence. He was in the majlis of the afore-said Khān. Ustād 'Ali, who was perfect in the art of Music, learnt it from him. He was at Maḥmudābād. Ḥājji Dabir, author of 'Zafar ul-Wālih' met both of them in an assembly. He was second to none in the art of music in the whole of Hind. Mir 'Abdul Laṭif was a perfect wit. His presence was a source of coolness for the eye to the Khān. He was appreciated and applauded by all. He ultimately became famous and went to the majlis of Sultān-ul-Hind. He was highly commended there.

Ghālib Ṣandal Khān Jahāngirkhāni

Ghālib Ṣandal Khān Jahangirkhāni was a slave purchased by Jahāngir Khān in Yaman. He was an accomplished wise man. He was a horseman and an administrator. He was governor of Champāner under Ulugh Khān. Jahangir Khān saw him in Yaman and bought him. He was there with Amir Salmān. He grew up under his training. He was a man of merit and displayed his worth. Salmān adopted him and treated him with exceptional kindness. He taught him reading and writing. He then recited the Holy Book of God and studied books on theology, tradition and commentary. He used to understand them. He perceived what was lawful and unlawful. He glanced over literary books with discernment and made notes of important and uncommon things. He associated with eminent men, lived with them and received training from them. He tasted sweets and bitters of life. He wielded sword before his afore-said master and particularly in days of Rumi Khān at Surat. He was in service of

Jhujhar Khān also. He would not allow any one to advance in war. He used to say, "I was present in nearly forty and more than thirty wars. I do not miss now by a mere glance at the array to know who would be the victor and who the vanquished. He enjoyed the rank of an amir in the kingdom of Ulugh Khān. He received one hundred thousand Maḥmudis only for the sake of his name. But prowess was denied to him though he was in the cavalry, cavalcade and equipment worthy of his status in the army. He was hospitable. A party of Arab Sayyids and theologians of Yaman were always in his house. His majlis was never without friends, and acquaintances, particularly on nights in Ramaḍān. When Muḥammad Husain Mirzā returned to Broach during the regime of Quṭbud-Din Muḥammad Khān, he was with Sayf ul-Mulk. Afterwards, he was with Maḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā to the end of his life. Ḥājji Dabir met him one day before the war and inquired from him about Muḥammad Ḥusain. He replied that he and his men had no goodness in them nor loyalty with them. He had luck without courage and therefore, his patience got exhausted.

Jahāngir wept when he died, though did not weep for other members of his family who got killed in war.

Under the regime of Ulugh Khān, Ḥājji Dabir, author of 'Zafar ul-Wālih' was his great friend. Ghālib Khān met him in winter of every year in his house and asked him as to what clothes he had to protect against cold. He did not need any clothes. He sent him one thousand Maḥmudis for purchase of clothes, with instruction to the messenger, (in case of non-acceptance,) to place the amount at the door and return.

He was well-known for his charitable deeds and always distributed alms to poor and needy persons.

Badri Raihān

Abul Khair Raihān Badr ud-Din Jahāngir Khāni practised many charitable deeds. There were few persons like him. He was a refined and cultured man. He got reared in the service of his master. He was trained in affairs of the world and religion. He was proficient in writing accounts and noted for wisdom and sagacity. He was first entrusted with looking after financial matters by his master and then he was appointed as Wazir. He loved the pious. He made it his special duty to remain in attendance upon the saint of holiness, the sun of suns, Shaykh bin 'Abdullāh al-'Aidrus. He enjoyed the 'Aidrusi favour. He had good faith in him. He composed poems in his eulogy and distributed in charity whatever money he had while on attendance upon him. He was a slave but his master did not rule over him suited to his condition. He loved Ḥaḍrami Sayyids and bestowed liberal gifts and presents on them. His behaviour with the Arabs was similar. He was the Wazir of Khudāwand Khān and

then he became the Wazir of Ulugh Khān. Mawlānā Shibāb ud-Din Aḥmad b. Shaykh-ul-'Aidrus was at Aḥmadābad. He attended upon him, perfected himself in taṣawwuf (divine love), became his disciple, improved his character by his favour and became indifferent to worldly affairs. He was highly respected and praised by people.

Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk

Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk was titled Majlis-i-Sāmi during the Salṭānat of Aḥmad Shāh. In the early part of his life, he held post of the Superintendent of crockery (tasht-dār) under Sulṭān Mahmud. He was addressed as Dawlatyār. He then became a salāḥdār (armour-bearer). He surpassed the class of salāhdārs and became a nauba (guard). He made others present at the appointed time. He was then in charge of patrolling of the Dār-us-Salṭanat and guarding it. He discharged his duty well at every place.

In the year 957 (1550), he was conferred the title of Ikhtiyār ul-mulk. The Sulṭān equipped him with an army to march against Sirohi. He moved hither and thither on those sides and returned with collection of tribute. The Sulṭān found him to be an efficient man. He specially favoured him with the government of Kartankah and was put in charge of ten thousand horses. He was sent as an amir of absolute command to Naharwala Patan. He controlled the territory as far as Nagor, Sirohi and Idar. After martyrdom of the Sulṭān, the wazirs got engaged in mutual feuds. He who paid tribute, became independent. Soldiers dispersed to eke out their means of livelihood from powerful nobles. When Musā Khān attacked Patan, he moved to Aḥmadābād and joined Sulṭān Aḥmad II at Gamid. He served 'Imād ul-Mulk, Changiz Khān and Ulugh Khān by turns.

He was a sexualist. Every day, he used one mithkāl of gold leaves for potency. He had many mistresses. Through them, he had one daughter and twenty sons. He made a condition with the wet-nurse to throttle a daughter to death for which he would pay three mithkāls of gold. Use of gold did him much harm. His body got broken. He was forbidden to wear an armour and ride a horse. He had to be lifted up to seat or to make his feet firm in the stirrup. He was very greedy. He extracted money even from his own relatives. When he died, his dead body was perambulated in all pomp and grandeur.

I'timād Khān 'Abd ul-Karim Sulṭāni

On the accession of Sulṭān Maḥmud II, 'Abd ul-Karim was given the title of I'timād Khān. He made him so proximate and confidential that he took him to his ḥaram by holding his hand.

After the Sulṭān's death, I'timād Khān was appointed as a wakil and a wazir for state affairs. He was requested to find out whether the deceased

Sulṭān had left a son or there was probability of birth in near future. He replied that the Sulṭān had no son and that none of the queens was pregnant. They were very anxious to see that the dynasty of Sulṭān Maḥmud did not terminate. Ultimately, they found out a member of this family by name Aḥmad Khān and seated him on the throne. After his accession, there was fear of the Sulṭān of Delhi, Maḥammad Shāh 'Ādil to invade Gujarat and conquer it. Again, Mubārak Shāh of Asir and Burhānpur claimed Gujarat for himself. He invaded it but Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri patched up peace with him and so he returned to his kingdom.

The amirs were very ambitious and had lust for power. They divided themselves into two parties. One party was led by I'timād Khān while another by Nāṣir ul-Mulk. I'timād Khān was appointed as Amir ul-Umarā of the army, that is, Commander-in-Chief by Sayyid Mubārak. Ḥasan Khān aspired for the post. He became inconsolate. Nāṣir ul-Mulk wanted to seize all power in his hands. He waged war with the Sayyid and I'timād Khān and defeated them. Both of them fled to Kapadwanj. Nāṣir ul-Mulk, with Sulṭān under him, wanted to expel both of them from Gujarat. He marched with a large army against them. I'timād Khān proposed to run away to Delhi. In the meantime, Sayyid Mubārak consulted Bibi Khātun, wife of Sayyid Mirān in this matter. She advised him not to take that cowardly step and run away from Nāṣir ul-Mulk, a green-grocer. Further, Sayyid Ḥusain, a descendant of Quṭbi-'Ālam encouraged the Sayyid to fight with him. Sayyid Ḥusain then persuaded Nāṣir ul-Mulk not to expel them from Gujarat. He said that he was determined for it and would not reverse his decision. Sayyid Ḥusain got enraged and told him that all the Sayyids and their disciples would fight against him.

'Imād ul-Mulk and Ulugh Khān deserted Nāṣir ul-Mulk and conveyed word to him that they would come to him with the Sulṭān. The Sayyid made a direct attack on Nāṣir ul-Mulk who fled away. I'timād Khān pursued him. He died in the forest region of Pāl.

Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk, in concert with Ḥasan Khān Dakhni and Fateh Khān Baluch proclaimed Shāhu as Sulṭān. I'timād Khān was about to go over to their side but Sayyid Mubārak brought him back. A war ensued. The enemy got defeated.

The amirs then divided the kingdom of Gujarat among themselves with a view to strengthen its defence. I'timād Khān's share consisted of Kadi, Jhālāwar, Petlad, Nadiad, Bahiwal, Radhanpur, Sami, Munjpur and Saurath.

At this stage, 'Ālam Khān Ludi came from Delhi and saw Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. In spite of the advice of I'timād Khān against him, the Sayyid assigned him Broach and Chāmpāner. He was an intrigueing and deceitful fellow. He won over I'timād Khān and became his close friend. I'timād Khān gave his

son's house for him to live in. 'Ālam Khān then schemed to overthrow I'timād Khān and take his post. Some one informed I'timād Khān about it and so he turned him out from his son's house. He then won over 'Imād ul-Mulk to his side who in his turn won over I'timād Khān. They all decided to overthrow the Sayyid. They advanced to Kankariya with their army. The Sayyid sent Mian Manghu to 'Ālam Khān not to disturb peace of the kingdom. But he said that all the amirs were of opinion that there would be no peace so long as the Sayyid was there. 'Imād ul-Mulk also gave an evasive reply. He saw I'timād Khān who said that the Sayyid himself was responsible for the trouble by favouring 'Ālam Khān. They ultimately deserted 'Ālam Khān, who fought but was defeated and killed near Kadi.

I'timād Khān now became a man of sole authority. 'Imād ul-Mulk enjoyed full powers along with him. They guarded the Sulṭān by turn. Jealousy played its part. The Sulṭān went over to 'Imād ul-Mulk. I'timād Khān brought Mubārak Shāh against him. The Sayyid again intervened. He was given Sultānpur and Nazarbar and sent back.

The Sultān then fled from 'Imād ul-Mulk to Sayyid Bukhāri. 'Imād ul-Mulk and I'timād Khān both invaded Sayyidpur and asked the Sayyid to surrender the Sulṭān. The Sayyid said that the Sulṭān had come of his own accord and that he did not invite him. They somehow or other wanted his surrender. They started a war. The Sayyid fell down from his horse and was martyred. They confiscated his jagirs and would not give any portion of it to his son Sayyid Mirān. Ultimately, I'timād Khān gave him Dholka, Kapadwanj, Bahiwal, Sarnāl and Bālāsinor. 'Imād ul-Mulk got displeased. Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk occupied Kapadwanj, Sarnāl, and Bālāsinor while Jhughar Khān Habshi had Bahiwal. Only Dholka remained with Sayyid Mirān.

The Sulṭān then intrigued with 'Imād ul-Mulk. I'timād Khān and 'Imād ul-Mulk prepared for war. 'Imād ul-Mulk went to Broach and then to Surat where he was killed by Khudāwand Khān. Later on, his son Changiz Khān invaded Surat, killed Khudāwand Khān and occupied it. Changiz Khān then invaded Ulugh Khān and Jhujhār Khān at Baroda. The Habshis were defeated. They sought help from I'timād Khān who invaded Broach. To divert his attention from Broach, Sher Khān and Musā Khān attacked Fateh Khān Baluch. I'timād Khān came to Aḥmadābād and began to plan against the Sulṭān who in a drunken state used to say that he would kill I'timād Khān. I'timād Khān ordered his slaves to kill Ahmad Shāh. He then seated Muzaffar III on the throne. He attacked the Fulādi brothers twice but got defeated both the times. His misfortune had begun. He had to suffer defeats. He was disgusted with the negroes. He invited Akbar. He was favourably disposed towards him. He entrusted the government of Gujarat to him.

Āṣaf Khān 'Abd ul-'Aziz

'Abd ul-'Aziz Āṣaf Khān was born on Thursday night, 12th Rabi'I 907 (1501) at Chāmpāner. He was the son of a very learned man Shams ud-Din Muḥammad known as Ḥamid ul-Mulk. He traced his descent from Jām Nanda of Sind. He studied different branches of knowledge such as grammar, etymology and eloquence. He then devoted himself to the study of religious sciences under Qādi Burhān ud-Din of Naharwala. He paid special attention to the study of ḥadith. He then learnt logic, philosophy, uṣul (fundamental sciences) and medicine.

In course of time, he became so perfect and accomplished that he attracted the attention of Sulṭān Bahādur who chose him as his courtier. He patronized him and treated him with favour. He appointed him as wazir and invested him with great authority in respect of state affairs. He was distingnished with the title of Ḥabib ul-Mulk and later on with that of Masnad-i-Āli. He continued as a minister till the Mughals invaded Gujarat. He was then sent to Makka with Sulṭān Bahādur's ḥaram and treasure in 942 (1535). On landing at Jiddah, he made inquiries about the state of learning and learned men. He contacted all of them.

One of his ancestors, Malek Tāj ud-Din left Sind and came to Mandu where he served Sulṭān Ghiyāthud-Din Khalji who honoured him and held him in great esteem. When a revolution took place in Mandu, Tāj ud-Din's son, Malek Rukn ud-Din came to Gujarat and served Sulṭān Maḥmud son of Muḥammad Shāh. He was respected by the Sulṭān. His sons held the posts of amirs and wazirs.

When Sultān Bahādur sent him to Makka with the Sulṭān's haram and treasure, he took with him Shams Khān and Qaiṣar Khān and ten vessels. They all reached Jiddah in safety after two months' voyage having sailed out of season. He was authorised by the Sulṭān to distribute a part of the treasury in charity. When news of Bahādur's death reached Makka, he obtained permission to place seals on the royal treasury till instructions arrived from Gujarat.

He distributed among the Makkans one hundred and fifty chests of gold so that the women of Makka and their servants were more resplendently dressed than ever before.

During his ten years' residence in Makka, he was very regular in his congregational as well as Friday prayers in the Masjid ul-Ḥaram. He kept midnight vigils and prayers even when he was in travel. In the month of Ramaḍān his prayers and charity increased beyond limit. He had created influence among the elite and scholars of Makka as well as of Egypt and Turkey. When the governor of Egypt wanted to confiscate the treasures of Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh on his death, he so cleverly managed the affair that they did not fall into his

hands at which the governor of Egypt, of Jiddah and ruler of Makka were amazed and bewildered.

During the regime of Maḥmud III, he was summoned from Makka to create order out of chaos in government. He suffered much on his return voyage from Makka to Gujarat due to stormy sea. He lost his baggage. He regretted much for loss of valuable books and a horse given to him as a present.

On his arrival at Ahmadābād, Sulṭān Maḥmud III embraced him and seated him on a carpet with him. He was given the house which formerly belonged to Tāj Khān Narpāli. He was appointed absolute regent with the title of Naib-i-Muṭlaq. He was decorated with a robe, suspended a sword and given a free hand in government of the kingdom. On assumption of power, he patronized mamāliks, all foreign attendants and brought their number to twelve thousand. Mandal Habshi with the title of Ulugh Khān was appointed their head. They consisted of men of the Mahmara tribe, Yāfa' tribe, the Turks, the Habshis, the Javanese and the Firangis. They were special attendants of the Sultān. They had to be in constant attendance upon him. He established perfect order in the kingdom. He proved himself to be the greatest wazir in Gujarat.

This ascetic minister, so pious, so God-fearing was done to death by a rogue Burhān.

Musā Khān Fulādi

Musā Khān was the son of 'Ayn ul-Mulk Fulādi. He and his elder brother Sher Khān were strong adherents of Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. These two brothers were the leaders of the Fulādi Afghāns. They were noted for valour and prowess. They were the sincere disciples of Sayyid Mubārak who too was favourably disposed towards them. It was because of him that they attained to eminent positions in the kingdom.

When the amirs divided the Gujarat kingdom among themselves for purposes of defence, Sayyid Mubārak had received Patan as one of his Jagirs. He assigned it to Musā Khān.

After the martyrdom of Sayyid Bukhāri, I'timād Khān and 'Imad ul-Mulk confiscated the jagirs of the Sayyid except Patan and its adjacent places which were under the Fulādi brothers.

Some time after, a quarrel arose between I'timād Khān and 'Imād ul-Mulk. I'timād Khān invaded Broach and laid siege to it. Tātār Khān of Junāgadh wanted to bring about conciliation between them but I'timād Khān proved intransigent whereupon Tātār Khān got displeased. He instigated Fulādi brothers saying that when I'timād Khān would conquer and subdue Changiz Khān, he would not spare you. Hence it was advisable to invade Fateh Khān Baluch. They, therefore, fought with Fateh Khān Baluch and defeated him,

He garrisoned himself in the port of Dholkot near Radhanpur. On hearing this news, I'timād Khān left Broach and came to Aḥmadābād, where he planned the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh and seated Muzaffar III on the throne. He then invaded Patan. Musā Khān and Sher Khān garrisoned themselves in the city of Patan. I'timād Khān ordered the fort of Patan to be blown up by cannons. Sayyid Mirān, Ḥājji Khān and Ikhtiyār ul-Mulk tried to patch up peace but I'timād Khān refused. Fulādi brothers decided to fight with him with fifteen hundred horse while I'timād Khān had more than twenty thousand horse. The vanguard of I'timād Khān consisted of Habshis who fought bravely but got defeated. On defeat of the Habshi, the rest fled away. I'timād Khān attributed his defeat to perfidy on the part of nobles who retreated without fighting. He returned to Aḥmadābād. Fifteen hundred horsemen seized provisions of twenty thousand horsemen. I'timād Khān's defeat took place in 968 (1560). Ḥājji Khān deserted to Fuladi brothers who treated him as their third brother and divided jagir in three parts, one part of which was given to him. They thus got strengthened.

After this defeat, I'timād Khān wanted to make amends for it. He began to assemble soldiers for war but the amirs were against it. Tātār Khān did not side with him so he fled away. He again invaded Patan. Musā Khān fought with him at Jhotana in 969 (1561) and defeated him. He came back to Ahmadabad.

I'timād Khān placated Changiz Khān of Broach to invade the Fulādis. In the meantime, Changiz Khān had to fight with Ulugh Khān. He therefore, conspired with Musā Khān against I'timād Khān thinking that I'timād Khān would not spare him after finishing Fulādis. In the meantime, Musā Khān fell ill and died. Changiz Khān refused to fight against Sher Khān who mourned death of his brother and so he returned to Broach.

Changiz Khān

Changiz Khān was the son of 'Imād ul-Mulk Aṣlan Rumi. He was one of the nobles of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh II. His father left him in charge of Broach.

When Mubārak Shāh of Asir and Burhānpur invaded Gujarat to take advantage of Gujarat's chaotic state, Sayyid Mubārak sent out to fight with him. Mubārak Shāh came as far as Ranapur Kotha but his army did not stand the charge of Gujarat army so he returned from Bilugām. Changiz Khān pursued him by crossing the river Narbada and plundered some portion of his provisions. His father 'Imād ul-Mulk summoned him at Muḥammadābād with an army. Changiz Khān came and encamped at Maḥmudābād. 'Imād ul-Mulk sent word to I'timād Khān that his nephew had come and that he should ennoble him and move together with him. He told him that he should proceed and that he would follow him. I'timād Khān sent Malek Sharq to summon Tātar Khān before Changiz Khān came to the city Both of them made preparation for war.

I'timād Khān then ordered 'Imād ul-Mulk to proceed to his jagir. He went to Broach. He stayed there for some months and then demanded Surat from Khudāwand Khān, father-in-law of Changiz Khān. Khudāwand Khān invited him as a guest, within the fort and killed him. Changiz Khān got enraged. He determined to wreak vengeance on him. He sought help from the Firangis and invaded Surat. He conquered it and killed Khudāwand Khān.

Changiz Khān then invaded Baroda under Ulugh Khān and Jhujhar Khān, and defeated them. He seized Uday Mangal elephant, ensign and drum of Ulugh Khān. He named dogs as Ulugh Khān and Jhujhar Khān, tore out their ensign and bound their pieces round their necks. The Habshis complained to I'timād Khān against him. Changiz Khān garrisoned bimself in the fort of Broach. Tatār created circumstances for I'timād Khān inside the fort that he had to leave Broach to go against Fulādis.

Being defeated a second time against Fulādi brothers, I'timād Khān tried to win over Changiz Khān to fight against Fulādis. But he conspired against him and returned to Broach.

When Mirzā Ibrāhim Ḥusain and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain came to Gujarat he deceived them and sent them back to Delhi. He beguiled 'Abdullāh Uzbek to fight with the Portuguese at Daman. He suffered a shameful defeat at their hands,

Changiz Khān and Sher Khān decided to overthrow I'timād Khān. He fought with I'timād Khān and defeated him but Sayyid Ḥāmid defeated Changiz Khān. Changiz Khān later on came to Ahmadābād and occupied the whole region from the side of Sābarmati. He quarrelled with Ulugh Khān in connection with a master of the horse. He was suddenly murdered on 4th Ṣafar, 975 (1567). His nobles returned to Broach after his murder except Jahāngir Khān. His guns and elephants were given to Jhujhār Khān.

'Imād ul-Mulk Changiz Khān son of 'Imād ul-Mulk Aṣlan Rumi was a malek, great, generous and renowned. When he rose to eminence, he corresponded with kings of round-about places. During his regime, the tone of morality was high. Chiefs of Persia assembled in his Diwān which had become rich on account of his bounties and charities. He had become a Shia' and he celebrated Muḥarram after the Shia' fashion. He was the ruler of Gujarat and other surrounding places. He worked as an arbitrator in mutual accord and discord.

Ākā Jān, a merchant of Khanbhāyat composed following lines in his praise :

> Khān-i-Khākān Changiz Khān, the lion-hearted
> Galloped his Raksh-horse through the blue sky.

His generous hand was over world like a cloud
It poured pearls and jewels with kindness and largesse
His point of arrow killed bird of enemy's soul
Without doubt from branch of life.
His lofty palace was so elevated
That the eye of Saturn got bewildered
Vicissitudes of time got it demolished
Sky laid low mean world in despair

Chronogram in Arabic

Second Changiz Khān, King the word
Opponent murdered him. He was an enemy.
Year of his death was essence of his qualities
He was fortunate, died a martyr (975 = 1567).

Jhujhār Khān Marjān Rumi Khāni

Jhujhār Khān Marjān Rumi Khāni was first in the service of Yāqut Ulugh Khān, during the regime of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh II. He obtained his title of Jhujhār Khān as well as the estate of Munda. Ulugh Khān gave him his horse Duldul and assigned Bahmanul to Munda in addition. He was appointed executor to Yākut. He entered service of Yākut's son Mahammad. His son was wounded in a battle and taken prisoner by Sayful ul-Mulk and his friends. They treated him with kindness when they learnt that he was the son of Jhujhār Khān. Jhujhār wrote and thanked his former friends for the kind treatment accorded to his son. They sent back his son to him. He then asked forgiveness of Ulugh Khān and promised to return to him.

He was an adopted brother to Yākut Ulugh Khān. Later on, he left Muhammad Ulugh Khān and joined I'timād Khān and stayed with him till the arrival of Akbar when he rejoined Ulugh Khān. He and Ulugh Khān submitted together to Akbar. They embraced each other and wept on meeting. When he was being bound, he uttered abusive words towards Akbar in public but Akbar took no notice of the matter until after he had captured Surat. He was crushed to death by an elephant in the presence of Akbar in 980 (1572). He had two wives. They remained with Akbar till the end of Akbar's life.

Jhujhār Khān was a man of rigour and dread. He was a skilful horseman. He evinced great fondness for horses. He was noted for valour and intrepidity. He had qualities of prudence and statesmanship. All the Rumi Khāni mamālik were literary men with courage, leadership and valour. Ḥājji Dabir, author of "Zafar ul-Wālih" noted character, kindness and etiquette in him. He was wonderstruck by his dignified behaviour. He was an amir with an ensign and a drum during the regime of Muḥammad Ulugh Khān.

His body was deposited in a mausoleum at Broach. His son Wali Khān removed the coffin to Sarkhej and buried him under a dome situated on a reservoir between Bilāl Jhujhār Khān and Yākut Ulugh Khān. Jhujhār Khān when alive used to say, " Perhaps, I may be interned at this place pointing the vacant place between the two graves. Muḥammad Ulugh Khān will agree to bury me and erect a structure over it ". He said, " No, he who goes before from among us, will be consigned here ". It so happened. The mausoleum is on two long rows. It has a sitting place, a room, a spacious enclosure for animals for training and a gate. The row of columns which is near the room is on the famous reservoir at Sarkhej in the vicinity of the illumined mausoleum over which there is a small dome elevated over pillars strongly resting that which is beneath it. In the row (of columns) which is adjacent to the long one towards the Kibla, like that in the first dome to the east, is the tomb of the martyr, Bilāl Jhujhār Khān, the first Malek from among the mamāliks of Salṭanat. He was the first to be entombed. Among the four tombs, the second is that of Mandal Ulugh Khān Sulṭāni. The third one is adjacent to the tomb of Yāqut Ulugh Khān. Marjān Jhujhār Khān's tomb is the third between the second one and that of Jhujhār Khān.

After the death of Changiz Khān, Jhujhār Khān had firmly established his power in the kingdom. He ruled it with absolute power. He was proud of it. He was, in truth, confronted with matters which never hovered around any other person.

His nobles were Yāqut Ulugh Khān, Karā Ḥasan Jahāngir Khān al-Rumi, Baḥri Khān Rumi who was in charge of cannons. Shamshir Khān b. Shamshir Khān was an amir of elevated rank. He was noted for swordsmanship. He had one thousand horses, forty elephants, one hundred and sixty cannons and eight hundred attendants who carried his bows, guns and fire-stars. He had an iron-weapon, half a yard thick with wood on one side of it. His habit was to strike it moderately his community men out of slight. It was six yards in length. In war, he moved it in rotation. It worked with its iron and wood, the like of which a cannon failed to do so. It was more powerful than ten cannons. The gun powder continued in it in a revolving manner like a grinding mill-stone. Its abominable detention emitted sparks which dispersed crowds and made horses uncontrollable. Other means of destruction proved ineffective before it. Its sound resembled a thunder. Its flame was similar to that of a lightning. Its stone penetrated through two or three men. He kept his army in proper array. It was completely equipped with arms. Soldiers were not paid in money till the period of their service was over.

Shaikh Sa'eed Habshi alias Sultāni

Shaikh Sa'eed Habshi alias Sultāni was a man of excellent personality and

laudable qualities. He died in Ahmadābād on Monday, 3rd Shawwāl, 984 (1575-76). He was entombed in a masjid near the Dār-us-Salaṭānat (palace) on a public road. It was an old monument built with brick. It was near his residence. It was constructed with stone and made strong. Its roof was raised and a ceiling dome was made. It was made elaborate with stone according to the principles of hewn stone. Every stone was one or two arms long with an elevated verandah in vicinity of the masjid built on windows of lofty painted hewn stones. It thus increased its space. A nearby piece of land was purchased for appurlenances. A platform was constructed adjoining the enclosure of the masjid. To its right, his stone-tomb is situated. When he was free from construction of tomb of the masjid, a path and a platform, he felt approach of death. It was prior to construction of the platform, nay, it was constructed only after he was laid in the grave. A saint Mawlānā Shaikh Ābān buried him as a trustee. His tomb is also near his tomb.

Porridage of crushed wheat was cooked on the left side of the masjid in a public kitchen called Langer. Every day twenty mounds of it were cooked for the faqirs, poor and needy persons. A part of it was meant for scholars, eminent men and their attendants. Many recluses who had renounced the world partook of it. The rich and the poor numbering one thousand persons arrived at the cupolas in winter. This practice of charity continued till Akbar's invasion. Shaikh Sa'eed was at first with Rumi Khān. He was then with Sulṭān Maḥmud. Hence he was designated Sulṭāni. After the Sulṭān, he was in service of the Amir Jhujhār Khān. He was a brave man. He was with him in war with Muhammad Ulugh Khān. It was he who kept pace with Nāṣir Daryā Khān, a chamberlain to Changiz Khān in the last war. He then quitted service as a swordsman. Jhujhār Khān and his brother had set apart fifty lacs of tankas for reciters of the Holy Qurān. A village was assigned to him as allowance and for purposes of charity. He was comfortable with a house, maintenance, mamāliks and practice of good deeds. Deserving men and pious persons assembled in his majlis. He acquired knowledge of different branches of learning from learned men. A very learned man of comprehension, most unique in guidance, pure and pious Qāḍi 'Abdullāh Sindi of Madina wrote Jāme' Ḥamidi, completed it and named it Jāme' as-Sa'eedi and divided it into chapters. He had fondness for acquisition of books. He built a boat, set it sail for Egypt and authorised the boatmen to purchase books. Khwāja Salāmat Maghrebi alias Shātir who was a big merchant, wrote his biographical account. His heart was disposed towards religion. He was fond of building houses. He had more than twenty Habshi slaves, while other servants were nearly one hundred. He had thirty horses in his stable and ten camels. He had fifty wheels for bhails to carry his baggage. His village was prosperous. It yielded double revenue most of which was used for charitable purposes. He performed ḥajj in his own boat in com-

pany of his friends, paid a visit to the Holy Madina and worked for the next world in the holy cities. He was a man of humanity.

Malek ul-Muḥaddathin, Ibn-i-Suwaid

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ur-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Jalāl ud-Din al-Miṣri al-Māliki, known like his ancestor Ibn-i-Suwaid was born on 16th Sha'bān, 856 (1452-53). Ḥāfiz Sakhāwi reported that he had gone to Yaman. At Zaila', he taught and narrated traditions. He then came to Khambāyat. Jār ul-lāh, son of Fahad said that he approached Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh who bestowed upon him the title of Malek ul-Muḥaddathin (King of Traditionists), when he spoke to him about his knowledge of hadith and eloquence. He was the first recipient of this title. He collected forty traditions from twenty Shaykhs for the Sulṭān and named this collection as " Fath ul-Mubin-ul-Hami " with the elevated authority of Malek ul-Muḥaddathin al-Qāḍi Jaltāl ud-Din al-Kanāni. It was also compiled for certain holy men from whom he sought blessings and prayers for himself. He wrote prose and composed poetry. He continued to enjoy the favour of Sulṭān Maḥmud till the latter died. He was appointed a tutor to his son Muzaffar Shāh. He stayed with him through the influence of his wazir Muḥāmmad Majd ud-Din, al-Masnad-i-'Āli, Khudāwand Khān al-Iji. He was granted allowance for his expenses. Sulṭān Maḥmud had appointed him an officer in the department of Jaziya. Ultimately, he left service and died in Aḥmadābād in 929 (1522).

He prepared a copy of Fath ul-Bāri on explanation of the Traditions compiled by Imām Bukhāri and presented it to Sayyid 'Ali Khān of Mandu. It was the first copy of Fath ul-Bāri in Gujarat. Another copy of the same book was presented to Muzaffar Shāh, son of Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh. He thanked him for that obligation. He assigned to him the region of Broach in jagir and made him an amir.

Bahrak

Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad son of 'Umar, son of Mubārak son of Abdullāh, son of 'Ali al-Ḥumairi al-Ḥaḍrami ash-Shāfai' famous as Bahtak was proficient in grammar, lexicon and literature. He was a great orator with perfect understanding. He wrote prose and composed poetry. He was born at Bahrak in Ḥaḍramut at midnight in the month of Sha'bān, 869 (1464-65). He grew up there and received education from its learned men. He went to Zubaid where he studied Ḥadith from its scholars especially from Zain ud-Din Muḥammad b. 'Abd ul-Laṭif al-Sharji. He learnt uṣul (fundamental principles) from the theologian Jamāl ud-Din Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr aṣ-Ṣaigh. He associated himself with the Glory of Religion, Pole of the Age, Sun of the Suns, Shaykh Abu Bakr b. al.'Afif al-Aidrus, may God sanctify his grave. He performed ḥajj in 894

(1489). He treaded the path of Sufism. It is said about him that he spent forty days in retirement in devotion to God at Zubaid. On completion of it, he said, that parts of his body too were in remembrance of God. He was sincere in search of God, lavish in generosity and fond of doing charitable deeds. He gave up the post of a Qāḍi and retired himself from worldly activities for the sake of devotion to God. He went to Aden where he was received with applause and approbation. Its Amir Marjān al-'Amiri gave him a warm reception. He then came to Gujarat as an envoy to Sulṭān Muzaffar son of Sulṭān Maḥmud Begadha. He elevated him, kept him near himself, promoted him and showed him extensive favour. He became very famous and wrote books which he dedicated them to him. He was a man of learning and experience. He is the author of Sirat-i-Aḥmadiya, Kitāb ul-Ḥisām, Tartib-ul-Suluk, Matātul-Asmā' on Music, substance of Kitāb ul-Amtā' Mawāhib ul-Quddus in praise of al-'Aidrus, and substance of Ṣafadi's book Umyat-ul-'Ajam. He acquired his learning from the theologian Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at Ḥadramut and Abdullāh bin Aḥmad at Ḥadramut and Abdullāh bin Aḥmad at Aden. He died on 20th Sha'bān, 923 (1523).

Mawlānā Imām ud-Din Muḥammad b. Maḥmud at-Tārami

Mawlānā Imām ud-Din Muḥammad was the son of Maḥmud Tārami. He was born in Tāram, a village in Khurāsām and grew up there. He got himself engaged in acquisition of knowledge from its profound scholars. He became proficient in every branch of learning. He then travelled to different parts of the Muslim world and added to what he knew to become perfect with essence of God and His attributes. He was one of the unrivalled scholars of the age. He was most perfect in explanation of meanings and understanding them. He had an exceptionable knack of extricating real meaning from words though apparently they happened to be devoid of meaning. His talks were appreciated and applauded by scholars. He was clever in nacromancy and he had profound knowledge of the science of Chemistry. He disseminated fragrant perfumes. He talked about the sea without any let or hindrance. He led a saintly life. He came to Gujarat with his books. He wrote them at his leisure time. All of them were based on reliable sources and authorities. A report of his scholarship spread through his books. He moved in the kingdom to contact scholars to benefit and to be benefited through them. He got himself benefited and then related from them. He related from Shaykh of celibates Abu 'Abdullāh Mawlānā Wajih ud-Din al-'Alawi. There is no doubt that he was a Quṭb (pole star) in conduct and an angel in character as well as sound in religion. Qāḍi Mawlānā 'Isā was justice incarnate in the state. The author (Ḥājji Dabir) learnt from popular legend that he died at Naharwala Patan.

He presented himself in the majlis of Bahādur in a house overlooking the river. It was not monsoon. In the course of conversation, he said to him,

"Look at the river. How its water is in an agitated state. He looked at it. It looked like a sea on all sides. Surprisingly, there appeared a cradle with two children floating on surface of water. He said to him, "Do you see a wonder which I see in it?" He said, "Yes, I saw a cradle and two children in it." He said, "They were orphans from the side of father, such and such at Naharwala. The river bore them to you requesting fixation of allowance what was in the name of their father." He said, "For them." Bahādur then looked at the river. He neither saw the surging water nor the children. His wonder increased greatly. Mawlānā died in 1534.

Khudāwand Khān Majd ud-Din Muḥammad al-Iji

Majd ud-Din Muḥammad al-Iji came to Gujarat during the regime of Sultān Maḥmud Shāh I. He became famous by his merits and accomplishments. The Sulṭān bestowed upon him the title of Rashid ul-Mulk. Later on, Muzaffar Shāh the Clement conferred upon the title of Khudāwand Khān and appointed him as his wazir. He held this post for fourteen years. He went to Sultān Maḥmud Khalji in company of Master of the Horse with one thousand horses, one hundred elephants, one hundred camels, a canopy, an ensign, a drum, cash money, textiles, copper Utensils, Crockery, arms, carts, etc.

It was he who introduced Ibn-i-Suwaid to the Sulṭan. Under instruction from Sulṭān Muzaffar, he wrote a letter to Bahādur Khān to come back and his jagir would be increased. At the time of his accession, Sulṭān Sikandar caught hold of his hand and sat on the throne. Khudāwand Khān was the first to salute him.

He was indisposed when Bahādur came to Chāmpāner. He remained in his house, watched the procession and saluted Bahādur. Bahādur entered his house when he said, "Enter with safety and security."

During the regime of Bahādur Shāh, he became Vakil-i-Mutliq and held this post for fifteen years. He accompanied Sulṭān Bahādur in campaigns against Mandu and Chitor.

In a war against Humāyun, he fell a captive but Humāyun treated him with favour and kindness and seated him by his side. At Ahmadabad, Humāyun consulted him whether there would be another war for conquest of Gujarat, he replied that it depended upon the life of that negro, that is, Imād ul-Mulk.

Khudāwand Khān was a learned man. He was proficient in the knowledge of ḥadith and asmā-ur-rijāl. Learned men felt themselves honoured to get a certificate from him.

He died during the regime of Sulṭān Maḥmud Shāh II.

Quṭb-i-'Ālam Sayyid Burhān ud-Din Abu Muḥammad 'Abdul-lāh Bukhāri

Quṭb-i-'Ālam Sayyid Burhān ud-Din was the son of Sayyid Naṣir ud-Din who was the son of the chief of the saints Makhdum-i-Jahānian of Bukhārā. He was born on Monday morning on the 14th Rajab in the year 790 A.H. (1388) in the city of Uchh in Sind. On his birth, his grand-father Sayyid Jalāl ud-Din Makhdum-i-Jahāniān remarked that the Quṭb was born in the family on account of whom many other Quṭbs would be born. His father Nasir ud-Din Maḥmud died when he was ten years old. His uncle, Sayyid Ṣadr ud-Din Maḥmud Rāju Qattāl (760-827 = 1359-1424) took care of the child and became his guardian. He gave him education and trained him up for two years. He then gave him the relics of his ancestors—the sword, its sheath and the pillow (according to another account, a khirka, a sword and a pot) and sent him to Anhilwād Patan, in Gujarat where he was destined to preach. He, therefore, set out for Gujarat in 802 (1400) with his mother, Bibi Hājra known as Sa'ādat Khātun. As instructed by Sayyid Ṣadr ud-Din Maḥmud Rāju Qattāl, Shaykh Rukn ud-Din, grand-son of Shaykh Farid ud-Din Shakar Ganj, who was then staying at Pātan undertook the education of the young Sayyid Burhān ud-Din. Shaykh Rukn ud-Din was famous as Kān-i-Shakar (mine of sugar). He conferred upon the young Sayyid the title of Quṭb-i-'Ālam. It is said that Sulṭān Muzaffar I was the disciple of Makhdum-i-Jahāniān. When he heard of the arrival of his spiritual guide's grand-son, he went out to receive him with due honours.

At Pātan, Mawlāna 'Ali Shir ran a madresa where he taught theoretical knowledge of religious books. Sayyid Burhān ud-Din joined his madresa and acquired book knowledge from Mawlānā 'Ali Shir who lies buried at Sarkhej. After the death of Sulṭān Muzaffar Shāh I, Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh ascended the throne of Gujarat. When he founded the city of Aḥmadābād, he invited Sayyid Burhān ud-Din to the new capital and so he set out for Ahmadabad in 834 (1430) with his family. Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh was a poet. He composed a poem in praise of Sayyid Burhān ud-Din and recited it in his presence in a standing posture after the manner of poets. The opening lines run thus:

Burhān, the 'Proof' our polar star
Our pattern and our guide.
The Proof, in whose convincing truth
We and all men, confide.

Just as a poet demands a reward from a person in whose eulogy he composes a poem after recitation of it, Sulṭān Aḥmad asked for his reward. Sayyid Burhān ud-Did said, "My grand-father has already blessed thee." Whereupon the Sulṭān replied, "But, that blessing is for the kingdom and my family, I now want a blessing for this new city." "The city will last for ever by the favour of God the Merciful," said the Sayyid.

For sometime, the Sayyid stayed in old Asāwal near Jāme' Masjid near the river Sābarmati. But later on, he shifted to the village of Batwa which he found to be of congenial climate and so he decided to permanently settle there. The Sulṭān was pleased to bestow it upon him.

In 840 (1437), he voyaged to Makka for ḥajj and thence paid a visit to the shrine of the Prophet at Madina.

The saint is said to have performed many miracles, one of which is as under:

" One night the saint rose for his mid-night prayer. Suddenly his foot struck something in the darkness and was made to bleed." " What is it ?" said the saint, " a piece of wood, or iron or stone ? " Next morning, the thing was discovered, possessing the properties of all three-wood, iron and stone. The saint ordered it to be buried and pronounced a curse on whomsoever dug it out, that he should have no offspring, to survive him. One of the disciples after the saint's demise, declaring that he did not mind whether his offspring survived him or not, dug it out. Half of this piece was taken by the Emperor Akbar who preserved it in his capital, and the other half is kept here as a sacred relic. "

The saint died on the morning of 8th Zul-hijja in the year 857 (1452) at the age of 67 years, 4 months and 4 days and was consigned to the grave in Batwa. Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh built a small mausoleum over the grave. Sulṭān Maḥmud Begada enlarged it and made it magnificent. It has a spacious courtyard and a masjid.

The saint left twelve sons and seventeen daughters. The sons are: 1. Sayyid Naṣir ud-Din Abul Ḥasan Maḥmud surnamed Shāh Badā; 2. Sayyid Shāh 'Ālam; 3. Sayyid Aḥmad; 4. Shāh Ḥamid; 5. Sayyiḥ Ṣāleḥ; 6. Bandagi Shāh Aminullāh; 7. Bandagi Sayyid Muḥammad Zāhid; 8. Sayyid Muḥammad Aṣghar; 9. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq; 10. Sayyid Muḥammad Rāju; 11. Sayyid Sālem; 12. Sayyid 'Ilm ud-Din.

The saint was a person of handsome appearance with broad forehead, black eyes, broad eye-brows, long nose, soft cheeks, thin lips and a thin neck.

The saint wrote the following book :—

1. Marḥamat nāmai Burhāni on principles of sufism.

Sirāj ud-Din Abul Barakāt Sayyid Muḥammad better known as Haḍhrat-i-Shāh 'Ālam Bukhāri

Sayyid Muḥammad better known as Haḍhrat-i-Shāh 'Ālam Bukhāri was born on Monday, 7th Zilka'ad 817 (18th Jan. 1415) at Anhilwād Pātan. He was the second son of Sayyid Burhān ud-Din Quṭb-i-'Ālam. His mother was Bibi Āmina, surnamed Sulṭān Khātun. She was the daughter of Karim Khān

son of 'Imād ud-Din Khudāwand Khān, a noble of the Muzaffari Sulṭāns. At the age of seventeen, he completed his education in all the branches of learning and was appointed head of the Sufi order of Mughrabia. He received the Sufi robe from Shaikh Aḥmad Khattu. His father got him instructed under the Chishtiya order by Shaykh Bārakullāh.

He was a man of austere habits and sincere devotion. Every Friday, he gave audience to the public at Rasulabad after Juma prayers. For rest of the six days, he spent his time in devotion to God in seclusion. He gave religious instruction and Guidance to the people only on Friday. Needy persons assembled around him when he fulfilled their needs. He prayed on behalf of those who were in difficulties in this physical world and invoked blessings of God on them. This continued till 'Aṣr (late afternoon) prayer. After performance of prayer, he retired to his room and emerged from it next Friday. He gave no audience to any one however great he might be including the Sulṭān.

One day 'Id day, he invited his relatives and friends to dinner. He sent food to those who failed to attend the dinner.

He has written a number of tracts on religious and sufistic subjects such as Risala-i-Ṣādiqiya, Risala-i-Mafatih-i-Khazān ul-lāh, Risala-i-Muḥammadiya, Tuhfat ul-Awliyā etc. etc.

The saint died at the age of 63 on Saturday night, 20th Jamādi II, 880 (1475). He was buried at Rasulābād where he used to live. A fine spacious convent, with stately domes and watch-towers, was built by Tāj Khān Narpāli, one of the nobles of Sulṭān Maḥmud Begada and a disciple of the saint. The fine masjid attached to it was built by Muḥammad Ṣāleh Badakhshi and its two minarets were added to it by Najābat Khān. The caravanserai and other buildings of the convent were first built by Sulṭān Maḥmud and then repaired by Sayf Khān.

Shaykh Aḥmad Khattu Ganjbakhsh

Shaykh Aḥmad Khattu belonged to the Maghribi order of ṣufis. He was born in Delhi in 738 H. (1338) during the regime of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq. His birth name was Naṣir ud-Din but he was given the name of Aḥmad by his spiritual guide Bābā Isḥāq of Khattu.

The story of life of Bābā Aḥmad is very strange. It is said that Naṣir ud-Din belonged to a noble family. A nurse was engaged by his parents to look after him and his brother. One evening, she went out for a walk with these two brothers. Suddenly, a dust-storm arose which was so severe that the whole atmosphere had become dark. Even near objects were not visible. The two brothers and the nurse got lost in the storm. After the storm subsided, the little boy did not know where to go. His parents failed to find him. In the mean-

time, a caravan was on the way to Rajputana. One of the members of the caravan, who was childless, saw Naṣir ud-Din in a sad plight on the road. He picked him up and brought with him to his native place, Dindwana. A saint by name Bābā Isḥāq lived at Khattu. He was of advanced age. He prayed to God to give him a child whom he should rear up and train as his successor. He saw a dream wherein a boy was shown to him with all his features. He, therefore, talked about his dream to one of his disciples who happened to be a merchant and informed him about description of the boy. Happily for him, the merchant went to Dindwana where he saw a boy of the description as told by his spiritual guide with a person with whom he had to transact business. The man did not like to part with the boy as he had no issue. But that merchant persuaded him not to incur displeasure of the saint otherwise he would suffer from disastrous calamity. Willy-nilly, he parted with the boy with great reluctance. On the other hand, Bābā Isḥāq was greatly elated to get a boy as shown to him in the dream.

He took particular care in education and training of the child. He himself taught him certain subjects and requested Qāḍi Ḥamid ud-Din Nāgori to instruct him in theology and ḥadith.

Bābā Isḥāq happened to go to Delhi for some work. He took the boy with him. One day, he chanced to go out for a walk when his brother saw him. He approached him, called him by his original name Naṣir ud-Din and told him to come to his parents who were in wails due to his missing for the last so many years. Bābā Isḥāq advised him to go with his brother to his parents but he refused to go and expressed his desire to live with Bābā Isḥāq and accompany him to Khattu.

Bābā Isḥāq, on approach of death bequethed him his khirka and nominated him as his Khalifa. Bābā Isḥāq left this ephemeral world on 17th Sha'bān, 776 H. (1374). Bābā Aḥmad, thenceforward led a life of strict austerity and devotion to God. He remained in seclusion and fasted in the month of Ramaḍān breaking his fast with one date and some quantity of water. This resulted in emaciation and thinness of his physical body. He was not strong enough to walk. He was lifted bodily and taken to the masjid for I'd prayers.

After some time, he decided to go to Delhi where he happened to meet the great saint Makhdum-i-Jahaniān. He then set out for ḥajj and came to Cambay, the port from which pilgrims used to embark for Makka. At Naharwāla, the Nāzim of the place Malek Muḥammad Sultāni Rāstikhān received him with due honour and wrote to his son who was port-officer at Cambay to make necessary arrangement for the saint's voyage. In mid-sea, he came to the deck to perform ablution for prayer when he slipped and fell from the ship to the sea. He invoked God and a rock emerged from the sea on which he sat. The ship

sailed to a certain distance when his companions found that he was in mid-sea. The ship was reversed and he was taken into it. He reached Makka, performed ḥajj and proceeded to Madina to pay respects to the shrine of the Prophet. His companions told him to take meals but he said that he was the guest of the Prophet and that he would eat whatever food the host would send him. At mid-night, a person cried out thrice as to who was Aḥmad. He raised his head from meditation and said that he was the person whom he called out. The man gave him a plate full of dates saying that it was sent by the Prophet. He began to eat when the man turned back and disappeared. His companions woke up when they found that the saint was eating the dates sent by the Prophet. They also shared dates with him. It was his convincing faith and love for the Prophet that the incident happened.

On his way back from ḥajj, he passed through Western Asia, visited its many cities and met several religious divines. He came to Samarqand where an abstruse problem of theology was being discussed. Local scholars failed to decide it. The saint got up in the assembly and explained it so lucidly and explicitly that they all got amazed at his deep learning and treated him with reverence and respect.

He then came to Uchh, visited the tomb of the celebrated saint Makhdum-i-Jahāniān and said Fatiha. He saw Sayyid Rāju Kattāl, the Khalifa of the Makhdum.

Firuz Shāh Tughluq had great faith in him. He was in Delhi at the time of Timur's invasion. He had prophesied about his invasion a fortnight before to his disciples and other persons. They, therefore, had gone to Jaunpur. The saint and his forty followers were captured by the Mongols. Every day, the saint and his followers used to receive forty loaves in a mysterious manner. They all sat together and ate them. Timur learnt about it. He released them with due honour. Along with them many other prisoners were also liberated. Timur took the saint with him to Samarqand. After staying there for some time, he returned to Gujarat via. Khurāsan and lived in Aḥmadābād with a Bohra by name Badā. Sulṭān Muzaffar had great faith in him. He entreated him to stay at Patan but the saint did not like to live in Patan. After Muzaffar's death, his grandson, Sulṭān Aḥmad ascended the throne. The saint helped him in building the new city of Aḥmadābād.

The saint died at Sarkhej at the age of 111 years in 849 H. (1449). He lies buried in Sarkhej where a shrine, a convent, a masjid and a tank were built by Quṭb ud-Din Sulṭān and completed by his son Muhammad Shāh. Sulṭān Mahmud Begada and Sulṭān Muzaffar Ḥalim are also buried at the foot of the Saint's grave.

He is one of the most eminent saints in Gujarat. He was a very learned man and an author of certain books such as Irshād-ut-Tālibin, Translation of the Holy Qurān in Persian and Risala-i-Aḥmadiya, Tuḥfat-ul-Majālis dedicated to Sulṭān Ahmad. He sang with melody and tune and composed verses at times.

Shaykh Wajih ud-Din Aḥmad al-'Alwi

Wajih ud-Din was the son of Shaykh Naṣrul-lāh. He was an accomplished scholar and a renowned Ṣufi. He traced his descent from Muḥammad 'Aziz, son of Imām Muḥammad al-Jawād. During the regime of the Muzaffari Dynasty, one of his ancestors Sayyid Bahāuddin of Makka came to Gujarat and settled in Muḥammadābād Champaner. He was highly honoured by the Sulṭān. He married, lived and died in Chāmpāner. His grand-son Sayyid Imām ud-Din was appointed Qāḍi of Patri in the Paragana of Viramgām, Shaykh Wajih ud-Din was born in Muhammadābād Chāmpāner in the month of Muharram, 910 (1504).

From the age of five, till he was thirty-three, he lived the life of a student learning various branches of knowledge and Ṣufism ; he passed the remainder of his life in teaching his pupils in Ahmadābād, devoting his spare time to writing and preparing notes and commentaries. He possessed the inner knowledge and lived the life of a recluse, visiting no one. He was the disciple of Shāh Qāḍan Chishti but followed more especially Shaykh Maḥammad Ghauth under whom he completed his Ṣufistic studies. It so happened that when Shaykh Muḥammad Ghauth came to Ahmadābād, the 'Uluma under the leadership of Shaykh 'Ali Muttaqi, a great scholar and a Ṣufi wrote out a fatwā for his assassination on a charge of holding heretical views. The Sulṭān, however, before giving his final assent, referred the matter to Mawlānā Wajih ud-Din, who went to Shaykh Muḥammad Ghauth. But no sooner had he seen the Shaykh than the Mawlānā tore the fatwā in pieces and exclaimed, "'Ali Muttaqi surely thou hast no knowledge of the acquirements of the Shaykh." Afterwards the Mawlānā used to say, " Follow the law as was done by 'Ali Muttaqi, but follow also the spirit of truth in the light of our Murshid's teaching. " Shaykh Ghauth was an inspired preceptor. The Mawlānā died at the age of eighty-eight, on the last day of Muḥarram 998 H. (1590). He is buried inside the rampart wall at Khānpur in the school built by Ṣādiq Khān. The reservoir and the masjid were built by Shaykh Ḥaidar, one of the grandsons of the Mawlānā. (Mirat-i-Ahmadi).

His birth took place in Muḥarram, 911 H. His birth place is Chāmpāner. He was reared at the same place. He acquired common learning in Gujarat from Mulla 'Imād Ṭāremi. He fulfilled the usages of discipleship by attendance upon Shaykh Qāḍan, may his grave be sanctified. When Muḥammad Ghauth Gwāliari, may his grave be sanctified came to Ahmadābād. Shaykh Wajih ud-

Din got absorbed in his auspicious beauty. He became accomplished under shade of training of the Shaykh. (Mawlānā Ghulān 'Ali Āzād Bilgrāmi).

Mawlānā Muḥammad Ghauthi says, " He was Quṭb of both the worlds, centre of verities of both the worlds, owner of acquired and present knowledge, master of obtained and divine learning, knower of mysteries of book-impressions of things and a confidante of secrets of the Preserved Tablet. It is said that having emerged from figure of knowledge, he illumined in 902, the place of elemental body by display of his birth. From five years after birth to end of thirty-three years, he engaged himself in acquisition of current and rare branches of learning so much so that he acquired more than sixty branches of knowledge. When he ultimately travelled from physical place of multiplicity to real place of unity, it was 29th Ṣafar, 997 (1589). He engaged himself during this period in giving lessons on all sciences. Gifts of God, the Dignified and Glorious continued to pour upon him. During this period of sixty-two years, many persons rose from pupilship to teachership under his beneficent teaching, and lofty-minded ṣufis obtained the khirka of Khilāfat by heart-entrancing instruction. "

Mullā 'Abd ul-Bāqi Nihāwandi who was also benefited through Shaykh Wajih ud-Din writes in Maāthir-i-Raḥimi, " Miyān Wajih ud-Din was a prudent scholar and a wise, learned man. He was a direct pupil of 'Imād Ṭaremi who was one of the pupils of Mawlānā Jalāl ud-Din Dawwāni who needs no description on account of immense fame. Most of the learned mullās of Hindustān are his pupils. None is equal to him in respect of comprehensiveness and versatility. He has attained to perfection of purified soul and renouncement of worldly pleasures. Condition of good future state of Miyān is immensely famous and well-known. "

Mullā 'Abd ul-Qāder Badayumi was contemporaneous with Shaykh Wajih ud-Din. He writes as under after the Shaykh's death. He was connected with 'Alawi lineage but he did not publicise his lineage for his being a traveller. He was a very pious, God-fearing scholar. He strictly adhered to religion. Retirement was his habit. He always engaged himself in giving lessons on religious sciences. He had complete mastery over all intellectual and narrative sciences. For example, he wrote explanatory and marginal notes from " Ṣarf-i-Hawāi " to " Qānun ", " Shifa ", " Sharḥ-i-Miftāḥ " and " 'Aḍadi ". A generation was benefited by his learning. " He further writes, " He was a disciple of someone else but he obtained training and guidance from Shaykh Muḥammad Gauth. He was his follower in observance of etiquette of Ṭariqat. He completed training of suluk (divine path) from him. He had aptitude and relish for sufistic creed. "

Shaykh Wajih ud-Din said to Mawlānā 'Alam-i-Gul Bahāri, " When I was teaching. I had an earnest desire to learn preliminaries on which depended

knowledge of Divine truth and its revelation. By chance, Divine will in whose destined thing, there are hundreds of subtle points, attracted Hadral Ghauth ur-Rahmān from Gwālior to Gujarat. This thing I acquired by kissing feet of Ghauth ur-Rahmān. Within a short period, my Islām copper-like changed into pure gold through his elixir-like training. I became fortunate to walk in the paradise of true faith having come out from shackles of customary articles of faith. A few days after, I was ennobled with absolute khilāfat. I obtained what I had not and I did not gain again what I had."

Shaykh 'Abd ul-Haq Muhaddith writes, "His relation and faith in Şufism were with Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth though he was disciple of someone else." Shaykh Wajih ud-Din writes in his Malfuzāt, "Before meeting the Shaykh, I had no knowledge of God. It was Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth who reached me to God." He further said, "Knowledge of God which I did not obtain throughout my life, I obtained in one night."

Shaykh Wajih ud-Din was a very learned man. He is the author of a number of books. Besides, he has annotated and written marginal notes on innumerable books.

Makhdum Shaykh Uthmān Husām ud-Din Fāruqi Multāni Chishti

Shaykh Uthmān alias Husām ud-Din was the son of Shaykh Dāwood who traced his descent from His Holiness Hadrat 'Umar al-Fāruq, may God be pleased with him, the second pious Khalifa. He was born in 639 H. (1241) at Multān. Shaykh Dāwood was a disciple of Shaykh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā and his chosen successors. He was reckoned as a learned man of the age in which he flourished. He took special care for education of his son Uthmān and took him to his spiritual guide Sultān ul-Mashaikh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā for training in tasawwuf (Divine Love). He took an oath of allegiance from him enjoining upon him the renouncement of world and all that it contained and advised him to spend his life in Anhilwād Pātan. Shaykh Uthmān performed hajj under instruction of his murshid. On his return to Delhi, he worked as a Pesh Imām (one who leads prayers) in Jāme' Masjid where he also ran a madresa to impart religious learning. He migrated to Pātan from Delhi during the regime of Muhammad Tughluq when he shifted his capital to Devgiri in 695 (1295). He lived there for forty-one years and died in 736 H. (1636) at the age of ninety-seven.

At Patan, he led a very simple life. He conducted a madresa and taught pupils in a masjid. While he was teaching, he responded several times to the greeting "As-salām-d-'Alaikum" by uttering "Wa 'Alaikum us-Salām." His pupils were surprised at this behaviour of his. After the lessons were over, some curious students asked him as to whom did he respond when there was none. He said that Rijāl ul-Ghaib were going in all haste to the succour of

Sulṭān Quṭb ud-Din against his enemy. These invisible beings salāmed him and he responded to them.

He maintained himself by selling cloth. He distributed half of his profit among poor and needy persons. He prepared two breads every day, one of which he utilised it for himself for he took only one meal and the second one he gave it to a beggar who came to him first. His dress was also very simple. He covered the lower part of his body with a lungi and the upper part with an unstiched piece of cloth and put a cap on his head.

Sayyid Ḥusain Khing-sawār

Sayyid Ḥusain was the son of Sayyid 'Umar Arizi of Ghiyāthpur. He was the Khalifa of Sultān ul-Mashāikh Nizām ud-Din Awliyā and is the guardian saint of Dabhoi. He was born in 663 H. (1264). He was very fond of riding the grey steed and therefore, he was designated as Khing-sawār. In 730 (1329), in compliance with his murshid's order he came to Pātan and propagated Islām in Patan and round-about places. He ran a madresa where he imparted religious instruction to his pupils. He died on 1st Jamadi II, 798 (1395) at the age of one hundred and thirty-five. He is buried at Patan near the Sahasra Ling tank.

Training of Gujarātī Amir

'Āli Shān Shaykh Muhammad 'Anbas 'Arab Khān al-Yāfai' spoke to Ḥājji Dabir, author of " Zafar ul-Walih " about the laudable character of the people of Gujarāt. He said, " I was in Gujarat with one of the amirs during the regime of a descendant of Muzaffar Shāh. I saw a young boy giving service like grooms. He looked after horses, moved with stirrup of the horseman, carried hay, fire-wood and water etc. Then I saw him one day riding a beautiful horse in the most gaudy and precious costume. He had a cavalcade of men with him and well-decorated horses in front of him. I fell in doubt about his affairs and in my opinion, he did not detest to do menial service. I asked him as to who he was. He replied that he was the son of the Amir whom he served. I asked him, " What did you mind yesterday ? You were in the costliest costume and today in this. " He said, " This is the character of people of this region. During the period of training, they serve their relatives and their sons till one becomes proficient. He does every kind of service. He then becomes a man in its real meaning. In the meantime, his father or his uncle engages him with a daughter of one of the relatives. He then changes his dress and rises in dignity and this is what you see of him. " On the previous night, he entered into wedlock with the daughter of his uncle and in the next morning he became as you see him. He then described me about their character item by item. A lad does not apply antimony to his eyes nor does he chew a betel-leaf. He abstains from redenning his lips. He does not live with strangers or foreigners. He does not

behave with impudence and arrogance with those who are older in age than he. He does employ women in service out of self-preservation and zeal for his reputation. He thus narrated to me the conventions and traditions of pious ancestors from their youth. But now this sort of etiquette bas disappeared with departure of those persons. He reported to me some verses in support of what he said:

He who visited Gujarat, would find
In Hind, a place of retirement, not equal to it.
A mirror of paradise for that solace
As Adam had made it his first place of descent.
Cool breeze, fragrant meadows and fruits as well
Birds and rivers with continuous flow.
When I turned my gaze, I saw a house
Three going free from grief.
Their children hur-like (damsels of paradise) strong places of return
Where is Pleiades to take them from hand.
They make cold mouth hot by betel-leaf.
They produce, they build, they then settle in their land.
He who had not seen, let him see a married young man.
They apply antimony, chew batel-leaf and cause trouble
Oh alas! for a stranger like me to be in trouble.

APPENDIX III

A List of Topics, Anecdotes and Curiosities

(I am indebted to Sir Denison Ross for this appendix)

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Ceremonies and Festivals: 1. Description of Hindu methods on approaching holy places, p. 20. 2. Holi festival celebrated in Māndu during the siege, p. 87. 3. Elaborate ceremonies on occasion of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahri's submission to Sulṭān Bahādur (936 H.), p. 121. 4. Mawluḍ-i-Sharif celebrated at court of Maḥmud III, p. 214. 5. Ceremonies at Makka on occasion of Prophet's birth-day, p. 220. 6. Diwali and Holi festivals, p. 232. 7. Salām-al-Shahr, p. 328. 8. Shia celebration in Aḥmadābād, p. 333.

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Morals: Curious details of Gujarāti morals, p. 83.

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Patience: Traditions regarding patience in misfortune, (Account of Āsa Khān, pp. 234-257.

Qat: A plant grown in the Yaman, "Celastrus edutis", (Account c Āsaf Khān, pp. 234-257).

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Symposium: On coffee and smoking, pp. 292-295.

APPENDIX IV

List of Works referred to in this History

1. *Abnā ul-Ghamr*, by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni.
2. *Abu Muslim Nāma*, an unknown history of Abu Muslim.
3. *Adab ud-Dunyā wad-Din* by al-Mārwardi.
4. *'Ajib ul-Mudhkkhkhir Fi Sharh Gharibi 'l-Ḥadith Wa'l-Āthār* by 'Abd ul-Quddus al-Glasyāni.
5. *Akbarnāma* by Abul Fazl (The secretary and Prime Minister of the Emperor Akbar was born at Agra, 16th Muḥarram, 958 = 14th Jan. 1551, and murdered on 4th Rabi' I, 1011 = 22nd Aug. 1602. He was a man of great intellectual power and industry. Akbarnama is a monument to his toil. As the work of a contemporary and closely associated with the Emperor, the Akbarnama is the best authority for Akbar's history).
6. *Āthār ul-Bilād* by Qazwini. (Zakariyā b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Qazwini was born at Qazwin in Persia in 1203 and died in 1283. Āthār-ul-Bilād (Monuments of Lands) is a more or less systematic description of the chief towns and countries known to the Muslims at that period. They are arranged alphabetically under the Seven Climes).
7. *Bard ul-Akbād 'An Faqdi 'l-Awlād* by Ibn Nāṣiruddin al-Hamawi, (b. 777 H. d- 842 H.).
8. *Bughya ul-Mustafid Fi Akhbār Zabid* by Ibn ud-Dayba'. (Wajih 'Abdur-Rahmān b. 'Ali al-Shaybāni al-Shāfai' (born on Thursday, 4th Muḥarram 866 (1461) in Zubaid) was unrivalled in the science of tradition and history in his city. He is an author of some books. He died on Monday, 17th Rajab, 944 (1537).
9. *Fawā'id ul-Fu'ād* by Hasan Sanjari of Delhi. (It contains sermons of of Nizāmuddin Awliyā).
10. *Fawātih ul-Iqbāl wa Fawā'in ul-Intiqal* by Ḥājji ad-Dabir.
11. Futuh *ul-Habasha* alternative title for *Tuḥfat uz-Zamān*.
12. *Futuh ush-Shām* by al-Wāqidi. Wāqidi (A. 823 H.) was a great historian of Muslim conquests. He was literally patronized by Yāhyā, the Barmecide. He left 600 great boxes of books and manuscript notes each one of which required two men to carry it).
13. *Habib us-Siyar* by Khwāndmir. (Khwāndmir is the author of Habib us-Siyar written in 1523. He lived till 1534-35.
14. *Ḥayāt ul-Ḥaywān* by Damiri.

15. *Al-Iqdul Bāhir Fi Tārikh Dawlat Bani Zafar* by Ibn ud-Dayba'. It is an abridgment of his Bughyat.

16. *Jāme 'ul-Āsar Fi Mawljdi 'l-Mukhtār* by Ibn Nāṣiruddin.

17. *Jawāmi 'ul-Hikāyāt* by Awfi. (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad 'Awfi wrote Jawāmi 'ul-Hikāyāt and dedicated it to Sulṭān Iltutmish. The book was started at the order of Nāṣiruddin Qubacha. It is a collection of ancedotes. It contains four books. Each book contains 25 chapters).

18. *Jāmi ut-Tawārikh* by Fāzil al-Bukhāri.

19. *Jinnat ul-Jāzi* by al-Mardini.

20. *Al-Kashshāf* by Zamakhshari. (Abul Qāsim Maḥmud b. 'Umar az-Zamakhshari was born in Khwārazm in 1074 and died in 1143. This book is a commentary on the Holy Qurān).

21. *Kashf ul-Kurba Fi Sharḥ Du'a Abi Hurba* by Jarullāh Ibn Fahd al-Makki (A. 945 H.).

22. *Kitāb ul-Aghāni.*

23. *Kitāb ul-Adab* by al-Hāfiz ad-Dimishqi ibn ' Abdul Boir.

24. *Kitāb ul-Bayān 'An Ḥayāti'l-Haywān* by al-Mizzi.

25. *Kitāb ul-Mufid Fi Akhbār Zabid* by Jayyāsh b. Najah.

26. *Kitāb ut-Tamsil Wa'l Muḥaḍara* by al-Tha'labi. (Abu Manṣur Abdul Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il ath-Tha'labi b. 961—d. 1038. He was a great Imām).

27. *Kitāb ul-'Unwān* by Abdul Qādir an-Nu'aymi.

28. *Manāzir ul-Inshā* by Khwaja Jahān Gāwān.

29. *Ma'āli l'-Masnadi'l-'Āli* supplement to *Riyāz ur-Rizwān.*

30. *Manzar ul-Isbān Fi Tarjuma Ibn Khallikān* by Yusuf b. Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. Ulhmān.

31. *Mirāt-i-Sikandari.* " Famous history of Gujarāt by Sikandar.

32. *Mishkāt ul-Maṣābih* by Khatib at-Tabrizi.

33. *Al-Mu'jam ul-Awsat* by at-Tabarāni.

34. *Maqāmat of Hariri.*

35. *Muruj uḍ-Ḍahab* by al-Mas'udi.

36. *Maṭla us-Sa'dayn* by Abdur-Razzāq. (Kamāluddin Abdur-Razzaq of Samarqand was born on 12th Sha'bān 816 = Nov. 3, 1413 is the author of this book. In 1441/42, he was sent to India by Shāh-Rukh on a special mission to the King of Bijanagar (Vijayanagar) which lasted three years and he gives a detailed narrative of this visit in his history. He died in 1482. His history covers a period of 170 years. It is of great importance

because it is the work of one who wrote it first hand and took an active part in many of the events he describes).

37. *Nathr ud-Durar* by Ḥājji ad-Dabir.

38. *Qirān us-Sa'dayn* by Amir Khusraw of Delhi. (Abul Hasan Amir b. Amir Sayfuddin Maḥmud Shamsi was born in 651 H. (1253) and died 725 (1325). Quran us-Sa'dayn is a mathnawi in which a poetical account of meeting of Sultān Mu'izzuddin Kaikobād and his father Naṣiruddin Bughrā Khān is given.

39. *Rabi' ul-Abrār* by Zamakhshari.

40. *Rawzat uṣ-Ṣafā* by Mirkhwānd (Muḥammad b. Khwāndshāh b. Maḥmud commonly called Mirkhwānd, the author died on June 22, 1498. It is a general history. It contains seven books. Books vi and vii which deal with the author's own time are of great worth and authority).

41. *Riyāz ur-Rizwān Fi Mqāsiri'l-Masnad'l-'Āli Āsaf Khān* by Ibn Hajar Haythami.

42. *Ar-Radd ul-Wāfir 'Alāman Aslama* by Ibn Nāṣiruddin.

43. *Raf'u 'd-Dasisa Biwaz' Hadithi 'l-Harisa* by al-Mardini.

44. *Sharḥ ul-Uyun wa Sharḥ Risāla Ibn Zaydun* by Jamāluddin Muḥammad b. Banāna.

45. *Sharḥ Manāsiki'l-Nawawi* by Ibn Hajar al-Ḥaythami.

46. *Sharḥ ul-'Ādāb* by Ibn Hajar Haythami.

47. *Siyar ul-'Ārifin* by Darwish Jamāli.

48. *Siyar ul-Nubla* by ad-Ḍahali.

49. *Ash-Shifā* by 'Afījuddin 'Abdullāh b. Sa'd as-Sindi.

50. *Sikandarnāma* by Nizami. (A poem of Alexander the Great by Nizāmi of Ganja).

51. *Tabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhi* by Husām Khān. (Husāmuddin Khān, the historian was the grandson of Muhāfiz Khān. A very important history consulted by contemporaries and quoted therefrom is lost). (See Index.) It is otherwise known as Tabaqāt-i-Husāmkhāni.

52. *Tabaqāt ul-Huffāz* by Ibn Fahd. (Abul Qāsim b. Aḥmad born 846, died 925. It is a history of those persons who had committed the Holy Qurān to memory. The author has visited Gujarat and Mandu).

53. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* by Juzjāni. (The author Minhāj-i-Siraj was born about 1193. In 1226, he came to India and attached himself to Nāṣiruddin Qubacha. He then served Shamsuddin Iltutmish. He wrote this history and dedicated it to Nasiruddin Maḥmud Shāh. It was completed in Sept. 1260. Interesting details are found in his book).

54. *Takhdir uḍ-Ḍāt Min Akli'l Kufta Wa'l-Qāt* by Ibn Hajar Haythami.

55. *Tārikh ul-'Ajami*, an unidentified history written by a Persian in Akbar's reign.

56. *Tārikh-i-Baghdād* by al-Khatib Aḥmad b. Thālit (b. 1002—d. 1071. It is in 14 volumes).

57. *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Ziya Barani. (It is a history by Ziyāuddin Barani, of the kings of Delhi from Sulṭān Bulbān to 6th year of Firuz Shāh (1265-1357). Born about 684 and died in 758. It is a continuation of Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri of Minhāj. Barani begins his history where Minhāj leaves.)

58. *Tārikh-i-Hāfiz Abru* (Khwāja Nuruddin Lutfullāh, author of Tarikh-i-Hafiz Abru was born in Herat. It is known as Zubdat ut-Tawārikh or Majma ut-Tawārikh-i-as-Sultāni. He finished it in 1426/27. He died in 1430.

59. *Tarikh-i-Hayzam*, a history of the Ghurids by Abul Hasan Hayzam b. Muḥammad an-Nabi.

60. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirzā Haydar Dughlat. (The author was Babur's cousin. It is a book worthy of special notice on account of the high position of its author and his active participation in the making of the history which he narrates, b. 905/1499-1500 and died in 958/1551).

61. *Tarikh-i-Nāṣiri* by Bayhaqi. (Abul Fazl Muḥammad b. Husain Bayhaqi, is the author of this history in 30 volumes but only a small portion of it remains. He was born in 386/996 and died in 470/1077. It is not a history in the strict sense of the word of a kingdom or discreet. It is the memories of an officer on the life of his rulers and their court and other matters—external and internal).

62. *Tarikh-i-Tabari*. (Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarir at-Tabari (b. 224/838-39 and d. 310). (His book is the best source of information).

63. *Tarikh ush-Shām* by Muḥammad b. Tulun aṣ-Ṣālihi.

64. *Tarikh-i-Yaman* by Umāra.

65. *Tashil us-Sabil Fi Fahm Ma'āni' T-Tanzil* by Abul Hasan al-Bakri.

66. *Timurnāma* by Hatifi (with illustrations by Bahzād. (Abdullāh was the son of Jāmi's sister. Timurnāma is in celebration of conquests of Timur in an epic. It is also called Zafarnāma).

67. *Tuḥfat us-Sādāt*, a lost Indian history by Ārām Kashmiri, dedicated to Sayyid Mubārak Bukhāri. This work was extensively used by the author of Mirāt-i-Sikandari but is only once referred to by name. Ḥājji ad-Dabir evidently possessed a copy as he frequently quotes from it direct. It must have been composed before A.H. 956 when Sayyid Mubārak to whom it was dedicated died.

68. *Tuhfat us-Zamān or Futuh ul-Habasha*, a history of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhim known as Aḥmad Grāñ and his conquest of Abyssinia by Shihāb Ahmad b. Abdul Qādir.

69. *Ṭutināma* by Nakhshabi.

70. *Wafyāt ul-A'yān* by Ibn Khallikān. (Obituaries of Men of Note was begun in Cairo in 1250 and completed on Jan. 4, 1274. It is one of the first books of reference. The author, a scion of the great Barmeeide was born at Arbela in Sept. 1211 and died in 1282).

71. *Waqi'āt-i-Bāburi.* (Memoires of Bābur is one of the best books in world literature).

72. *Zafarnama*

73. *Aḍ-Ḍaw ul-Lāme Fi A'yāni 'l-Carni'T-Tāsi'.* (It is a rare biographical dictionary of famous men of 9th century Hijra by as-Sakhāwi).

74. *Zuhr ul-Arish Fi' l-Hashish* by Badr az-Zarkashi. (A book on use and misuse of poppy).

APPENDIX V

Navy: The Sulṭāns of Gujarat maintained a navy of their own. Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I had Mukhlis ul-Mulk as Admiral of the Navy. Khwajā 'Alāuddin was the Amir ul-Bahr (Admiral) under Sulṭān Quṭbuddin while Ismā'il Nāybah was Port-Officer at Div. Malik Ayāz was in charge of the Navy under Sulṭān Muzaffar. Sulṭān Bahadur Shāh had Maḥmud Āqa, Mustafa Bahram Rumi, Khudāwand Khān Safar Sulaimāni, Rajab Khudāwand Khān and Amir Shaikh Burhān ul-Mulk Banbani as Navy-Officers. Qiwām ul-Mulk and Nāṣir Habash Khān were Port-Officers of Div.

When the merchant-ships entered the port, the captain of tbe ship sent a list of its contents to the Port-Officer. If he thought proper, he informed the Sulṭān about the contents. The Sulṭān purchased goods of his choice and then permitted him to dispose of the rest through merchants. The Port-Officer did not allow any ship to enter the port unless he was completely satisfied with it. If it was not in a perfect condition, he did not allow it to enter in or depart from the port.

A permit was necessary for the passenger to enter the port. Ships were of three categories—passenger, merchandise and war.

History of use of Cannon in India: 1. It was invented by the Arabs of Spain in 5th century Hijra. 2. Prince Saifuddawala son of Mahmud Ibrahim Ghaznawi (died 492 H. = 1098 A.C.) used it in the Battle of Agra. 'Alāuddin Khalji also made use of it. In 771 H. = 1369, King of Vijayanagar used it against Muḥammad Shah Bahmani. He got it from the Turks who visited the coast. Bahmanis included it in their armaments. A Sisṭāni Turk founded its factory where cannons were moulded (Ferishta II, Maḥammud Shāh Bahmani's account). 3. Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh I introduced it in Gujarat. He established the department of Artillery drawn by elephants. Horses and bullocks also pulled it. He was followed by Sulṭān Maḥmud I Begado. Sulṭān Bahadur Shāh was very fond of cannons. Rumi Khān had named two cannons as Laila and Majnu.

Madresas: Scholars such as Shāh Bārekullah Chishti (d. 1442), Shaikh Rahmatullāh Chisti (d. 1475), Spiritual Director of Sulṭān Maḥmud I, Shaikh Jamāluddin alias Jamman (d. 1533), Shaikh Aḥmad Kabir Mushtāqullāh (b. 1479—d. 1559) etc. had founded madresas. Other madresas were at Uthmanpur, Khān Sarowar at Naharwala, Sarkhej, Marjān Shami madresa etc.

INDEX

(Thanks to Sir Denison Ross whose index proved very useful to me and saved my time and labour).

A

B

sends 'Imād ul-Mulk and at mid-day Khān-i-Khānān with the rest of the army. He himself follows in the evening. They encamp at Bir. In the night, a messanger comes to Bahādur from Malik Barid offering submission, which is accepted and Bahādur's name is read in the Khutba in Bidar. Pursues Nizām ul-Mulk who has gone towards Burhānpur. Peace is made between them, p. 135. The elaborate ceremonies on the occasion of his receiving the submission of Nizām ul-Mulk Bahri (936 H.). (Note: this incident is placed by Mirat-i-Sikandari in (938 H) and is very differently told). He causes Nizām ul-Mulk to restore the elephants and guns taken from 'Imād Shāh. He sends for 'Imād and Muhammed Shāh and allows them to return to their estates, p. 136. (936 H), returns to his capital. At Nandarbār receives Bahrām Shāh of Baglāna; at Chāmpāner, he receives Kumbher Rāi. He receives letters from Nizām Shāh and Shāh Tāhir informing him that the Khutba had been read in his name in Ahmadnagar, p. 137. Goes from Cambay to Div by sea (937 H), p. 166. Meets Prithi Rāj at Sambal and gives him half of Wagher, p. 166. Meets Rāi Singh of Chitor and Rāi Silhadi Purbiya, who complained to him of Mahmud Khalji. He promises to redress their grievences, p. 167. Quarrels with Mahmud Khalji and marches on Wagher. Crosses the pass Kurli and arrives before Shādiābād, p. 168. Enters Mandu in force and sends for Mahmud, and was disposed to treat him leniently, but Mahmud shows temper and he is placed in charge of Āsaf Khān. The Khutba is read in his name in Shādiābād, the capital of Mandu, on (12th Sha'bān, 937), p. 169. Goes to Burhānpur and meets Nizām Shāh and returns to his capital Chāmpāner, p. 186. Gives Rumi Khān, Ranlr (Rānder), Surat and Div, turning out Tughān, p. 188. His natural liking for foreigners; the incident of his pālki being struck by one of his bodyguards turned him against Gujarātis and led to further encouragement of foreigners in whom he placed full reliance. The arrival of Mustafā coincided with this incident, p. 189. Sets out (5th Jamada I 938) from Shādiābād to Nor'leha and thence to Dhar, thence to Bhilsa, besieges Raisin, p. 191. Arrives in Div, Portuguese retire (938). Marries daughter of Jām Firuz (939 H). Orders Muhammed Shāh and Khudawand Khān to Chitor (939 H), p. 193. Had 10,000 foreign mercenaries in his service. Tells Tātār Khān that he had seen the prowess of the Mughals under Bābur and that the Indians and the Mughals would be like glass and stone, whichever strikes, it is the glass that is broken, p. 196. Having been joined by Muhammed Zamān, tells Tātār Khān to collect his men from far and near and set out for Ranthambhor and there await his further orders. In (941 H) sets out for Chitor, p. 196. Replies to Humāyun's second letter saying that "there are five justifications for entering on war: (1) The foundation of a dynasty; (2) the protection of a dynasty; (3) defence against aggression; (4) an

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